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Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or, he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

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5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

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CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. IV.—Part I.

HENRY VIII.

1529-1530.

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PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.
L. .....Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.....Patronato Real.
T. c. I. .....Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus. ...Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.....Tratados con Pontifices.
E. ....Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C. .....Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A. .....Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N. .....Corona de Navarra.
F. .....Flandes.
A. .....Alemania.
Po.....Portugal.
I. .....Inglaterra.
R. .....Roma.
Na.....Napoles.
Si. .....Sicilia.
Mi.....Milan.
V. .....Venecia.
Ge.....Genoa.
To.....Toscana.
Pr. d. It. ... .Principes de Italia.
Var. De.....Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt. .....Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.....Libros de Berzosa.
Se. de Guer. .....Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.
H. .....Hacienda or Finances.
M. .....Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist. .....Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar .....Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz .....——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var. .....Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac. .....Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B. .....Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G. .....Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp...Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P. .....Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist. .....Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. } Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg. Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist.....Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang. Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj. } Archivo Central *at Madrid:* Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

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INTRODUCTION.

The introductory notice to the present volume must necessarily be short. Most of the letters and papers abstracted are chiefly, as in the two former volumes, from Simancas, Vienna, and Brussels; a few only from the National Archives of Paris. Of the Simancas papers, from which Bergenroth's collection of transcripts is almost exclusively taken, no further account is required, the subject having been exhausted in the prefaces to the two preceding volumes. However, as the readers will occasionally find letters and papers abstracted without any reference on the margin to the volumes and pages of that collection, a few words will perhaps be required to explain this circumstance. As far as regards the arrangement and classing of the papers, and the formation of indexes to facilitate research, no great progress has been made at Simancas, and things are pretty much in the same state as they were when Bergenroth left that establishment in 1870.* The contemplated removal of the State Papers to a larger and more commodious building in the capital or its immediate neighbourhood† has not yet been carried into effect, and instead of acting as an incentive to the chief and to the clerks of those Archives to prosecute the task already commenced of sorting and classifying the papers of the various reigns, has naturally rather had the effect of stopping further classification for the present. Hence follows that since Bergenroth's departure from that ruinous castle, where the

* *See* Gustave Bergenroth; a Memorial sketched by W. C. Cartwright. Edinburgh 1870, pp. 56 *et seq.*

† Calendar, &c., vol. iii., parts 1 and 2, Introductions.

papers of Castille have been kept ever since the time of Philip II., and since the present editor's late visits to those Archives, fresh papers relating to the reign of the Emperor Charles, and closely connected with English history, have been daily turning up, and now require insertion in their proper places. Generally speaking these are of no great importance; they reveal no new facts concerning the wearisome divorce case, or other points of English history, and yet, closely connected as they are with the despatches of Imperial ambassadors both at Rome and in London, it has been considered fitting and opportune to include them here, that they may facilitate the labours of future historians of this reign.

It has already been stated elsewhere* that in consequence of the wanton spoliation of the Archives of Simancas by the French in 1810—which notwithstanding the repeated applications of the Spanish Government has never been acknowledged or compensated—many important documents relating to the reign of Charles and his successors of the house of Austria are now in the French capital. The correspondence, however, of the Imperial ambassadors in Rome, Venice, Genoa, Ferrara, and Mantua, as well as the letters of Pescara, Bourbon, Vasto, Leyva, the prince of Orange, and other generals, remains untouched, forming as it were the base of this and preceding calendars; and that portion, undoubtedly the most valuable, comprising the letters of Praët, Mendoza, Chapuys, and other ambassadors in England, was never kept at Simancas. On the 27th of July 1529 Charles sailed from Barcelona to Savona for the avowed purpose of being crowned at Bologna as Emperor and King of the Romans, meeting the Turks in Hungary, pacifying the dissensions of Germany, and most

* See Calendar, vol. iii., part 1, Introduction, p. v.

likely also inducing the Pope to pronounce sentence in the divorce suit. He remained in Germany and Flanders till the 13th of November 1532, then went again to visit Bologna, and hold an interview with Clement, after which he embarked at Genoa, and on the 21st of April 1533 landed at Rosas, in Catalonia. During this interval of nearly four years spent out of Spain it stands to reason that the despatches of the Imperial ambassadors in France and England should be addressed to Brussels, where they might still have been, had not the Austrian Government, shortly after the battle of Fleurus, in 1794, ordered their removal to Vienna. It is not so easy to account for the fact of such correspondence during the remainder of 1533, the whole of 1534, and part of 1535, when Charles was in Spain preparing for his African expedition, being likewise addressed to Brussels, unless the proximity of Flanders and the Netherlands both to England and France, and the circumstance of the ambassadors themselves being natives of those countries, and not writing Spanish, rendered the keeping of such letters and documents in the Belgian Archives more convenient.* However this may be, the whole of what may be properly called the French and English correspondence in this volume and in succeeding ones, is, owing to the above causes, preserved either at Vienna, where the present editor has examined it, or at Paris, whence copies have been procured.

Respecting the writers of the despatches some notice is perhaps required, inasmuch as in the short interval between the meeting of the Queen Dowager of France

* With the single exception of Don Iñigo de Mendoza, all the rest of Charles' ambassadors about this time and long after were natives of Burgundy, the Franche-Conté, Hainault, or the Low Countries. As to Praët Perrenot de Granvelle, Bonvalot, le Sieur de Courbaron, and Jean Hannaert, sieur de Liede Karke, were all born in his Burgundian dominions and wrote in French.

(Louise de Savoie) and Margaret of Austria, at Cambray for the purpose of putting an end to the Italian wars, and Charles' arrival at Cologne and return to Flanders several changes occurred among the diplomatists charged with the management of his affairs in foreign parts, principally in England and France as well as at Rome.

Mendoza.

On the 7th of May 1529, when the present volume begins, Don Iñigo de Mendoza was still Charles' ambassador in England; a prisoner "on parole," but under no great restraint, since he was allowed to write home, and cross over to Calais, where he remained until the 1st of June, and the arrival there of the intelligence that, according to agreement Henry's ambassadors at the Imperial Court, Dr. Edward Lee and the bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), had crossed the Spanish frontier into France.* Don Iñigo was at Brussels on the 17th of June. His despatch from that capital describing his last conference, when he took leave of both King and Cardinal, contains also a summary of his previous letters wherein the subject of a separate peace with England, such as the Emperor wished it to be, had been discussed.† During his stay in Flanders Don Iñigo was naturally consulted on the mercantile relations between England and the Low Countries, on the divorce question, which was then assuming large proportions, and on all other points connected with the treaty of Cambray, about to be concluded by the combined efforts of the "two Ladies." He was present

* Mendoza promised under his faith and honour not to leave the English dominions before Henry's ambassadors had crossed the French frontier. Should they be detained in Spain through accident or otherwise, the Imperial ambassador bound himself to return to Calais, and constitute himself prisoner in the hands of the governor. *See* pp. 55, 94.

† *See* No. 44, p. 89.

in February 1530 at the Emperor's coronation in Bologna, and after that sent by him to Naples to arrange certain matters connected with the administration of that kingdom, and the sale of the property confiscated from the rebel barons, both which matters, placed as they were in the hands of cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who succeeded Philibert de Chalon, prince of Orange, in the vice-regal office,* were in a precarious state. After Don Iñigo's departure Jean le Sauch, who had been formerly in England as ambassador from the Low Countries,† was the bearer of credentials for cardinal Wolsey, who procured him an audience from the King at Windsor. His object this time was to announce the approaching conferences at Cambray, designed with a view to a general peace, as well as the Emperor's resolution to visit Italy, and the appointment of Chapuys to succeed Don Iñigo in the embassy.

Chapuys.

Of this latter diplomatist, whose despatches will henceforward form the principal and most important part of this and succeeding volumes, very little is known except that he was a Swiss by birth, perhaps a native of Geneva,§ over which city the dukes of Savoy had then certain claims. This last conjecture seems very probable, since previous to his appointment at Barcelona, which must have taken place at the end of May, he was sent by Charles to the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.), on the same mission perhaps which a few months after was entrusted to the president of Burgundy (Hughes Marmier), to the

* From January 1523 to August 1525.

† His instructions on this occasion are abstracted at p. 109, No. 52. They were signed by Margaret, the governess of the Low Countries.

‡ Colonna at first was only the Prince's lieutenant whilst at the head of the Imperial forces the latter laid siege to Florence, but after Chalon's death at Favignana Charles confirmed the appointment.

§ In a letter from the Emperor to the duke of Lorraine (Antoine) Eustace Chapuys is called "officier de Genesve et de mon conseil aux pays d'en bas." *See* p. 99, No. 47; p. 116, No. 57; and p. 177, No. 120.

treasurer of Besançon (François Bonvalot), and to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla.*

Chapuys' instructions bear the date of Barcelona, the 25th of June 1529. But owing to his journey to Monaco, Turin, and Geneva, and to his subsequent stay at Bruxels, where he held more than one interview with Don Iñigo, he did not reach London till the end of August, and owing to Henry's temporary absence from London could not obtain an audience till the 18th of September.† The memorandum advising measures to prevent the conclusion of an offensive alliance between England and France, abstracted in vol. iii., part 2, of this Calendar, and wrongly ascribed to Chapuys, cannot possibly be his,‡ but Don Iñigo's, who was still detained in London; the allusions there made by the writer of the paper admitting of no other construction.§

His name is written in various ways, sometimes Chappuis, at others Chapuys; he himself signs "Eustache Chapuys," and in two or three instances "Chappuys." The Spaniards and Italians called him *Capucho* and *Capoccio.*

Respecting Jean de le Sauch, Guillaume de Montfort, and Pierre de Rosymboz, who from time to time came to England on extraordinary missions from the Lady Margaret of the Low Countries, or from the Emperor himself, enough has been said in the introduction and notes to the preceding volumes. I will, however, observe that the second named

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* See *Papiers de Granvelle* by Weiss, vol. i., p. 486.
See his despatch to Margaret, No. 152, p. 213.

‡ The title of it is: *Discours de Chapuys concernant le faict d'Angleterre.*

§ "Item: fauldroit aussy trouver par tout moyens de bouter diffidence entre les dits roys d'Engleterre et de France, et s'il y icy avoit aultre ambassadeur que moy, il le pourroit bien faire en hantant beaucoup les ambassadeurs français, ce que le ne puys faire pour le malcontentement que le dit sieur Legat (Wolsey) a á l'encontre de moy." Vol. iii., part 2, 486.

was a Burgundian, grand squire to the Emperor, and that his death at Mantua in 1530 is recorded by Vandenesse.* Rosymboz,† who no doubt is the same person alluded to by Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador in London, in his despatches to the Doge dated June the 11th and July 31st 1532, was a native of Flanders. He came twice to England: once in 1530, to help Chapuys in his attempt to obtain Henry's assistance against the Turk, and again in 1532, as will be seen hereafter, charged with a mission to king James of Scotland.

Bonvalot.

In France Louis de Praët, and Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, took alternately care of the Emperor's affairs, until some time after Francis' challenge, the latter was confined to the castle of Vincennes, in retaliation for the arrest of the French ambassadors in Spain. After the payment of the ransom and consequent liberation of the sons of France (Francis the Dauphin, and Henri Duke of Orleans), a brother-in-law of Granvelle, who by that time had risen greatly in the Emperor's favour, and been appointed to succeed Mercurino di Gattinara in some, if not in all, of his charges,‡ was appointed to the French embassy. His name was François de Bonvalot, canon and treasurer of the metropolitan church of Besançon, abbot of St. Vincent and of Luxeuil, in Burgundy, and lastly

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* *Journal des Voyages de Charles-Quint par Jean de Vandenesse, ou Chroniques Belges. Publiées par ordre du Gouvernement.* Tome II. Brussels, 1874, pp. 94 and 100.

† The alteration of his name into the *Rolimbo* and *Rozimbo* of Sanuto's Diary has been no doubt the cause of Mr. Rawdon Brown, generally so exact, presuming that those names were meant to designate Monsieur de Rochambeau or Rochambaux, about whom I have in vain tried to learn particulars. See *Venetian Calendar*, vol. iv., pp. 778 and 782.

‡ Gattinara retained the post of High Chancellor till his death on the 4th of May 1530. Perrenot did not succeed him in that office, as some historians have stated, for it was suppressed and never after re-established. See *Papiers d'etat du cardinal Granvelle, tome i., notice priliminaire p. iv.*

governor of that see during the minority of Claude de la Baume, whom he ultimately succeeded. His sister, Nicole, married Nicolas Perrenot, to which circumstance is no doubt to be attributed his own rapid rise in office, as well as his nomination to the embassy of France, at a time when Francis' interference in the deliberations of the Sorbonne, about to pronounce its opinion on the divorce case, his close alliance with this country, and his constant desire of having the provisions of the treaty of Cambray altered with regard to Milan, required all the watchfulness and foresight of the most consummate diplomatists.

It was at Rome, then the centre of European politics, that the above-named questions and others of equal importance were to be discussed. The treaty of Barcelona, ratified by Clement VII. in June 1529, contained among its secret clauses both a project of conquest and a matrimonial alliance. As a token of friendship and reconciliation the Emperor was to subdue Florence, re-establish in it the rule of the Medici, and give his own natural daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Alessandro duke of Penna, Clement's nephew. The Pope, on the other hand, was to shut his ears to the professions and offers of the French, keep them out of Italy, and above all decide the divorce question in a manner agreeable to Charles. How far Clement fulfilled his most solemn engagements on the occasion the following pages will shew. After a most desperate struggle Florence was obliged to submit, and deprived of the constitution which in form, at least, had been maintained by Cosmo de' Medici and his descendants, and placed under the absolute rule of Alessandro. Charles' pressing solicitations for the meeting of a General Council with a view to the settlement of religious disputes in Germany and the prevention of civil war were completely disregarded; assistance against the invading Turk was

feebly granted, and ultimately under various pretences withdrawn by France and England. In short Clement's shifting policy respecting the divorce case, his commission to Campeggio and Wolsey, which he had in the first instance promised never to revoke; his subsequent advocation of the suit to Rome, and refusal to have it tried in England, must have encouraged Henry to a course of action most offensive to the Emperor, and to his aunt, queen Katharine. It seems as if Clement's conduct in this and other affairs, his frequent protestations of attachment, the constant renewal of promises which he never intended to fulfil, had no other object than to lull Charles into confidence, to embarrass his policy, and by reducing his power to increase his own.

Santa Croce.

That such was Clement's constant aim appears sufficiently clear from the despatches of cardinal Santa Croce,* who after the departure of Juan Perez for Naples in March 1528, remained in charge of the Imperial embassy. The sack of Rome and the Pope's imprisonment by Bourbon's ruthless mercenaries having become a pretext for Francis' and Henry's message of defiance and subsequent declaration of war at Burgos, all the attention of the Emperor was naturally turned towards Rome, and every effort made by him to conciliate the Pope, and gain him over to his side. It was about this time, in June 1528, that the Emperor, being at Monçon, on the frontier of Aragon, ready to hold the Cortes of that kingdom,

Mai.

resolved to send to Rome Miçer Miguel Mai,† a Catalonian lawyer of some repute, who seems to have been designated at first to act as Katharine's counsel in the

* Fr. Francisco Quiñones, general of the Franciscan friars, whom Clement promoted to the cardinalate in 1527. *See* vol. iii., part 2, Introduction, p. viii.

† Vol. iii., part 2, pp., 310, 804–5, 848.

divorce suit.* Though his instructions bear the date of the 1st of October, Mai did not embark at Barcelona till the end of that month. He reached Naples in November, and arrived in Rome at the end of 1528, at a time when Clement was so dangerously ill that he was not expected to live, and that most of the cardinals, and among them Santa Croce and others attached to the Emperor, were seriously thinking of repairing to Avignon and there proceeding to the election of a new Pope. The situation was delicate and fraught with danger. Apart from the clouds that darkened the political horizon on all sides, Mai had to contend against the vacillations of Clement who, unwilling to offend Henry or Francis, had made to the former promises which he never fulfilled, and baited the latter with the possession of Milan, after the death of Francesco Sforza, perhaps too, with that of Genoa, where his personal friend, Andrea Doria, ruled as chief magistrate. Though the divorce suit was by him advoked to the Rota at Rome, every possible subterfuge was invented to cause delay in the proceedings and impede the course of justice. Though powerfully assisted in his exertions by Praët, who in July 1529 was sent as extraordinary ambassador to Rome, Mai could never prevail upon Clement to pronounce definitive sentence. That he was frequently thwarted in his plans by cardinal Santa Croce, by Muxetula and by others who, having frequent access to the Pope, and enjoying his confidence, were, as churchmen, prone to counteract rather than support the plans of a layman, seems evident from certain passages of his official and private correspondence, in which he complains of their

* *See* the Introduction to vol. iii., part 2, pp. ix–xi. The only particulars since obtained concerning him are that he was probably the son of Juan Mai, regent of the Audiencia of Barcelona, who in 1466 was sent to Naples with the galleys of Catalonia, as recorded by Feliu de la Peña, *Anales de Cataluña*, p. 115. He is elsewhere said to have been the nephew of the bishop of Badajoz [Mesa].

impeding the course of justice by too ready acquiescence in Clement's specious arguments and dilatory expedients.

Neither Santa Croce nor Muxetula* was properly speaking a colleague of Mai's, and yet the influence of both over Clement seems to have been very great at one time. The former represented the Emperor from February 1529 till the arrival of Mai; the latter had been with the Pope, first at Orbieto and afterwards at Viterbo. Both had no doubt special missions from Charles, but as their respective instructions have not been found it is natural to conclude that they were secret and perhaps of a nature to jar with those given to Mai in October 1528. That both accidentally dissented from him on such points as the convocation of the General Council, strongly recommended by Charles as the only means of putting an end to German dissensions, appears certain from the tenour of their official correspondence. The Imperial ambassador strongly suspected Clement's sincerity not only as regards the Council, but likewise on the divorce case; his despatches shew how differently he thought on those matters from the long-robed politicians whom Charles employed from time to time about the Pope.†

* Giovan Antonio Muxetula, or *Muscetula*, as he himself sometimes signs his name, went to Rome in November 1526, soon after the sack of that city by the Imperialists, on a mission from Don Hugo de Moncada, and the Collateral Council of Naples, the object of which was to intercede for the Colonnese. In May 1528 he was sent by the prince of Orange to Orbieto to represent the Emperor in the absence of an ambassador. The year after, in 1529, he was appointed Commissary-General to the Imperial armies, in the room of Lope de Soria. He went to Florence soon after the surrender of that city, and was employed in various missions, though principally residing at Rome, and on no very good terms with Mai, as will be seen in the course of this publication.

† Several passages in Mai's despatches to the Emperor are explicit enough shewing his distrust of the Pope, especially in his dealings with the divorce case. At one time he would not consent to the suspension of the proceedings asked by the English and French ambassadors—and recommended also by cardinal Loaysa and Muxetula—until he received positive orders from the Emperor not to oppose the measure.

As Emperor of Germany and king of Spain Charles felt the necessity of always having at Rome both churchmen and laymen to represent him, and when the divorce suit was advoked thither by Clement he had invariably one cardinal, sometimes two, to promote his interests in that capital. In this manner Santa Croce, of whom we hardly hear anything after Charles' coronation at Bologna, was succeeded by the bishop of Jaen, and afterwards by no less a personage than Charles' confessor, Fray Garcia de Loaysa Mendoza, bishop of Osma.

Loaysa.

Of this remarkable ecclesiastic very little is known, except that he was born at Talavera de la Reyna, in New Castille, the son of Pedro Loaysa and Doña Catalina de Mendoza. Having in early youth entered the convent of Dominican friars at Peñafiel, he became soon counsel (*definidor*) and afterwards general of his order (1518). His biographers* say that during the war of the Commons he was most instrumental in reducing to obedience Don Pedro Lasso, "regidor" of Toledo, a service which the Emperor rewarded by appointing him his confessor, and giving him a place in his Privy Council. He accompanied Charles to Bologna, but for reasons hitherto unexplained, when the former left for Germany, Loaysa was deprived of his post of confessor, and sent to Rome as extraordinary ambassador. Some court intrigue seems to have been the cause of this temporary separation, which the good bishop, soon after promoted by Clement

* Besides Gil Gonzalez Davila, who wrote the life of this prelate (*Theatro Ecclesiastico de las Iglesias de las dos Castillas*, vol. iv., pp. 70–1), a fuller notice may be found in Loperraez Corvalan, *Descripcion Historica del obispado de Osma*, vol. iv., pp. 404–7, as well as in Zuñiga *Anales eclesiasticos y seculares de la ciudad de Sevilla*, lib. xiv., p. 503, for he was also archbishop of that see from 1538 to his death in 1546. His appointment to the church of Osma took place in 1525; he was promoted to Siguenza in 1532, Commissary-General of the Crusade in 1536, and Grand Inquisitor from the 27th of March to the 22nd of April 1546, the day of his death.

to the cardinalate,* always resented as a disgrace, for in his despatches to the Emperor, and private letters to Covos, he makes frequent allusions to what he calls his "unjust banishment," and his loss of the Emperor's favour in consequence, he says, of acts wrongly imputed to him and of which he was entirely innocent.† What these acts may have been it is not easy to determine. According to Gucciardini‡ when the news of Francis' capture arrived at Toledo, the Emperor's usual residence while in Spain, a Council was held to deliberate on the best means of turning the same to advantage. "At which Council," says that historian, "Don Fadrique second duke of Alba, the High "Chancellor Mercurino di Gattinara, and others insisted "upon the most rigorous terms as the price of the King's "freedom, whilst Loaysa recommended a more magna-"nimous course, and such generous terms as would "bind the King in future by the ties of gratitude, and "secure also a lasting peace." But there is reason to doubt this statement though reproduced by Sandoval without any further proofs. Fr. Garcia was not appointed to the Emperor's Privy Council till§ 1526, more than one year after the battle of Pavia, when the Madrid Convention‖ had been signed, and the King himself released from captivity, besides which there is no evidence of such an opinion, if ever entertained by the Bishop, having brought on him the Emperor's displeasure as asserted by that historian. The thing must have occurred at Bologna, soon after Charles' coronation, which took place on the

* In 1530 under the title of Santa Sabina.

† *See* his letters of the 13th May and 8th June.

‡ *See* Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia*, Friburgo, 1776, 4to, vol. iv., p. 23.

§ Garcia y Duran (Don Francisco Xavier) *Theatro Universal de España*, vol. iv., p. 45.

‖ The treaty or convention of Madrid (persistently called *concordia* by Sandoval and the rest of the Spanish writers, as if it were not a definitive treaty) was signed on the 14th of January 1526.

24th of February 1530, for on the 22nd of the ensuing March, the Imperial Court left for Mantua, and on the 25th, according to Vandenesse,* Fr. Garcia, already created cardinal, departed for Rome, his post of confessor having been given to Dr. Quintana. On the 13th of May he wrote to the Emperor: "I arrived here " (at Rome) five days ago on the 8th inst., sad and disap- " pointed, considering that I am coming away from Your " Majesty's presence, and that as long as I am detained " here I shall be restless and unhappy. My only con- " solation is that one of these days Your Majesty will " acknowledge that my attendance at Court was not alto- " gether unserviceable, and therefore that this my exile " will be ended, and I myself allowed, if not to follow you " in your travels for certain temporal considerations, at " least to go back to Spain and reside in my church of Osma. " Your Majesty has had the best of me this time: I have " been cast away from your presence; your word has been " fulfilled, and your resolution carried into effect." Again " on the 8th of June he wrote: " So repugnant to me is my " residence at this place (Rome) that I should have been " driven to despair had not Your Majesty's kind letter of " the 22nd ult° been a comfort to me, as well as a presage " that some day or other you will bear this in mind, that to " cast away and disgrace faithful servants, and to sentence " them to exile for the fault of others is decidedly wrong."

Was this and were other similar paragraphs in the Cardinal's correspondence dictated by a sense of Christian humility, or were they the expression of offended pride? However this may be, his letters evince such a spirit of independence, and such unrestrained tone of admonition and occasional reproof that we cannot but respect the man who spoke such a language to his Imperial master. Most of

* Voyages des Souverains des Pays Bas, vol. ii., p. 95.

Fray Garcia's original despatches to the Emperor between the 13th of May 1530, and the 8th of June 1532, were published at Berlin in 1848 with a German translation and preface by Dr. G. Heine,* who two years before had paid a long visit to Simancas for that purpose. But, as is often the case, that scholar could not see all the Cardinal wrote, more letters having been found since his departure from Simancas, and especially several addressed to Francisco de los Covos, Charles' confidential secretary and adviser.

Some remarks about the manner of conducting business at the court of Charles may perhaps be opportune, the better to understand the meaning of the Cardinal's letters to Covos. It was at this time the usual practice for ambassadors and agents abroad to address their despatches to the Emperor. The secretaries of the various departments, Soria, Garcia, Idiaquez, and Vazquez read them first, made a summary of their contents, which Covos afterwards submitted to the Emperor, and returned, not unfrequently, with the Emperor's autograph decrees on the margins. Now and then the better to explain the meaning of certain passages in their official despatches, sometimes written in cipher, or in order to justify their conduct in words that might sound irreverent to the Emperor's ears, or bring forward their own private affairs and represent their wants—a too frequent occurrence in those times —Charles' ambassadors addressed Covos in private, and Loaysa was not the last in confiding to the High Commander of Leon his most secret thoughts. Indeed, his letters to that secretary, then at the head of the foreign department, will perhaps explain many an obscure passage in his official correspondence, and lead us into the most secret grooves of Clement's policy.

Don Estevan Gabriel Merino, the 22nd in number

* Briefe an Kayser Karl V., geschrieben von Seinen Beichtvater in den Jahren 1530–32, &c., von Dr. G. Heine, Berlin, 1848.

among the bishops of Jaen, in Andalusia, was another of the prelates appointed by Charles to represent him at Rome. He was a native of San Esteban del Puerto in that kingdom (1462), the son of Alonso Merino and Doña Mayor Amorcuende. His antecedents were humble enough. After studying for some years at Salamanca he was attached to the household of an ecclesiastic in the service of cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who on his return to Rome took Merino with him, and procured him a lucrative employment in the Vice-Chancellor's office. Here his assiduity and his talent so far gained him the affection of the Cardinal that when in consequence of his quarrel with Leo X. Pompeo was obliged to fly from Rome and take refuge in France, he took Merino with him as one of his secretaries, and upon his return to that capital had him appointed to a canonry in Jaen together with the archdeaconry of Baeza in that cathedral. Merino, however, did not leave Rome on this occasion, but continued to enjoy Papal favour until Leo X. entrusted to him certain business of importance. This he discharged so well that in 1517 he was made archbishop of Bari, and Apostolic Nuncio in Spain, which office he is said to have filled so much to the satisfaction of Charles, that he was, besides all that this office involved, employed in matters of the greatest importance for Spain, and rewarded with the bishopric of Leon. When in May 1520 Charles left for Flanders, and his preceptor, cardinal Adrian, who, two years after was raised to the pontificate, was entrusted by him with the government of his Spanish kingdoms, Merino was appointed Lord Chief Justice (*Justicia Mayor*) of Toledo, in which capacity he rendered great services, gained a signal victory over the "*Comuneros*," and contributed greatly to put down that formidable rebellion. As a reward Merino was promoted in 1522 to the see of Jaen, as well as to the newly created "Patriarchate of the

Indies." In 1529 he was sent again to Italy to announce Charles' intended journey, and prepare things for his coronation. He accompanied Clement to Bologna, was raised to the cardinalate in the same year and went back with him to Rome, where he staid until he was sent to Venice on a mission. Mai, the ambassador, complains occasionally of him and of Muxetula as of men who, having frequent access to the Pope, and being deceived by him, made frequently statements contrary to his own, and often undid the good that might otherwise have been worked. So versatile was Clement's temper, and such his taste for political intrigue that we cannot help thinking Mai's accusations to have been to a certain extent well founded.

Garay.

Conjointly with Miçer Miguel Mai, two more Spanish churchmen, one in Paris, the other in Rome, had special charge of watching the divorce suit. Of the former, Garay, we only know that he resided many years in Paris, was a doctor in theology, and received from the Imperial ambassador, Bonvalot, the commission of watching the proceedings of the Faculty at the Sorbonne, when called upon to give its opinion in the divorce case. His letters, which like many other papers relating to this period, are preserved in the National Archives of France, being part of the spoil made at Simancas, are for the most part in Bergenroth's collection of transcripts. Of his

Ortiz.

colleague, Dr. Ortiz, we are able to give more particulars. He was a native of Valladolid, had gained high degrees at the university of Salamanca, where he obtained a professorship, and made himself conspicuous as a canonist. In October 1530, and when the divorce suit was being tried at the Rota, Dr. Ortiz* whose Christian

* Dr. Pedro Ortiz had two brothers, *Juan* and *Francisco*, the latter of whom, a Franciscan friar, must have got into trouble with the Inquisition, for on the 23rd of February 1533 he was still under arrest at his own convent of Alcalá, owing, as it is said, to an indiscreet sermon preached some years before.

name seems to have been *Pedro,* was on the recommendation of Don Iñigo de Mendoza and Nicolas Perrenot,† sent out from Spain to Rome to act as Katharine's proctor. His despatches give us the idea of a fiery zealot, well versed, it is true, in scholastic theology, but at the same time exceedingly vain and presumptuous. His credulity must have been beyond measure, for in one of his despatches, which will be abstracted in the second part of this volume, he does not hesitate to assert that "queen Katharine slew with her own hand king James IV. of Scotland at the battle of Flodden!"

Soria, Figueroa, Caracciolo,

Lope de Soria, Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, and prothonotary Marino Caracciolo have each had their separate notices in the introduction to the preceding volumes. The former continued to report from Siena, whither he was sent before the siege and fall of Florence, to settle the various feuds by which that Republic was distracted, negotiate the recall of the "fuorusciti," or political emigrants, and above all maintain its citizens in the Emperor's devotion at a time when the still unsettled state of affairs in Germany, the threatened invasion of Hungary by the Turk, the attempt made by Francis to have the treaty of Cambray modified in some of its clauses, and his constant cravings after the duchy of Milan, rendered it imperative for Charles to remove all causes of discord, as well as every pretence for French intervention in the affairs of Italy. At Genoa Gomez Suarez de Figueroa had charge of watching the movements of Andrea Doria, whose fidelity was somewhat suspected, whilst Caracciolo's business at Milan, as chief justice and chancellor, consisted in maintaining the Emperor's feudal rights over the Duchy. The secret instructions given to him, conjointly with Antonio de Leyva, to treat with the

* See p. 565, No. 322.

marquis, afterwards duke, of Mantua, are a sufficient proof of the trust the Emperor placed in him.* Although St. Pol's defeat at Landriano in 1529, and the consequent breaking up of the Italian league, the advances made by Clement to the Imperial ambassadors at Rome, and the mission of the bishop of Vaison† to Barcelona were fair harbingers of the peace and alliance signed on the 5th of August 1529, it was nevertheless very important for the Emperor that the country he purposed to visit should be entirely pacified on his arrival, the services of the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) and of the marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) secured, and the future destinies of the duchy of Milan settled in a permanent way, so as to please Clement and particularly the Venetians, who dreaded above all things the retention of the Duchy by the Emperor, or his bestowing the investiture of it upon his brother Ferdinand. Caracciolo's negotiations were crowned with success; Francesco Sforza was again re-instated in his duchy on condition of paying a heavy fine; the duke of Ferrara, allured by the promise of help and favour in his long disputes with Clement about Reggio and Modena, remained strictly neutral, and joined at last the new Italian league proposed by Charles, whilst Federigo Gonzaga accepted willingly the command in chief of the Imperial troops, vacant by the death of the prince of Orange slain at Favignana, and contributed most effectively to the pacification of Italy.

Niño. After the peace signed at Cambray on the 5th of August 1529, Caracciolo was sent to Venice to treat

* No. 53, p. 112.

† This bishop, whose real name was Jerome Sclède (Scledeus), and not Selade or Seladeus, as he has been erroneously designated by those who have preceded me in the compilation of this Calendar, was a Frenchman by birth, a chamberlain to Clement, and employed by him in various missions.

with the Signory. He went thither with a Spanish nobleman named Don Rodrigo Niño, who, upon the Prothonotary's return to Milan, remained in charge of the Imperial embassy. Of this Niño, whose despatches are in remarkable accord with Sanuto's diary and the very interesting papers published by Rawdon Brown, we are unable to furnish particulars. We suppose him to have been the son of Hernando, and the great grandson of that chivalrous Don Pedro, count of Buelna, who in 1403 commanded the Spanish fleet against the Moorish pirates in the Mediterranean, and who two years later, during the war between France and England, joined the Constable Charles D'Albret, count of Dreux, in an expedition against the English coast.*

Papers about the divorce abound at Simancas; some are original, others copies from the Vatican. In 1565 Philip II. commissioned an Aragonese lawyer of the name of Juan Berzosa, or Verzosa, to go to Rome, and have transcripts made of all papers that might interest Spain in an ecclesiastical as well as political point of view, and especially of all those relating to Henry's divorce from his queen, Katharine. What can have been Philip's object in thus procuring copies from the Vatican on a question long forgotten we cannot guess, unless he had at the time some idea of disputing Elizabeth's accession to the throne on the ground of illegitimacy. That a few years before his own marriage to Mary in 1545, and during Somerset's protectorate, an attempt was made to establish and uphold the right of Katharine's daughter to the succession, seems very probable from the fact that attested copies were made

* The "*Cronica de Don Pedro Niño*" by Gutierre Diez de Gamez, his pennon bearer (*alferez*), was first published at Madrid, in 1872, by Don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola, in one volume, 4to. It is one of the most stirring chronicles of that age, and contains many interesting details about Plymouth, Southampton, and other ports visited by the count during his privateering expeditions.

by that King's order of the interrogatories addressed in 1531 to various persons of that Queen's household, with a view to prove her marriage with Henry to have been lawful and contracted under proper and legitimate dispensation. However this may be, the reader will find scattered through the present volume a number of papers against the divorce, such as the opinions of universities in Spain, as well as those of Spanish and Italian canonists consulted thereupon. Several are in Bergenroth's collection; a few have a date and have been calendared accordingly; most are without it, and have been placed at the end of the volume, in a supplement, as it was very uncertain whether they belonged to the end of 1530, or ought to be calendered within 1531. It would appear, however, that owing no doubt to the difficulty of procuring evidence after so many years, the papers and deeds were not forwarded to Rome as soon as Miçer Mai expected; for on the 2nd* of October 1530 he wrote to the High Commander: "The proceedings "against the divorce suit are at a standstill; contrary to my "expectations the papers and documents I have so often "applied for have not yet arrived." On the 18th he thus addressed the Emperor: "A copy of the proceedings in- "stituted in England by the two legates Wolsey and "Campeggio) is absolutely necessary; without it nothing "can be done here." Chapuys was accordingly ordered to procure the papers, but on the 13th of November answered, "an attested copy of such legal proceedings is out "of the question and cannot be obtained in England." All through 1531 Mai insisted on the necessity of fresh testimony being forwarded to Rome from Spain as a proof that Katharine's marriage to prince Arthur had been contracted for the purpose of a closer alliance between

* Nos. 342 and 390, pp. 649 and 666.

the kings of Spain and England, and that motives of policy had likewise determined her union to Henry VIII. A most scrupulous search was then instituted throughout Spain and an application made to Ruiz de Puebla, whose father had been ambassador in England, as well as to Miguel Perez de Almaçan, Quintana, Conchillos, and others among Ferdinand's secretaries. At Burgos, Valladolid, Toledo, and other towns of Castille, as well as at Saragossa, in Aragon, orders* were received by the magistrates and "Corregidores" to examine witnesses; all persons, male or female, who once belonged to Katharine's

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* That which in the months of July and August 1531 was sent to Saragossa for the examination of witnesses has been preserved, and is now in the libary of the Royal Academy of History. It is a volume in folio, of 160 pages, containing the declarations of no less than fifteen persons who had resided in England or Wales, or frequented the court of Ferdinand and Isabella from 1501 to 1512, and heard the King speak about the marriage. Their names are: Juan de Vbeda, a native of Saragossa, and nephew of Dr. Alcaraz, Katharine's physician, 53 years old; he came to England with his uncle and remained until the death of Arthur. 2. Miguel Velasquez Clement, knight of Saragossa, married; 65 years old. 3. Mossen Francisco de Alfaro, knight of Saragossa, gentleman of the chamber to king Ferdinand. 4. Don Juan de Lanuça, high commander of Calatrava, for the kingdom of Aragon, bachelor; 60 years old; he came from Flanders to England in 1512 and visited Katharine. 5. Mossen Pero de Ariola, knight of Saragossa; spent two whole years in England and Wales. 6. Mossen Anthon Ferriol, knight; of Ferdinand's chamber. 7. Mossen Joan Vinyol, a citizen of Saragossa; visited France and England. 8. Mossen Joan de Gamarra, Lord Lieutenant in Logroño, Calahorra and Alfaro, in Castille; was not in England, but frequented the court of Ferdinand and heard him speak about the marriage and its circumstances. 9. Hernando Lopez Benedit, alias Torrellas, came to England from Flanders in the suite of the most Reverend Juan de Aragon, the grandson of king Ferdinand, in 1512. 10. The Reverend Juan de Aragon, who was then archbishop of Saragossa. 11. Don Juan Muñoz, prior to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary of the Corporals at Daroca, who went to England in 1512, in the said archbishop's suite. 12. Augustin de la Puente, citizen of Saragossa; in England with the archbishop. 13. Doña Yolant de Albion, of the bed chamber of queen Isabella. 14. Elizabeth Fabra, widow of Don Raymond d'Espès, also of the Queen's chamber. 15. Joan de Barcarans, a Frenchman from Oloron, in Bearn; a married man, 40 years old; resided in England from 1510 to 1516.

household, and were found still alive were closely interrogated as to the circumstances attending her first marriage. Yet only a small portion of the papers thus procured reached Rome, and when they did they were, as will be seen, of no use.

As Berzosa's collection, now preserved at Simancas, may be of use hereafter, I subjoin a summary of its contents as regards the divorce. It begins with the following title:

Incipiunt Scripturæ et gesta ac tractata (*sic*) circa matrimonium Regis Henrici Angliæ et Reginæ Catherinæ Catholicorum Regum filiæ.

1 *Censura Universitatis Bononiæ in qua matrimonium Henrici Regis Angliæ cum Catherina Catholicorum Regum filia invalidum declaratur anno* MDXXX.

2. *Responsio Pontificis super lite matrimonii inter Regem Angliæ et Reginam Catherinam.*

3. *Litera Regis Angliæ in qua conqueritur de Pontifice in causa matrimonii. Apud Hamptom Cour* (*sic*) *sexto die Decembris MDXXX.* Countersigned: *Petrus Vannes.*

4. *Signatura di sua Sanctita circa il matrimonio d'Inghilterra. Nec non tenor brevis in commissione causæ Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ, et Laurentio Sancti Calisti et Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Presbiteris Cardinalibus in Regno Angliæ, nostris et Apostolicæ Sedis legatis. Datum in Urbe Veteri anno* MDXXVIII. *Countersigned:* et, Episcopus Portuensis. — Lau[rentius], Episcopus Prenestinensis.—Jac. Simoneta.

5. *Tenor commissionis causæ in Curia.*

6. *Burgensis primæ remisoriæ.*

Commission and letters sent to the bishop of Burgos to have witnesses examined in Spain. The Bishop alluded to was Don Iñigo de Mendoza, Imperial ambassador in England between 1526 and 1529.

7. *Compostellani tertiæ remissoriæ.*

Similar commission and letters to the archbishop of Santiago, de Compostela Don Juan Tavera.

8. *Palentini quartæ remissoriæ.*

Addressed to the bishop of Palencia, Don Pedro Sarmiento, who died at Lucca on the 13th of October 1541.

9. *In curia Imperatricis remissoriæ.*

Letters addressed to the Empress Isabella for the examination of witnesses in Spain.

10. *Responsio Reverendissimi Anconitani.*

The answer by Accolti, cardinal of Ancona, to certain petitions of the English ambassadors.

11. *Responsio Pontificis ad Regem Angliæ.*

12. *Summa defensionis eorum quæ adversus Angliæ Regem constituta fuere. Quod rectè et legitimè S[anctitas] V[estra] mandavit quod ob contumaciam Regis eo absente in causa procederetur.*

13. *Quod legitima fuit Sanctitatis vestræ declaratio super attentatis facta.*

14. *Remissoriæ Casaraugustanæ ab Honorando Joanne Bernardi de Abançatis, mercatore Florentino, exhibitæ, de consensu atque ex parte Rev^di^ Patris Domini Pauli Capisuciis, juris utriusque doctoris, canonicæ basilicæ Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, Sanctissimi domini nostri domini Clementis Papæ, septimi.*

15. *Quæ per viam Consilii afferri possi videbuntur in causa Matrimonie Angli.*

16. *Allegationes super dispensationes.*

17. *Allegationes super dispensationem matrimonii cum uxore fratris. A. Fratre Felice Pratensi, Ordinis Heremiticæ Sancti Augustini.* (See No. 437, p. 729).

18. *Consilium Oldradi.*

19. *Petitiones Oratorum Angliæ.*

The above is a list of contents of one of the volumes in the Berzosa collection of transcripts from the Archives of

the Vatican. It is remarkable that neither the bull of pope Julius II., nor the brief of dispensation, the original of which was exhibited at Burgos to the English ambassadors (Dr. Lee and Ghinucci, the bishop of Worcester), is among them. Nor is it at Simancas, as far as I am aware, though the conclusions in favour of its validity by the universities of Salamanca, Alcalá, Granada, as well as the private opinions of such doctors and canonists as Illescas, Alfonso de Virués, Pisa, Sepulveda* and many others are carefully preserved.

Perrenot.

A few more words respecting those officials who during the time comprised in this Calendar enjoyed Charles' confidence, and were at the head of the administration will not be out of place here. After the death of Gattinara at Innsbruck, on the 4th of May 1530, Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, was made Keeper of the Seals.† It was through him, and through the Imperial Privy Council, composed of the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca), of cardinals Loaysa, Merino, and Tavera, of the dukes of Alba and Bejar, of the counts of Nassau, Osorno, Cifuentes, of Don Juan Manuel, Don Gutierre de Padilla, &c., that the political business of Charles' widely spread dominions was conducted. Francisco de los Covos who from a clerk in the office of Lope de Conchillos, rose in 1517 to the important post of one of Charles' secre-

Covos.

* In one of his despatches to the Emperor Dr. Ortiz says that his friend Juan Ginés de Sepulveda was at that time engaged in writing a work against the divorce which can be no other than his treatise *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione*, which was printed at Rome in the same year in 4to. That of Alfonso de Virués, cited by Sanderus, I have never seen in print.

† Le 4 [May] a Ysbrouch, où mourut le cardinal de Gatinaire, grand chancelier, et furent là delivrez les sçaulx au seigneur de Grandvelle. Vandenesse, *Journal des Voyages de Charles—Quint* in the *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol. ii., p. 95. The *Guarda-Sellos*, or Lord Privy Seal, was a different office from the chancellorship, which seems to have been suppressed.

taries, and who, after the disgrace and exile of Allemand, became secretary to the Emperor's Privy Council instituted in 1526, was also, as it were, his Minister of Foreign Affairs.* He was subsequently appointed High Commander of Leon, in the order of Santiago, "Adelantado," or frontier-captain of Cazorla in the archbishopric of Toledo, and duke of Sabiote. A native of Ubeda in the kingdom of Jaen, the son of Diego de los Covos and Doña Catalina de Molina, Covos enjoyed his master's utmost confidence till the day of his death, May 1547, when the Emperor is said to have written to his son Philip, "No greater loss "could I and you sustain than that which is now caused "by the death of faithful Covos."†

As usual this volume will have no index, and no "additions and corrections," both being reserved for the better convenience of the reader for the end of the second part. In place of the former a Table of Contents has been for the present substituted, the latter being meant to correct such errors as may have escaped the editor in abstracting the letters, as well as those mistakes which are only to be ascribed to the writers themselves—not always well informed—or to the copyists who in the various archives have undertaken the task of deciphering and transcribing the documents. In anticipation, however, of such a revise, reserved for the second part, I cannot but call attention to a few inaccuracies which might otherwise puzzle the

* L'Allemand's disgrace and fall has been recorded in the Introduction to vol. iii., part 2, p. xxii; he was sentenced to exile from Court, and incapacitated to hold office again. During the Emperor's stay at Brussels, however, in January 1530, he was absolved from certain charges brought against him "d'aulcunes intelligences, tratrisons ou intelligences avec France," and allowed to return to Spain, but he never after regained his master's favour. See *Journal des Voyages de Charles Quint*, p. 100.

† Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos* V., lib. xxix, p. 634, and *Juicio de la Dedicatoria de la Carta de Guia de Casados*, by Salazar; Salamanca, 1724, 4^to^, pp. 20–3.

reader. In the second note of page 1, allusion is made to a bishop of Vassone or Vassoniensis, who is frequently, I might add generally, designated by the name of Girolamo Selade (Seladeus or Seledeus). By referring, however, to the *Gallia Christiana* and other French authorities, I find that his true name was Jerome Sclède; that he was a Frenchman by birth, bishop of Vaison in the department of Vaucluse, and chamberlain to pope Clement.*

Though the protest of the Lutheran princes at No. 20, page 46, is clearly dated from Nüremberg, the 27th of May 1529, there must be error somewhere, for that document was drawn up one month before at Spires on the 19th of April, subscribed by the landgrave Philip and by the elector of Saxony on the 5th of May, and published on the 13th after their departure from that town. It is only by supposing the Simancas copy, which is in a contemporary handwriting, to have been addressed to Charles from Nüremberg that the difference in the dates and places can be reconciled. As to the instructions of Ferdinand, the king of Bohemia and Hungary to Diego Lasso de Castilla and Bonacursio di Trino (No. 21) bearing also the date of the 27th May, and placed immediately after in Bergenroth's volume,† it is evident that it can only apply to the year 1539, when the second diet of Nüremberg was held.

Again, at page 48, the names of the German princes who signed the above protest of Spires are incorrectly given in Mai's despatch to the Emperor dated the 27th (?) May, Count Hannalt can be no other than Wolfang, prince of Anhalt. That ambassador, who was not over particular in the spelling of foreign names, invariably calls the duke

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* See above, p. 19, *note*.

† See Catalogue of manuscripts in the Spanish language, vol. ii., p. 574, No. 71, where he is called Bonacurso de Grino (*sic*).

elector of Saxony duke of *Jassa*, mistaking him for Philip landgrave of Hesse, *i.e.*, Hassa or Hassia, as the Spaniards of that age designated both Hesse Cassel, and Hesse Darmstadt.* The letter of Martin de Salinas, though himself Ferdinand's ambassador, (No. 48, p. 99,) contains inaccuracies of the same sort; he renders "Reichs regiment" by "dieta" instead of "Regimiento," or municipality, and erroneously refers the meeting to Innsbruck instead of Esslinghen. Errors of this kind are frequent in the despatches of that ambassador, who as well as Christoval de Castillejo, Fernando de Salamanca, Castro, and others of Ferdinand's secretaries were natives of Spain and not sufficiently acquainted with the German language. Nor was Chapuys in London quite exempt from faults of this kind, as we shall be able to shew in the "Additions and Corrections" to the second part, which will likewise contain a list of errata scarcely to be avoided in a work of this kind, bristling with foreign words and names in almost every European language.

* Nor is the error to be attributed to the clerks at Simancas, who transcribed Mai's despatches for Bergenroth, for I have since consulted the originals written in his own hand, and found always *Jassa*, and sometimes Hessa, written for Sassa or Saxa. See among others his despatch of 14th of July 1530, p. 640, No. 337, which begins thus: "El duque de Hessa elector y cuatro principes mas de su liga luterana."

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1529.

7 May.

S. E. L. 806, f. 27.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 183.

1. Don Iñigo de Mendoza to the Emperor.

The Imperial letter granting him (Mendoza) permission to quit this country, where his health has always been so indifferent, arrived just in time to restore him to life (*me dió enteramente la vida*). The orders therein contained as to what he is to do before his departure have been already executed in part, and therefore but little remains to be done. This King wishes to have back one of his ambassadors [in Spain], namely, the Bishop of Worcester (*el obispo Vigornense*). Begs the Emperor to have him escorted to the frontier of Perpignan, where the exchange can easily take place.

As this is only a duplicate of what he (Mendoza) wrote on the 23rd and 27th ultimo,* there is no other news to be transmitted. Hopes to be able to quit England soon, and present his respects to the Emperor.—London, 7th May 1529.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoça."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1.

7 May.

S. E. Rom. L. 848, f. 138.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 192.

2. Cardinal Santa Croce to the Emperor.

The Pope's "maestro di Casa"† has taken his departure As by his ciphered despatch of the 25th ultimo, which was sent by a different route, His Imperial Majesty was duly informed of the object and purpose of the Bishop's mission, he (Santa Croce) need not dwell any longer upon it. (*Cipher:*) The Bishop goes [to Barcelona] as Papal Nuncio, though he does not intend residing at the Imperial Court. He takes with him the bulls of the Crusade and also a commission to apply for the [Papal] galleys in case His Imperial Majesty should change his mind, and not come over [to Italy]. He is likewise the bearer of full powers to contract a marriage between the Pope's nephew (Alessandro de' Medici) and the

* *See* vol. III., part 2, No. 675.
† Jerome Selade, the Bishop of Vaison. *See* vol. III., part 2, pp. 965–6.

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Emperor's niece [Margaret]. Whatever other commission he may take His Imperial Majesty will find out when he makes his appearance [at Barcelona].—Rome, 7th May 1529.

Spanish. Original, almost entirely in cipher. p. 1.

3. Miçer Miguel Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L., f. 38.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 315.

The English ambassadors have been lately urging the Pope to declare that the dispensation brief [of Julius II.] is a forgery. As Capua, Salviati, Tortosa, San Severino, and Cesarino—and in fact all the Cardinals of our party—have frequently warned me against English intrigues; as the Pope himself seems desirous that a formal protest should be entered by us in the Emperor's name, and the Queen's rights protected, a document of that kind has accordingly been drawn up after consulting as to its substance with the Hungarian ambassador (Borgo). Some words in it have been changed, and others omitted, which might perhaps have offended the Pope, and too greatly irritated the King of England, but on the whole the document contains all that is required for upholding the Queen's rights, as His Majesty will judge by the enclosed copy.*

Having subsequently requested His Holiness to appoint a notary of his Apostolic Chamber to make the notification to the parties, he promised at first to do so, though he was afraid, he said, of the English ambassadors alleging that the notary had been chosen by him. Next day, however, the Pope sent word that he thought it better not to appoint a notary at all, but that an application should be made to his chamberlain (*camarlengo*), who would then make the appointment forthwith. Later in the day the Pope sent another message through Sanga, saying he had thought about it, and saw no necessity for a notary at all. The protest could very well be entered by the Imperial ambassadors themselves at his (the Pope's) next audience (*signatura*), to prevent, as he said, the English from playing us a trick in the meantime.

I remonstrated against this last proposal, on the plea that I could not possibly wait any longer, for two very good reasons. The first, and principal one, because a messenger was soon to leave for Spain, and I wished to report on the actual state of the affair. The second, that Miçer Andrea del Burgo, ambassador of Ferdinand, the King of Hungary, who had likewise signed the protest, was often laid up with gout, and I wished

* The document here alluded to is not, as might be expected, appended to Mai's letter, but copies of it are to be found in other volumes at Simancas, entitled "*Relaciones y Tratados con Pontifices.*" It was originally presented on the 27th of April (*see* vol. III., part 2, No. 676), but whether the protest entered in May was in the same words, or differed materially from that of April, it is difficult to say. Mai informs us that certain words were suppressed in the latter not to wound the susceptibilities of Clement and Henry, and, therefore, it is natural to suppose that the original protest, as abstracted at page 978 of the said second part, was subsequently modified and altered.

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myself of his services on this occasion, as he happened to be in good health just now, and ready to attend the King's audience. If His Holiness were unwilling to grant my request and appoint a notary of his Apostolic Chamber to make the notification in due form, I could easily procure one of my own to do the work, inasmuch as my application for one from the Apostolic Chamber had been merely out of respect for His Holiness.

The day after Sanga returned, saying that the Pope agreed to this last proposal, but wished to know beforehand the contents of the protest. Read the paper to him word for word, and he entirely approved of it, observing that it was couched in very proper terms. That same day Miçer Andrea waited upon His Holiness, and it was decided that the audience (*signatura*) should take place on the following morning.

Went thither at the appointed hour, accompanied by Miçer Andrea, and by almost all the Spaniards now residing at Rome. Entered the room, and was duly informed by the Pope that should his own answer to the protest contain any harsh words against the Emperor, we, the Imperial ambassadors, were to take no notice whatever of them, but on the contrary might, and ought to have it circulated, just as it was. Knowing very well what the Pope meant by this, I replied, "*Beatissime Pater:* So we shall; only let Your Holiness see that justice is done, and leave the rest to us; we know how to help ourselves." After which Alonso de Cuevas, the Spaniard, entered the hall as notary, accompanied by two witnesses, Jacopo Salviati and Marradas.

Learned on the same day, through two spies I had in the palace, that the English orators had that very morning obtained an audience from the Pope, and come away from it very much annoyed and threatening (*muy enojados y bravos*). And so it turned out to be, for on the ensuing day the Pope himself confirmed the statement to me, adding that the English had openly declared to him that if the Queen did not consider England a safe place wherein to have her case tried, they on their part had no confidence in His Holiness' judgment when the Imperial forces were known to be almost at the gates of Rome. My reply was: "Your Holiness may judge of the prudence and discretion of these people from their words on this and other occasions. At one time they threaten and bluster; the next day they do not hesitate to say that they consider Rome an unsafe place in which to plead their King's suit. It is quite evident to me (I added), that what the English ambassadors intend is dragging Your Holiness to Avignon, and once there, leading you into all manner of political blunders (*errores*)."

This last argument made an impression on the Pope, and seemed to convince him, for immediately after he promised to fix a day for the audience (*hacer signatura*), and caused it to be announced for the next morning.

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Some hours after His Holiness sent a third message to the effect that it was but proper that I should communicate to the English ambassadors the time and object of the forthcoming audience (*signatura*), as well as the Imperial mandate, in virtue of which I and Andrea del Burgo were acting. This (His Holiness suggested) might easily be done by means of a tipstaff (*cursór*), to whom a copy of the Imperial protest might be given for the inspection of the opposite party.

To this proposal I objected, alleging that I had nothing to do with the English ambassadors, or with their king. My business was exclusively with the Pope, to whom I had often applied in the Emperor's name, begging him to have the Queen's cause advocated to his court. If, however, it was His Holiness' pleasure that the English ambassadors should be present at the reading of the protest the Dean of the referendaries might easily, in virtue of his office, send the intimation and summons to both parties. Yet, after mature consideration, and in order to comply as much as possible with the Pope's wishes, I consented. A tipstaff (*cursór*) was dispatched to the hotel of the English ambassadors, who are living together. He summoned them to appear the next day before the Pope, explained the object of the audience, exhibited the copies of the Imperial mandate and protest, and returned, having miraculously escaped without having his head broken.

All that day I endeavoured so to arrange matters that the Imperial advocates and solicitors should communicate with the referendaries (*referendarios*) of both parties. Sent them both (*unos y otros*) to confer with the English ambassadors and with the cardinals, so that everything should be ready (*prevenida*). It was, moreover, resolved that Andrea del Burgo should call upon Cardinal Ancona beforehand, which he did. The Cardinal could not deny the justice of our case, but observed that a protest such as the one we were about to enter would forcibly delay, and perhaps too injure, the negociations for peace. It was far better (he said) not to have the case advocated (*avocada*) to Rome just now, but only to suspend the proceedings for two or three months, until peace should be concluded. To which observation Burgo replied, "That the briefs which they (the English ambassadors) were trying to obtain under hand (*so manga*) would be far more injurious to the negociations for general peace than the protest about to be entered, and that if the Pope or anyone else thought that the Emperor would make peace the sooner in consequence of this pressure (*premia*), they were very much mistaken."

Seeing the affair about to take a bad turn, and perceiving, as Burgo did, that all this was only a stratagem [of the English] to keep the affair in suspense, and moreover, that if peace was not made now, a gate would be left open whereby the Emperor's interests might sustain injury, I went to the Pope again, and informed him that the intimation and summons had been made in due form, and that the protest was to be duly entered at

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his first "signatura." He had (I said) on a former occasion promised to Muxetula that it should be entered in due form, and if the Emperor now heard that the act had not taken place, as announced, he would naturally lay the blame on me. If so, I must decline the responsibility, and lay it at his door. I had learnt through my spies that the English ambassadors complained of the Pope being the cause of the conflict in which they were engaged. It was for him (they said) to get them out of the scrape.* If he did not, there was nothing left for them but to write home and report to their king. I did not attach much faith to reports of this kind; but if His Holiness wished me to disbelieve them it was absolutely necessary that he should act towards the Emperor as he was reported to have acted towards the English. The Pope made a long speech to persuade me of the contrary, but however strong his arguments, they did not convince me.

Told him besides that the English ambassadors had to my knowledge that very week presented a very rich fur (*un enforro muy rico*) to Cardinal Ravenna, the nephew of Ancona, and had dispatched besides a messenger to the latter before he came to Rome. The conference ended by the Pope assuring me that justice should be done, and that he would take care that nothing went wrong at the audience.

Called next on the Bishop of Castellamare, who is at present regent of the Chancery, and at night, half in disguise (*medio disfrazado*), on auditors Symoneta and Capisucio (Capisuccio), both worthy men, with whom I conversed, not only in my capacity of Imperial ambassador, as far as Your Majesty's political interests are concerned, but also as advocate and proctor to Her most Serene Highness, the Queen of England.

Next morning, fearing lest the English should be already in the Pope's palace (as they actually were), I went to St. Peter's to hear mass, and sent one of my own men to see whether the ambassadors were coming. Was told that both the English and the French had already come, and that soon after their arrival at the palace they had sent for the Venetian to keep them company. Went up and found them in the anteroom waiting for the Venetian. Fearing that neither Andrea del Burgo nor I would be admitted to the Pope's presence, as there was every reason to conclude from his own words the night before, I sent for secretary Sanga, and told him indignantly: "I am very far from imagining that the Italian league, such as it now is, pays any heed to mere acts of justice, but unless my colleague and I are immediately admitted to the Pope's presence, I beg Your Reverence to be the bearer of the following message to His Holiness: 'Your

* "Que su Santidad les havia puesto en este compromiso."

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Reverence may tell him in my name that if mad people can thus get the better of his reason, he will find that in my case, patience, when exhausted, can be goaded into madness.'"* This I said on the spur of the moment, and because it was rumoured throughout Rome that all the ambassadors of the League were actually to be present, whilst the Imperial ones would be excluded from the audience. The idea was so preposterous that I could not repress my anger, and spoke to Sanga as I did, caring as little for the ambassadors of the League in this particular case as Your Majesty cares in the principal one. Sanga answered that the English were very much offended, and had asserted more than once in public that His Holiness had already made his peace with Your Imperial Majesty; and, therefore, that the ambassadors of the confederated powers had good reason to consider themselves injured. However, whether admonished by Sanga, or because they saw us, the Imperial ambassadors, inside, the fact is that neither the English nor those of the other confederated powers would come into the room at first.

Shortly after, however, auditor Symoneta came in to announce that the English wished to speak to the Pope in the presence of the consistory of cardinals, and in mine, if I chose to listen to what they had to say. My answer, as far as I was concerned, was: "my business is exclusively with the Pope not with the English ambassadors. However, as the Imperial ministers are not in the habit of shirking work of this importance, I have no objection to hear what they have to say." Upon which I made a courteous bow, which they returned with equal courtesy, and we went in. Once in the Pope's presence, Miçer Andrea del Burgo and I were asked what our object was in entering the Pope's chamber. My answer was that hearing that those gentlemen (pointing to the English ambassadors) wished to speak to the Pope in the presence of the Emperor's representatives, I had entered the room for the purpose of hearing what they had to say. One of them, a lawyer,† then said in Latin how a tipstaff of the Pope had called at their house yesterday, late in the afternoon, and in offensive terms had summoned them to appear next morning before noon at the palace. They could not but wonder at the shortness of the notice given, and at the secrecy in conducting so important an affair. They had had no time to consult with their Court, nor were they invested with sufficient power to treat thereof. They had, it is true, received the copy of a mandate (*commission*) and protest, in which the King, their master, was spoken of in injurious terms, since he was therein accused of seeking for a divorce, whereas His Holiness knew well that if the King wished to be

* "Si los locos havian de librar mejor con él, que yo tambien lo sabria hacer porque la paciensia irritada se convierte en furor."

† Dr. Stephen Gardiner?

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separated from his Queen, it was not out of mere caprice, but from scruples of conscience. His Holiness was well aware that the speaker was the first to come to Rome and to consult upon the case with him, having asked for his advice in the presence of cardinals Sancti Quatuor and Monte. Had His Holiness undeceived him on that occasion, and told him that the King's request was inadmissible, he would no longer have insisted upon urging it; but His Holiness would never say "Yes" or "No," or give advice in the matter, though asked again and again, in the presence of the aforesaid cardinals. All he could get from him was the appointment of the two legates (Wolsey and Campeggio) to conduct the inquiry and try the case in England. And since the commission had been given and accepted it could not now be revoked without detriment and dishonour to the King, their master.

All this while the Pope seemed very much excited (*muy alterado*), especially at hearing the English ambassador repeat the same statement two or three times. The speaker continued, "Now I wish the Imperial ambassador to take note of this, that he may not suppose that it is the King, my master, who wishes for the divorce." My answer was, "It is well that every incident of the affair should be made known,"* I did not say anything more from fear of interrupting the Englishman's peroration.

The ambassador then went on to state that there were two words in the protest, the meaning of which he did not sufficiently understand, viz., "conjugal affection." If by these words was meant that the King lived not in all respects with the Queen† as an affectionate husband, he (the ambassador) maintained the contrary. Besides, he added, "I cannot understand why the Imperialists should be more anxious (*curiosos*) about England, and about the King's daughter than we ourselves are. The Princess is much beloved by the King, her father, as well as by all the English nation. The care of her welfare belongs to them."

"The brief produced (he went on to say) was not an authentic one. He could not and would not tell where and by whom fabricated, but he was sure that it was a forgery."

He concluded by begging the Pope to leave matters as they stood, and allow the case to be tried in England.

It being my turn to reply, I said that if the tipstaff (*cursór*) had not fulfilled the duties of his office it was not my province to excuse or defend him, but to beg His Holiness to punish him as he deserved. If I had sent him on with the message it was merely to comply with the established rules of the

* "Y á esto yo respondí, 'bien es que se sepa todo.'"

† "Tambien dixo que havia otra palabra que él no la entendia bien, de 'afection marital,' y que el Rey comia y cenaba y dormia con su muger y le dava el devito, y muchas vezes se lo pedia; y que no sabe que le falta para no tener la afection marital."

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Roman Court, and certainly it was acting far better than the English had done at Orbieto, for had they on that occasion summoned the Imperial ambassadors, which they did not, to hear what they had to say about their master's suit, the mandate taken to England by Cardinal Campeggio would never have been granted, and most likely the Imperial ambassadors would have prevailed upon His Holiness to tender the good advice which they so much wanted in the matter.

Respecting the ambassadors' declaration that they had received no powers from their king to treat of this affair, I could not be persuaded that such honourable persons as they were, representing a king so wise and prudent, could have come to the Papal Court entirely devoid of instructions, especially as they must have heard before quitting London that the magnificent [Giovan Antonio] Muxetula had made the very same request and application as the present one. That they had definite instructions how to act in the affair was clearly proved by the fact that their first step in this process had been to ask His Holiness to declare the Papal brief in the Emperor's possession to be apocryphal, without so much as hearing the party concerned or examining the brief itself. It was quite evident, therefore, that the English could not be solicitors in one case and not in the other, and if so no proctor was required,* for if Campeggio's mandate was obtained without the knowledge of the Imperial ambassadors, it stands to reason that it can be revoked without the English being apprized of it.

With regard to the injurious terms, if any, that the English ambassador complained of, I observed that the present audience was not the fit place and time for such recriminations.† For my own part I had never intended offending His most Serene Highness the king of England, but on the contrary had treated him with all due respect in my protests. Divorce meant "to separate," it was a Latin verb, and I knew no other to express the meaning of what the king sought to do. Whether of his own free will or by the advice of others, I could not say; all I knew was that the king of England was endeavouring to bring about a separation from his queen, and words should not be found fault with when the intention was correct, and the meaning appropriate. All the Imperialists were glad to hear that the King's daughter designated in the protest by the title of "Princess" was well treated. The English ought to be thankful for the interest we take in her, and treat and love her more and more as she deserves. Respecting the Queen, her mother, and her treatment by her husband, that was another affair, and His Holiness knows, as well as we do, what to think of it, besides its being substantially proved by the proceedings (*deducido en autos*). Ended by observing that

* "Y que quando no fuese eso ni esotro, no habia menester procurador."

† "Que aquel juicio no era para que se que quejaven de ello sino para la causa."

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when Cardinal Campeggio went to England a protest was entered by Muxetula, in the Emperor's name, which protest had been renewed by me more than once. "Besides these (I added) there are other and more potent reasons just now for the Imperial ambassadors to ask that the case be tried at Rome and not in England, a thing which the Pope would readily have granted in former times, ought to grant now, and, speaking with due reverence, cannot possibly refuse."

The ambassador's reply was that the brief was a decided forgery, and he proceeded to state his reasons for believing it to be such, all of which were unfounded. He maintained that the words of the protest, viz., "the King wishes to separate from the Queen," were grave, and he repeated his assertion several times, looking all the while at me as if he wished to pick up a quarrel (*queriendose atravar comigo*). Answered with composure, "Pray address yourself to the Pope, and observe the ceremonial which is customary at audiences like this, as well as the respect due to His Holiness; after that I will reply to you." And so I did, for having previously asked and obtained the Pope's permission, I addressed the ambassador in these words, "My solemn declaration that I never intended to attaint the honour of His most Serene Highness, the king of England, ought to be a sufficient satisfaction on my part. I again declare that I showed him as much honour as I possibly could, having regard to the Queen's rights. You may believe me when I say that had my intention been a different one, and had I used the above words in an injurious sense, I should never have thought of retracting them, for certainly it is not the Emperor's custom, nor that of his ministers, to retract what they have once said, or do acts of which they may hereafter repent. All they say and do is said and done with premeditation, and they do not proceed lightly in their acts."

"With regard to the pretended forgery of the brief of dispensation, all the reasons alleged for such a supposition are vain and futile, as are most of the allegations made by the English. The cause once in Rome, it was for His Holiness, not for them, to decide whether the brief was an authentic one or not. The very allegation brought forward by the English ambassadors was in my opinion a very good reason, apart from any others, for our begging the Pope to advoke the case to his Court."

The audience at an end all went away. Has since heard that the Pope is very angry with the English, and that he has said certain words (*cierta palabra*) in our favour, though he has forbidden them to be repeated by those who heard them under pain of excommunication. The settlement of the affair, however, is delayed till another signatura, for the Pope had to retire to his rooms with a touch of his usual pain. I will continue my exertions with the referendaries and the others who intervene in this affair. I consider it a good sign that the English ambassadors have been so explicit in their state-

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ment, for it seems as if they wished to lay the blame on the Pope, and excuse themselves with us and with the world at large if, as they fear, they should fail in their undertaking.*

The English ambassador also hinted, though in rather ambiguous terms, that had the King, his master, chosen, the present dispute would never have taken place, meaning, perhaps, that poison might have been administered to the Queen. He also said that the King has only one fault, that of being over scrupulous and pious, and that when cases of honour occur he is ever ready to take them up. As these and other general words which the English ambassador uttered might be susceptible of a different meaning I made no attempt to interpret or answer them.† In reply I only laughed, as did also all those present, thinking that all that was needful had been said by me, and especially not choosing to irritate them and the King further against the poor Queen.‡

Mentioned above the fact of the said English ambassadors having presented a rich fur pelisse (*enforro*) to Cardinal Ravenna, the nephew of Ancona, who being a very experienced lawyer has been retained by them for the present case. As the said Cardinal of Ravenna has not the reputation of having very clean hands, the Capuan (Schomberg) observed the other day that he was afraid the English angelots would be the cause of Ravenna giving his soul to the Devil. Will keep my eyes on him, and do what is necessary when the time comes.

Cardinal Ancona (the uncle of Ravenna) professes to be an Imperialist, and as far as I can judge, acts and thinks as such; but in the present case it cannot be said of him that he behaves like a catholic (*si va Catholico*), for it is asserted that the other day he said to another cardinal, one of his friends whom he happened to meet, "Had I been the Pope I would never have sent Campeggio to England with the mandate. That was not right; but the measure once taken I would not revoke it." May God forgive Cardinal Santacroce, and Muxetula also, for not having taken proper measures to prevent Campeggio's departure, though as Lautrec was at the time besieging Naples, and the Pope surrounded by confederates who pressed him to join the League, it was not to be wondered at if the Imperial ambassadors, knowing the Pope's versatile humour and indecision, took no notice of it.

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* "Y tengo á buena señal que los embajadores Angleses lo hayan dicho tan largamente, porque no solo parece *que ellos quieren cargar al Papa*, pero descargarse con nosotros y con el mundo *temiendo que no les ha de salir la empresa.*"

† The sense of this passage is rather obscure. It stands thus: "Dixo tambien (pero son palabras cubiertas) que si el Rey quisiese no vernian en esta disputa, señalando [muerte] de yerbas, y que no le daña [al Rey] sino el ser muy religioso, y porque las cosas de honra fuerçan á responder siempre (aunque tambien no se deue responder sino quando no se puede disimular), y como estas palabras generales se podian entender á otro fin, no quise yo interpretarlas."

‡ "Para responder á ellas, sino que me rei y dello riyeron tambien todos, y pareciome que no era menester mas en esto, en especial por no irritarlos contra aquella pobre Señora."

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I have visited the Cardinal since his arrival in Rome, and spoken to him in general terms of the affection Your Imperial Majesty bears him, &c. Whilst alluding to his literary labours and books the other day, he said he was sadly put out owing to Don Pedro Pacheco having carried away all his manuscripts. I promised him to use all my influence and means for their recovery, and he (Ancona) thanked me with tears in his eyes, saying, "Those manuscripts contain the key of all my works, and are the soul and life of a man of letters." So much does he feel the loss of his works, that the mere offer to procure their recovery is likely to keep him content and in good humour. I would have as readily promised to make him Pope at the next vacancy if it would only have served our purpose in this affair of the divorce. But ways and means shall not be wanting hereafter to obtain the co-operation of the rest of his colleagues, for they themselves dexterously point out to us the way to obtain their favour.

I have also been informed that the Pope is about to summon His Imperial Majesty to send either to Rome or London, within a certain period of time, the brief of dispensation of Julius II. to be inspected and examined, so as to decide whether it be authentic or a forgery, as the English ambassadors pretend. In case of non-compliance with the summons the proceedings to go on. This has been managed with so much secrecy, that had not my informers (*espias*) brought me the intelligence, I should never have heard of it; and yet, they say, the English are still dissatisfied.

Soon after the audience and conference above described, the Pope was again taken dangerously ill. He has given the Imperial ambassadors (Andrea del Burgo and myself) to understand that the English are exceedingly angry both with him (the Pope) and with the Emperor's agents, and that they have written to their Court all manner of extravagancies (*locuras*) particularly advising their King to send his Queen out of the country, and marry whomsoever pleases him, without waiting for further declarations. In consequence of this, and to secure a better result to the affair (as he says), the Pope has lately requested the Imperial ambassadors not to insist at present on the case being advocated (*advocado*) to his Court; but I pay no attention whatever to suggestions of this kind, alleging that justice allows no bias from without (*no tiene respetos*), and that it would be far worse if, after closing the case, we should be obliged to re-open it. I intend, therefore, to persist in my demand, though I have written to Naples asking the Prince's opinion thereupon.

I have had so much to do of late that I have been unable to transcribe certain allegations of the English ambassadors against the advocation; an attested copy of them has just come. Will forward them in a few days time, as well as a full and detailed account of the progress of negociation entrusted to my care. The present mode of secret conveyance

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will be used, as after all it appears to be the most safe.—Romè, 9th May 1529.*

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 11.

10 May 4. The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 37. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 216.

In his despatch of the 9th full account has been given of the principal affair, namely, the divorce case; will now report on other business entrusted to his care.

The Pope has lately had two or three relapses, and consequently given few audiences. Whenever he has had one his time has been equally divided between the ambassadors. As it is, those of the League complain that he has rather favoured the Imperial ones. Besides, as Cardinal Sancti Quatuor (Pucci), who is, as it were, the soul of all ecclesiastic transactions just now, has been for some time past confined to his bed, the Pope would not hear of any business of that kind. For this reason the affair of the newly converted Moors in the Kingdom of Valencia, the pension on the bishopric of Mazzara once granted to Augostino Folleta (Foglieta), the jubilee applied for by the Franciscan friars of Barcelona for the purpose of rebuilding their monastery, the presentation of the brother of Miçer Gian Giacopo, the Regent, to the abbey of Roccamador [in Sicily]; the archbishopric of Cosenza and Annibale Pignatello, the bishopric of Burgos for Don Iñigo de Mendoza, and another for Lic^te^ Valdés are all at a standstill, waiting for His Holiness' resolution and signature. His Imperial Majesty has here three protectors, Campeggio for Germany, Colonna for Castille, and Cesarino for Aragon. This is a late innovation, for in old times the Imperial ambassadors by paying a gratuity now to this cardinal, now to the other, induced them to propose candidates for the vacant churches. Nowadays the whole of Your Majesty's kingdoms—one half of which or more are peopled by Christians, is in the hands of three cardinals who, considering their protectorate as part and portion of their patrimony, are not the least grateful for the fees they get, as they would if they were elected *ad hoc* as before. Mentions this fact because were the former system to be adopted His Majesty would undoubtedly secure more votes among them.

Cardinal Cardona, who was written to at the time of the Pope's dangerous illness, with a view to secure his vote at the

* A copy of the petition made in April to the Pope to advoke the cause of the divorce to Rome is joined to this despatch. It is in Latin, and signed "Michael Maius Eques V. I. (utriusque Juris) doctor, Catholicæ Maiestatis Consiliarius et ad Sanctitatem V[estram], orator. Andrea de Burgo, comes Castrileonis, dictæ Maiestatis Consiliarius ac Serenissimi et Potentissimi Ferdinandi Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Regis, dictæ Cæsareæ Maiestatis fratris germani et filii obsequentissimi prædictæ apud S. V. etiam orator." Jo. Ant. Muxetula is also mentioned in the document, which is indorsed "Copia del protesto."

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next election, answered that he would with great pleasure vote for the Imperial candidate, only that he was very poor and so much in debt that he could not undertake the journey unless the Emperor helped him.

Since the death of Cardinal Cortona, the Pope no longer insists upon giving away the bishopric of Barcelona, and will therefore expedite bulls in favour of Don Luis de Cardona, although he does not willingly yield the fallen fruits.

Has spoken to Cardinal Cesarino about Don Pedro Jordan de Urrias, and his abbacy of Monte Aragon. As to Huesca, and its bishop, Don Juan de Urries, son of the Lord of Ayerbe, as soon as the commander, his brother, who is now at Naples, arrives, the affair will be pushed on. The same may be said respecting the provost of Vualquirch (Walkirk), now in Germany; he shall be presented for the church of Maltha according to orders.

Delivered the Emperor's letter to Cardinal Farnese. His son, Piero Luigi, is doing good service in the army. The Romans dislike him because he was among the Italians who sacked this city, and went (they say) to greater excess than others. The Cardinal wants most particularly the Imperial favours for this one. For his other son, Alessandro, archbishop elect of Parma, the Cardinal wants a privilege of naturalization that may enable him to obtain benefices in the Imperial dominions.

The brieves of absolution for Alcalde Ronquillo and his bailiffs (*alguaziles*) as well as for Doctor Sant Clemente, of Naples, who sentenced and hanged a clergyman (*un clerigo bellaco*), are being prepared, as well as another for the Marquis Joan de Urbina allowing him to profess without entering a monastery.†

Cardinal San Severino has not behaved of late as he promised, on the contrary he has in many things opposed us. His brother, the Duke of Somma, is one of the most rebellious barons in the whole kingdom of Naples, and this one (the Cardinal) is likely also to work his own ruin by presuming to know too much.‡ Enclosed are certain letters§ which he (the Cardinal) has addressed him (Mai). It is for the Emperor to decide what answer is to be given to them.—Rome, 10th May 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 17.

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* "Y porque Pier Luis, su hijo sirve á V. Md. en el felicissimo exercito, y es aqui malvisto por la entrada de Roma, y por algunas cosas que hizo mas que los otros."

† "Para la profesion fuera del monasterio para el Marques Joan de Urbina."

‡ "Se pierde por presumir que sabe mucho."

§ The Cardinal's letters are not in the bundle. Most likely they referred to his brother Alphonso, Duke of Soma, who, having revolted in Calabria in 1528, was defeated by Count Borrello, and obliged to fly to Corfu. He revolted again, and was taken prisoner in 1529. See vol. III., part 2, pp. 701, 704, 769, and 859.

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11 May **5.** MEMORANDUM of MIÇER MAI.

S. E. L. 848, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 262.

The Pope is better now than he has been since his illness came on, and has determined to dispatch his Nuncio [to Barcelona].

Most of the conservators and "taboriones" have resigned their offices in consequence of the taxes and imposts (*gabellas y gravezas*) imposed upon the Romans. He (Mai) sent them a message to say that he wondered how they could take such a step without letting him know first. His Imperial Majesty is their true senator and conservator (*el verdadero Senador y Conservador de Roma*) and a notice of their grievances, if they had any to complain of, ought to have been sent to the Imperial ambassadors. Had they informed him in time he might have interceded with His Holiness, or with whomsoever had the remedy in his power. The Emperor had particularly instructed him to look carefully to the interests of the Romans (*pueblo y republica*). On the receipt of the above message the conservators sent to thank him; they will meet to-morrow in Capitolio, and if necessary he (Mai) will go thither in person and attend the meeting because things have come to such a pitch that they cannot possibly be worse. Fortunately the Pope, when he heard of the appointed meeting and saw the danger attached to it, made as though the whole thing was agreeable to him, and had indeed been planned for his advantage.*

Advices from Naples of the 7th instant, state that on the day before Captain Acuña had gone out against the "fuorusciti," who having collected their forces were doing considerable harm in the neighbourhood of Naples. He met them and slew or hanged about 50. It is to be hoped that with this signal chastisement, and the general pardon about to be proclaimed, matters will mend in that kingdom. Had this been done before we might now be better situated than we are at Monopoli, the siege of which he fears from all accounts will have to be raised.

The Pope intended sending to Niçe, Domenico Centurione, his chamberlain, but he is not now to go, another nuncio having been appointed.

They write from Germany, that in most parts the mass has been suppressed, and the sacred images removed. A butcher at a certain village had dragged a cruifix through the streets and then cut the head off. The King of Hungary was at the diet trying to obtain redress for these great evils, and also the restoration of the mass. The Papal Nuncio† had arrived. The supply of German lansquenets asked from the free towns (*tierras francas*) did not come in from fear of the Turk.

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* "Por que está tan rasgado todo que no puede ser ya mas, y ha sido buena suerte que el Papa quando lo ha sabido, lo ha mostrado tener en servicio."

† Campeggio.

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Venice threatens with 60 galleys, which according to report are now arming, as well as with advices said to have come from Constantinople announcing that the enterprise of Hungary is about to commence, and that the Turk (Solyman) has actually started for that kingdom. It was also stated there, at Venice, that a powerful Turkish fleet was being fitted out for the Mediterranean, but this last news, as has since been ascertained, is only an invention of the Council of Ten and of the French ambassador for the purpose, no doubt, of making people believe that His Imperial Majesty would certainly encounter two hostile fleets on his passage. This he (Mai) knows from the spies (*espias*) he has set to watch these ambassadors of the League.

The Colonnese and the Orsini are respectively aiming to waste each others' lands, and prevent either from reaping the harvest. Has hitherto done all that was in his power to prevent the mischief, and make them come to terms with each other. If he cannot persuade the Pope to redress this evil, he (Mai) will give them permission to break each other's heads, because if there is to be war and damage done, he considers it far preferable to inflict it than to suffer it, and certainly the Colonnese are the stronger party of the two, and besides have always been the friends of the Empire. Whoever reaps corn this year, or manages in any way to get hold of it, will be master of Italy.

The ex-Abbot of Farfa went the other day to another abbacy of his called San Salvador, close upon the frontier of Naples. He (Mai) lost patience when he heard of this, and applied to the Pope for redress. Seeing, however, that his claims were disregarded and no assistance given, and that there was no time for an answer to come from Naples, he (Mai) decided to let the Imperialists in Rome loose upon him, and sent for others who came.* This obliged the Pope to recall the Abbot; Mai also recalled his people and there was nothing done for the time. The ex-Abbot is now at Bracciano threatening that he will go over to St. Pol or to France. Wishes he would, for although he is not worth a straw, nor are the Romans more formidable than he is, yet he keeps us here in constant agitation by coming suddenly to the very gates of this city. And since the Pope suffers this, and will not let us stop the evil, he (Mai) sincerely wishes that he would go to France and leave us alone. There was a rumour some time ago that the ex-Abbot was arming against Siena, in union with Malatesta, Fabio Petrucci, and even the Count of Pitigliano, all of whom from some cause or other owe that republic a grudge. Has written to the Sienese bidding them be on their guard, and accordingly they are now enlisting troops for their own defence. Other accounts state

* "Y como io perdi la patientia con el Papa, solté á los de V. M. que viniessen."

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that the ex-Abbot is going straight to France. Really the transformations and changes of this man during this last winter have been so great and so sudden that it is impossible to say what he is aiming at.

Nothing new from Florence since the last revolution, when the Gonfaloniero* was deposed, and another one appointed in his room. This last (they say) is not only low born, but a mad, scandalous, and wretched creature (*loco, escandaloso, y mal fortunado*).

Letters from Alessandria [della Paglia] of the 16th of April relate that St. Pol was about to march against Milan after leaving all the districts behind him well provided with the means of defence, so that the Genoese could do him no harm. His whole force mustered 9,500 men. He hoped that after crossing the Pò, the whole of the country around would declare for the League, when he and the rest of the confederates would attack Milan without loss of time. The most Christian King (Francis) was about to remit to him 100,000 fr., besides 25,000 cr.; and it was expected that the King of England would also contribute a large sum over and above what he is himself bound to pay to the League. Advices from France have been received, stating that 11 companies (*banderas*) of lanskenets had arrived there, and that more were expected to the number of 10,000. The King had ordered them to come as far as Namors (Nemours), 40 leagues from Lyons, where they would remain until their destination was decided upon, Languedoc or Italy, as it might happen, that town being conveniently situated for either route.

News came the other day announcing riots in Lyons. In consequence of the scarcity of bread in that city and its immediate neighbourhood the infuriated mob had plundered some houses. Letters have also been received from Venice of the 25th of April, relating how Don Hercules d' Este had refused to attend mass on that very day, or be present at the Doge's dinner (*al comer del Principe*), as customary, on such occasions; and that though the Papal Legate had been present, he had refused to give his benediction. Somebody having inquired of him (the Legate) why he had come to mass, knowing, as he did, that the Venetians were excommunicated on account of their retaining possession of Cervia and Ravenna, he answered that he had particular instructions from the Pope as to how he was to act under similar circumstances, and that otherwise he would never have come to Venice.

It was also rumoured at Milan that the Spaniards after the taking of Binasco were returning to that city; but the news cannot be correct, for he (Mai) has seen letters of the 28th, stating that they were then marching on Vigebano.

* Niccolo Capponi. See vol. III., part 2, p. 917.

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The forces under St. Pol do not really exceed 6,000. He is now passing muster at Marignano. Neither do the Venetians muster more at Rivolta, where they are at present encamped. The Duke of Milan is at Lodi with 3,000.

The Milanese are in some fear, for, although Leyva has considerably fortified their city, and encourages them to defend it, they have only wheat for the next two months.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) has again made his peace with Venice, and engaged to take the command of its land forces. Count della Concordia [Pico della Mirandola] has likewise accepted service under that republic.

It is generally asserted that the object of the confederates is to collect all the wheat there is in Lombardy, and have it conveyed to Lodi and Cremona, in order to defend themselves against the Imperial army in case of need.

Letters have recently come from Venice, announcing that the German lanskenets at Naples wished to go home, and had, through the Duke of Urbino, applied for safe-conducts to cross the territory of Venice. The safe-conducts (and the letters) were about to be granted. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence he (Mai) wrote to the Prince, but hitherto no confirmation of that news has been received.

Antonio de Leyva, it is said, had lately taken the offensive. If the news of St. Pol having crossed the Pò, in order to join the confederates, be correct, that general will most likely retreat on the advance of Leyva.

Triulzo's mission to Venice. They say that on his crossing the River Pò he was watched by about 50 Spaniards, who laid in ambush for him, and were, with their cloaks and swords, purposely scattered about the country. Such was, however, the anxiety of the Spaniards to get hold of him that they assembled much sooner than was necessary, and the consequence was that Triulzo's men took the alarm, and he managed to escape.—Rome, 11th May 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

11 May. **6.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 36.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 246.

Wrote on the 1st of March, and afterwards on the 6th, 12th, 16th, 22nd, and 23rd, as well as on the 3rd of April. On the 2nd instant a courier came with letters and despatches. He could not be sent back sooner owing to the answers from Naples not having arrived, nor the one from the Pope, which has been delayed in consequence of his illness and frequent relapses. The ambassadors, besides, were waiting for the departure of the Nuncio, now about to sail in a "fusta," as no better conveyance could be found.*

* "Y como hasta agora no ha tenido en que ir, me demandó el Papa esta fusta, y dixele que era contento." "Fusta," was the name for a light vessel somewhat approaching in form our modern schooner.

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Wrote on a former occasion that the election of a Nuncio [to go to Barcelona] could not have fallen on a better person. The ecclesiatic appointed is an excellent man, and a good Imperialist. Believes that His Imperial Majesty will have no difficulty in concluding the treaty as far as he (the Nuncio) is concerned. The Pope, however, is so bound to France and to the League that it will be very hard work to make him come to terms without their being included in the treaty. This has been the cause of much fatigue and anxiety to him (Mai), and will most likely prove so to His Imperial Majesty; but in the end everything must and will turn out well.

The Nuncio will be the bearer of the Papal bull granting the "Cruzada" and "Quarta," also that of the "Indulto,"* as well as of the brief absolving the Alcalde Ronquillo, and those concerned in the trial and execution of the Bishop of Zamora (Acuña). Other brieves concerning the Emperor's birthday and the Empress (Isabella), besides those of Flanders, &c., will go by the same conveyance.

The Pope has frequent attacks, the last was caused by the English ambassadors publicly insulting him, as he (Mai) has had occasion to say in a former despatch.† He was so ill in consequence that it was thought at the time that he would not survive the shock. However, he recovered, and is now better, though his principal physician says that should he have another relapse he will certainly be a dead man.

Hears from a very good source that His Holiness had by him what he believed to be a sure remedy against poison, consisting of oil, mixed with certain specifics, and that immediately after his first attack he anointed himself with it without consulting his physicians. This they (the medical men) highly disapprove, saying if there be poison in the body and the specific does not act upon it the remedy is likely to do more harm than good; if, on the contrary, there be no poison the harm done will be still greater, because they assert that the oil not finding an enemy to contend with must needs fight against its own virtues, which, they say, would be a very dangerous experiment indeed. May God restore the Pope to health, that these Romans and the confederated powers may have no cause to say that after all this negociating and intriguing he (the Pope) at last caused his own death.‡ Should he die now he (Mai) knows not how he should act [in the event of an election]. His Imperial Majesty in his letter of the 5th of March alluded to certain instructions about to be sent; they have not come to hand. Has written to Naples and the answer is that they know nothing about them. If they have not been sent by Balançon, let them come as

* The "Quarta" and "Indulto Quadragesimal." For an explanation of these terms see vol. III., part 2, pp. 931, 976.

† See above, No. 3, p. 9.

‡ "Dios nuestro señor le dé salud porque no digan que tanto ha siempre tractado y revuelto que á la postre se aya muerto de su mano."

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soon as possible, for fear the Pope should die in the meantime, and most of the Cardinals quit Rome as they threaten.

Upon the whole, though this illness of the Pope has rather hindered the negociations, he (Mai) cannot complain of him. He has granted him frequent audiences, whenever the state of his health permitted, and has yielded on most of the principal points. There is one, however, on which he (Mai) has by the express commands of the Prince [of Orange] greatly insisted, and which has met with an equally strong opposition on the part of His Holiness, namely, the compensation money to the Imperial troops. After pressing His Holiness much harder than Capua, Santa Croce, or even Burgo authorised him to do, he (Mai) consulted the Prince on the subject. Wrote also to Morone, at Naples, inquiring whether all this was done in order to gain time, and wait for the arrival of Balançon, or for some sort of answer to be brought by Morone's son, who came three days ago from Milan, though without having been able to see the Duke. If so, they were to let him (Mai) know, that he may act accordingly; for otherwise, such is the versatile character of this Pope, that instead of advancing one step in the negociation we may go back. There is still another reason; things at Naples are not as they were. When he (Mai) first came to Rome he was told in plain terms that unless the Imperial army marched out of Naples nothing at all could be done here. Wrote to all parties there begging and entreating that the army should leave at once, and assuring them that two days after the departure of the troops the Pope was sure to grant all our requests, and beg from us the very things we now beg from him.

Has since had a letter from the Prince [of Orange] bidding him (Mai) suspend the negociation for some short time until the arrival of Balançon. But this must be done with dexterity, because should it appear that we are willing to leave this door open, the ambassadors of the League may pass through it.

Has been expecting all this time a summary account of the instructions which this Papal Nuncio is taking to Spain. The Pope promised it to him, but the state of his health has not permitted him to send it. The Nuncio, however, of his own accord, called yesterday at the Imperial embassy, explained to the most minute detail what his instructions were, and made him (Mai) quite at ease respecting them and the Pope's intentions, for in reality as much confidence is to be placed in him as in His Holiness.* The Nuncio has again to-day made the same statement, which is also confirmed by intelligence from other quarters. Indeed, the informers (*espias*) he (Mai) has within the Papal palace, report that for the last two or three days

* "Y dexome harto satisfecho, por que á decir verdad tanto fio dél como del Papa."

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the Pope has been in a very good humour, which change of temper is naturally attributed to his having decided for the best. Please God it may be so; though he (Mai) dares not believe in it. Though it is not for him to speak disparagingly of the Pope, especially to His Imperial Majesty, yet is obliged to speak out openly and without dissimulation. This man (Clement VII.) is very low-minded, so much so, that His Imperial Majesty will do well to grant him a portion of what he claims for the concession of the Crusade, and whatever else he may ask, in order to keep him contented, because he will in this instance be satisfied with little, and so may be gained over for what is greater and more important. Besides which, could we only make sure of not losing him, that much would be gained. In old times many things could be got out of him by shear intimidation, but now that expedient cannot be tried, for he would fall into despair, and we should lose him altogether; besides which, some sort of reverence is owed to the Popes for what they did [for the Empire] on former occasions. Otherwise, is really of opinion that it would be for God's service to limit them to strictly spiritual power.*

A rumour is afloat that the negociations for peace have already commenced at Barcelona. Happened to be in a public spot (*en cierta parte*) when the news was first spread, and recollects saying to the bystanders, "It would be far better for the Pope to behave towards the League as Andrea Doria had behaved towards him;" for when it was rumoured at Orbieto that the Pope was likely to accept the terms brought by Santa Croce, not choosing to be excluded from the treaty, Doria at once made his peace with the Emperor. Has since been told that when these words of his were repeated to His Holiness he expressed his full approbation of them. In fact it is generally believed here that this and other similar considerations have at last convinced him of the necessity of deciding for the Emperor. For in reality he must be a good deal more afraid of the French King and His Imperial Majesty united, than of either of them individually. Indeed, Muxetula relates that upon one occasion the Pope confessed to him how he had from fear of the Madrid convention (*concordia*), and of the Emperor's journey to these parts of his own free will absolved the King of France from his oath, and brought him into the League.

* Aunque de un semejante de su Santd. no se haya de hablar sino con acatamiento, maxime con V. M. Cesa., por otra parte su imperial servicio me astringe á hablar clara y abiertamente; y es decir á V. M. que este hombre es muy baxo en grand manera, y que V. Md. hará lo mejor si le da algo de lo que pide de la Cruzada, y de todo lo que podrá tenerlo contento, porque contentarse ha de poco, y ganaremoslo para lo mucho; y aunque no sea sino asegurar de no perderle es harto. Otro tiempo á malas se havian dél muchas cosas, pero agora no conviene porque se desesperaria, y deveseles todo acatamiento, á lo menos en compensa de lo pasado, porque otramente pienso que seria servicio de Dios reducirlos á la Spiritualidad."

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Needs not enter into more details, suffice it to say, that three things seem to have principally disturbed the mind of His Holiness during the negociations. 1st. His being compelled to forsake his old friends, the confederates, who have done, and are still doing, all they can to retain him. 2nd. The fear of His Imperial Majesty's journey, which is still so great that it is publicly said here in Rome that the moment the Emperor sets his foot in Italy, he (the Pope) will quit his capital. And the 3rd, that the news from Germany is by no means so re-assuring as they say. Matters there are in such a desperate state that they can hardly be amended without a General Council. All these things must have cut the Pope to the quick. Indeed, they have hitherto been the real stumbling blocks in the negociation; for neither the recovery of Ravenna and Cervia, so long retained by Venice, nor that of Reggio and Rubiera, to which he still lays claim, nor indeed the re-establishment of his sway at Florence seems to have influenced him half as much as the fear of the above three contingencies.

In addition to the above causes there is another, which is that the Bishop of Verona (Giberti), ever since his arrival in Rome, has been in constant communication with the Venetian ambassador, and other agents of the League. On the other hand, all political affairs pass through the hands of Salviati, of whom His Imperial Majesty must have had sufficient notice through former despatches. He had at first nothing to do with the Florentine business owing to the Pope mistrusting him, but Cardinal Cortona, on whom the Pope relied implicitly, having died, it has since been handed over to Salviati, who has now charge of it, though, thank God, the most important part of it is already settled, as His Imperial Majesty will judge by the enclosed memorandum.*

The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) is entirely out of all political business, for he is not trusted by the Pope. He is discontented and grumbles. He publicly announced before Easter his intention to go to take the waters. He (Mai) dissuaded him, and begged him to stay, which he did; but though he has been earnestly requested since to take an active part in the business, he has not done as much as we have reason to expect from him.

Under these unfavourable circumstances the negociation with the Pope commenced, and has since made such progress as to require only His Imperial Majesty's sanction and approval of the articles which the Papal Nuncio (Bishop of Vaison) is now about to take to Barcelona.

Writes very frequently to the King of Hungary, to Madame of Flanders, to Don Iñigo [de Mendoza] in England, and to Andrea Doria in Genoa, informing each and all of them of the state of affairs here, and in the rest of Italy. His correspondence with Antonio de Leyva and Lope de Soria is

* Not in the bundle.

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not so regular as it used to be from various causes. He has reason to suspect that most of his letters are intercepted by the enemy, but this is of little or no consequence, for the most important passages are in cipher.

All Italy is up in arms, or at least very much alarmed (*solevantada*), and though it be true that the Italian Princes do not trust each other, yet it would seem as if necessity and a feeling of common danger made them friends.

The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este), has not spoken for some time. Formerly his agent in this city kept visiting him (Mai), and assuring him in his master's name that he (the Duke) had signed no treaty whatever against His Imperial Majesty, but had on the contrary always declined the post of Commander-in-chief of the League. Yet he (Mai) hears that a meeting of the ambassadors of the League is shortly to take place at Venice, and that the Duke (Alfonso d' Este) is invited to be present, and has promised to go. Moreover, the Bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberti) has suddenly left Rome in that direction, and as he is no more to be trusted than the rest of them, every inquiry has been made to ascertain the place and object of his journey. The only information obtained as yet is that he (Giberti) has gone to visit his bishopric.

The Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga), perseveres in his neutrality, his ambassador at this Court making all manner of protestations [of friendship] in his name, so much so that Andrea del Burgo and he (Mai) are thinking seriously of having him included, before receiving the consent of the Prince of Orange, in the treaty of peace between His Holiness and the Emperor; though this must be said of him that his brother, the Cardinal, has always been markedly open to suspicion,* and very partial to the ambassadors of the League, with whom he holds frequent conferences. However, if the Pope wishes it, he (the Marquis) will be included in the treaty, were it for no other purpose than to dishearten the rest of the confederated Princes, and invite them to follow his example.

The Sienese continue, as usual, attached to the Imperial service. Had suspicions once of their being in secret treaty with the Florentines for the purpose of stopping, if possible, the march of the Imperial forces through their territory; but as the information came direct from their own emigrants (*fuorusciti*), residing at Florence, no faith could be attached to the report. It is true that they (the Sienese) are now at war with Count Pitigliano, their neighbour, who, though an Orsino by birth, proclaims himself a servant of His Imperial Majesty; but in this affair the Sienese only defend what they consider to be their right. Is therefore trying, just as Muxetula did once by command of the Prince, to set them at peace, the more so that the Cardinal of Naples, the Count's brother-in-law, told him (Mai) the other day that unless he (the Count)

* "He tenido siempre sospecha de él, y agora mas porque siempre estan con él los embaxadores de la Liga, y tiene malas entrañas."

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came to a satisfactory arrangement with the Sienese, he (the Cardinal) would be compelled to throw himself into the arms of the League.

In Siena, during this past Lent, a Lutheran friar* has been preaching in favour of his sect, or at least of some of its most important tenets. Thought at first of putting a stop to the nuisance by such means as he himself could command, but finding there was difference of opinion on this point among the citizens he (Mai) was afraid of stirring up some new excitement (*mover nuevo humor*), especially as Siena is so close to Florence, where all the strength of the League is now concentrated. Fortunately the Bishop (Piccolomini), who is also Cardinal of that place, had the man arrested, and his guilt was proved, for letters and papers were found on him in connexion with Germany and the Lutheran sect. The Pope then sent for him, and he (Mai) was requested to dispatch one of his secretaries to Siena to accompany the Pope's officer and bring the culprit to Rome. Villaverde was the person chosen for the purpose, but neither he nor the Papal officer, his colleague, thought it prudent to deliver the Papal brieves, and take charge of the prisoner lest some disturbance should be raised in the city, and thus the affair remains to this day.

The Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere), has left the Venetian service and retired to Pesaro. Soon after Miçer Antonio della Rovere, his relative,† spoke to Burgo, and to him (Mai) of the possibility of bringing him over to the Imperial service. Although the undertaking was a difficult one, on account of the Duke's quarrel with Ascanio Colonna yet everything was tried to effect it. Intelligence has since been received that the Duke has actually made his peace with the Venetians.

Similar overtures have been made by a recognized agent of Alberto di Carpi, but his (Mai's) answer has been that unless we see this Count's own handwriting we will not listen to any. The Count has promised to write, but it is to be presumed that he never will.

Has sent to Sanctiquatuor 100 ducats; he would not receive them. Has also sent him 100 for his trouble in revising the minutes of the bull for the Crusade, but he has likewise declined, adding that he had already done much service to His Imperial Majesty and to this embassy without recompense of any sort, and that he wanted none.

With regard to His Holiness' fear of the Council—which the people of Germany maintain is the only remedy that can be of any avail in the present disturbed state of that country—this being a perilous expedient, and rather too big a pill for

* "Alli en sena predicó esta quaresma un fraile Lutherano la secta de Luthero."

† No person of this name is mentioned in Mr. Dennistoun's most careful and detailed memoirs of the dukes of Urbino.—London 1851, 8vo

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the Pope to swallow all at once, he (Mai) has avoided as much as possible alluding to the subject, since it is evident that His Holiness is terribly afraid of such a Council, and does not feel sure [that it would not turn out to his disadvantage].* Agreed with Burgo to set aside this last obstacle for the present, at least, and pending the negociations; since there exists no actual necessity for it, and it is unreasonable for the Imperial agents to propose a measure that may never take effect, the object being attainable in some other way.† Accordingly, on the 24th of April last, as Burgo was exhorting the Pope to declare openly for His Imperial Majesty, and for his brother, the King of Hungary, he told him not to be afraid of the Council, as the Emperor cared more for the peace of the world, and especially of Italy, than for all the innovations and strange measures (*novedades y extrañedades*) that Councils generally bring in their train. Also for the welfare of his own person, because if he (the Pope) declared for His Imperial Majesty, and concluded a good and lasting peace and close family alliance with him, the latter would be the first to defend him against all his enemies. Plenty of other means might be found for settling the Lutheran affairs. He himself (Burgo) had thought of one which consisted in appointing a number of persons, elected some by the German towns, and others by the Emperor, with an equal number appointed by the Pope, who might sit together and deliberate as to the best means of putting a peaceful end to the disturbances and delusions (*tumultos y locuras*) of the Lutherans. On hearing which the Pope rose from his chair and said, "By my faith, you have told the truth; that is the only course to pursue. There would be no harm then in granting some of their demands." He (Mai) must add that ever since Burgo's semi-declaration on this point both the Imperial ambassadors have found the Pope more tractable and obliging.

Letters have since been received from the Diet purporting that the affair of the Council is still being strongly pressed (*anda muy estrecho*), and that the King of Hungary (Ferdinand) promises it in order to see if in the meantime mass will be re-established. Although, he adds, some of the electors wish for the Council immediately, and do not care for the re-establishment of the mass. Both Burgo and he (Mai) are of opinion that it is unsafe to relate such particulars to the Pope, for fear he should again fall into one of his vacillating moods; they have therefore transcribed only that portion of the King's despatch which is more in conformity with what Burgo said to him on a previous occasion. This is, in the opinion of the ambassadors,

* "Por lo que arriba digo de lo que su Santd. siente lo del Concilio, que dicen los de Alemania que se ha de hacer por fuerça para remediar lo de allá, visto que es materia peligrosa para hacerla tragar al papa, que en fin parece que no se puede asegurar desto."

† "Pues no ay obligacion para ello, y porque los ministros de V. M. no es razon que digan, ni asseñalen cosa que no aya de ser, pudiendose concertar de otra manera."

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the only course to be pursued in order to persuade this man to declare for the Emperor. It is so advantageous and so preferable to any other that, although there can be no doubt that His Majesty will be the first to touch upon some of these things on the Nuncio's arrival at Barcelona, yet as zealous and well meaning servants of the Emperor, his ambassadors at Rome could not help expressing their opinion on the pending negociations, and the best measures to be adopted to oblige His Holiness to declare against the League. And now that His Imperial Majesty is aware of all the circumstances of the case, let his pleasure be done, for on the side of the ambassadors the affair remains, as it were, intact. No engagements have been taken, no compromises accepted. What Burgo told the Pope about the Council was not said in the King's name, but as his own private opinion. And let the Emperor believe him (Mai) when he says that not only this stratagem but all the most subtle devices in the world are required to make this man declare himself in a proper manner, and that far from this expedient being the last, they (the ambassadors) will have to try two dozen similar devices before they have done with him, and yet His Imperial Majesty will still have his part as well to play at Barcelona with the Papal Nuncio.

The latter went away the day before yesterday. He could not be the bearer of this despatch owing to the Prince's answer, which came only yesterday afternoon, not having arrived in time.

Enclosed is a "Relacion de nuevas particulares," also the copy of a letter written by an inhabitant of Barletta to a Roman nobleman.*—Rome, 11th May 1529.

13 May. **7.** Antonio de Leyva to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1553, f. 319.
B. M. *Add.* 28,378, f. 268.

(*Cipher :*) The letters brought by Knight Commander Figueroa came duly to hand. The answer went by Knight Commander Ribadeneira. Those of the 20th of April, by Antonio de Ubeda, asking his (Leyva's) advice respecting the measures to be taken in anticipation of the Emperor's journey, were also received. His (Leyva's) answer is as follows: (*Cipher :*) It is very urgent that the Germans come as soon as possible, if not all the force asked for, horse and foot, at least the latter. If there be enough money in Germany to pay them, they can easily be here [in Lombardy] by the end of this month, or before the 10th of June. He (Leyva) sent 40 days ago a special messenger to the King of Hungary (Ferdinand) begging him to press the enlistment. Count Chiavenna, who was the person sent with the message, is well acquainted with the roads, and has been often employed in guiding the German bands. No doubt, therefore, can be entertained about his having fulfilled his mission. Besides, as the Emperor informs him (Leyva) in his letter of the 20th of April last

† None of the documents here referred to was in the bundle.

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that proper provision has been made for the pay of the Germans, he feels no anxiety whatever on that score, and confidently expects the lansquenets at Milan. Has written to the King to beg that if the 10,000 men cannot be had at once, at least 6,000 may be sent now; the remainder can follow afterwards. With regard to the question, whether in case of the Germans not arriving in time, anything can be undertaken with the force that the Emperor is to bring from Spain, joined to that under his (Leyva's) command, his answer is, that unless the enemy increase greatly in number they never will be able to oppose the junction, but if they do, as is to be apprehended, by adding 5,000 or 6,000 Germans or Switzers to their actual force, it will be rather a hazardous enterprise to effect the intended junction. True it is that the French will have some difficulty just now in procuring Swiss levies; but they muster already 14,000, and if they do succeed and get that additional strength, it will be almost impossible for him (Leyva) to join the Emperor, nor will His Majesty with his own force, from the place selected for landing, be able to force his way. Should, however, the Germans come in time there will be no difficulty at all.

The united forces of the confederates, amounting to about 14,000 men, are quartered as follows: the Venetians, with the Duke Francesco Sforza, at Puçol (Puzzolo), 18 miles from this city, mustering 7,000 foot and about 500 horse, besides 400 men-at-arms. St. Pol at Vigebano, 20 miles hence, with about 5,000 foot, a few horse, and hardly any men-at-arms. Most of his force consists of Germans, Switzers, and Grisons, of whom there may be about 1,800; the rest are Italians, and a few Frenchmen. They are about to join the Venetians, for the purpose, as they say, of attacking him (Leyva); but he hopes to God that if they come near him, they will return to their quarters much more quickly than they left them.

Our force in the estate of Milan, including garrisons and small detachments, amounts to 3,000 Germans, the finest and best armed set of men that ever was seen, and about 3,000 Spaniards, also excellent soldiers, for those newly arrived [from Spain] are already as good soldiers as the old ones. Has besides 2,000 Italians, the flower of the country, who, in spite of want of pay, hunger, and other disadvantages, have always done good service; and lastly, about 140 men-at-arms and some light horse.*

Has been endeavouring of late to persuade Andrea Doria to increase the forces of Genoa by 4,000 foot, and to enlist 3,000 more on his (Leyva's) account. St. Pol having left Alessandria, Asti, and the banks of the Pò unprotected, an incursion might easily be made with 7,000 men into the territory of Alessandria, when St. Pol could not fail to hasten to the relief of that city. If so, he (Leyva) would fall upon

* The number of the latter is left blank.

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the Venetians and the Duke Francesco, and give them such a thrashing as they should recollect all their lives.

Such being the advantages of the enlistments now being made at Genoa, he (Leyva) has sent thither, at the request of Andrea Doria, who approves highly of this plan, one of the Imperial captains who has done most service in this cam paign, namely, Count Lodovico Belgioioso, to hasten the recruiting and arming of that force.

There is no great probability for the present of the confederates being able to increase their forces, nor is it known that they are making any great preparations for war. Switzers they cannot have now, for the King of France owes them such large arrears, that unless he pays the greater part of his debt to them they will not move; besides which, they are so divided amongst themselves respecting the Lutheran and Christian faith (*la Fé Lutherana y la de Christo*), that neither of the two parties will dare send their people out of the country. The King of France has been trying in vain to make them of one mind. We are doing here all that is possible to support those who maintain their Christian faith. Believes that all the manœuvres of the French King will not make them agree on that point, and consequently, though he has applied for 7,000 men, he has been hitherto unable to obtain 50. And as without Germans or Switzers the confederates cannot possibly increase their forces—most of the Italians being actually in the service of the League or the Empire—there is no fear of the enemy increasing immediately their present force.

His Imperial Majesty wishes to know his (Leyva's) opinion as to whether in case of not being able to operate his junction with this army, it would not be advisable for him (the Emperor) to join that of Naples, and together come to the relief of Lombardy. His answer is, that he (Leyva) could not possibly wait so long, because there is neither wheat nor provision in the Duchy to last beyond this next June; the stores are empty and the new harvest not yet gathered in.

Two things are, in his opinion, required for the prosperous issue of the Emperor's journey, namely, the speedy arrival of the Germans and a supply of money. Without the former he (Leyva) cannot possibly keep the field against the enemy and get in the harvest, and if the latter be wanting, His Imperial Majesty may be sure that the Germans will not be here in June. Has already stated that he can hardly maintain himself and support his army to the end of June, and that it will be a wonder if he can go on till then, for there are no provisions at Milan, and as to their coming from the outside it is out of the question, the enemy occupying all the passes.

In view of these difficulties his (Leyva's) advice is, that if money has not yet been remitted to Germany, it should be forwarded by all possible routes,—especially through this one, which is the shortest and surest,—so that we may

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have the answer before the end of May. Were the Germans here at Milan before July everything might go well. On the other hand, it is not likely that the Emperor can arrive in Italy before the Germans. If he did, two expedients might be adopted. If the enemy had not by that time increased his forces, he (Leyva) could easily effect his junction, and do whatever else may be required for the success of the enterprise. If, on the contrary, their numbers are increased, and the Germans have not arrived, then the Emperor could go to Naples, and make there such provision as indicated above. But this going of the Emperor to Naples is not a desirable thing either for the following reasons. The first and principal, that if the Emperor is compelled to go thither, the whole of Lombardy may eventually be lost; for it may happen that His Imperial Majesty will not find there, as he expects, a sufficiently strong force to come up here [to Milan], inasmuch as the enemy being in the field with considerable forces, it will be necessary for us to leave behind most of the men-at-arms and light horse, besides the Germans, who are in small number. The Emperor must therefore consider that the 8,000 or 10,000 Spaniards he brings with him, besides 3,000 Germans from Naples, are by no means an adequate force for such an enterprise, as the League might very well, being disengaged in the rest of Italy, improve their position in Lombardy and the Duchy of Milan, and even stop the Emperor's march, and oblige him to send for more Germans. The Imperial armies in the meanwhile might lose reputation, and the League gain courage for the defence of their respective estates, or even for the refusal of the terms offered to them. This is the cause of the confederates having already rejected all offers of peace; for undoubtedly what they, and specially the Venetians, dread most, is the Emperor's intended visit, and the immediate invasion, as they imagine, of their respective estates, because, that being accomplished, they are sure to lose the allegiance of their subjects and the opportunity of raising money. They (the Venetians) will be obliged to recall the troops they still have in the Kingdom of Naples, and place themselves on the defensive, in which case the men-at-arms and light horse might easily come up without being molested.

The confederates, however, do not seem to agree. His (Leyva's) opinion is that the Florentines will give no money to the League, but spend what they have in strengthening their city, and making other warlike preparations. The King of France pretends that it would be far better for him to attack the Emperor in Spain. Venice and the Duke Francesco [Sforza] insist upon the armies of France coming to Italy, as they say that without them they cannot possibly make a stand against the Imperialists. Until now nothing has been decided by them. Firmly believes that before they come to an understanding the Emperor will have time to

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come and destroy them all; but, on the other hand, if the march on Naples is decided upon, the confederates are sure to follow one of the courses above alluded to. The Emperor must needs land at Genoa. Once there he will be better able to judge which road to take.

With regard to the Marquis of Mantua [Federigo Gonzaga], his ambassador has passed through this city with the Emperor's letters to him. No answer has yet been received. Is about to dispatch a messenger to him inquiring whether he really intends to take service under the Empire or not. If he answers in the affirmative he can be of much use, situated as his estate is in the very heart (*l'anima*) of the Venetians. As to his being able to raise, as he says, 6,000 foot, 300 men-at-arms, and 500 light horse within a short space of time, he (Leyva) cannot believe it. Two thousand infantry, 150 men-at-arms, and 200 light horse, is the most that can be expected of him, and even then he is likely to take so much time about it that it will be cheaper and shorter to have the same number of men from Germany. However, if the Marquis chooses to take the field with that, or even a smaller force, he can be of much use. No labour will be spared in attaching him to our interests, but as to giving him 20,000 ducats, as His Imperial Majesty commands, that is entirely out of the question, unless they are remitted from Spain, as he (Leyva) has no money or credit, and until Ansaldo de' Grimaldi and Francesco d'Adda be paid their advances, he cannot raise a "carlino."

With regard to Venice and the Florentines, the Emperor's instructions will be punctually observed.—Milan, 13th May 1529.

Signed: "Antonio de Leyva."

Addressed: "S^{a}. C^{a}. M^{te}."

Spanish. Original. Cipher. pp. 10.

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K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 21.

8. MARGUERITE'S INSTRUCTIONS to MAISTRE JEHAN DE LE SAUCH.

After showing his credentials and being admitted to the presence of the King of England, Maistre le Sauch will tell him how often she (Margaret, the Governess of the Low Countries) has been requested by the Duchess of Angosmois* and Anjou, King Francis' mother, to listen to overtures of peace.

In consequence whereof, and having occasion to send to Spain on certain business of her own, the Sieur de Rosymboz, her chief steward (*premier maistre d'hostel*), and Secretary Des Barres, she took the opportunity to inform the Emperor of the overtures made, and the Emperor, not wishing to be an obstacle to the said peace, sent her at once full powers to treat with all Christian Princes in general, and

* Louise de Savoie, Duchess of Angoulême, and mother of Francis I.

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with the most Christian King and his mother in particular. This fact having been communicated to the Duchess of Angosmois (Louise) measures have been taken to appoint a time and place wherein the preliminaries of peace may at once be discussed and settled.

Madame has no doubt that the King of England will be glad to hear the news, and will co-operate to the utmost of his power to the establishment of peace. For her part she need scarcely say how glad she will be to labour for so meritorious a purpose.

Should the King of England put any questions concerning this affair, Maistre le Sauch is to answer that he knows nothing further than that the Emperor has sent his full powers to treat of peace.

The above, or part of it, as may be required, to be communicated to the Legate, as well as to Mons. de Bourges (Don Iñigo de Mendoza), should he happen to be still in London. If the latter, however, wishes to be present at the audiences and take the lead (*porter les parolles*), there is no objection, he may do so.

Maistre le Sauch will return as soon as possible after delivering his embassy, taking good care to hear, and commit to memory, every word the King and Legate may say on the occasion, so as to know what impression the announcement of the proposed meeting has produced on each of them.—Brussels, 15th May 1529.

Signed: "Marguerite." Par ordonnance: "Des Barres."

Indorsed: "Instruction."

French. Original. pp. 1¼.

15 May. **9.** MARGUERITE to the LEGATE.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 24.

Monsieur le Legat, mon bon fils.

Credentials in favour of Maistre Jehan [de] le Sauch, going as ambassador to the King of England.—Brussels, 15th May 1529.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

16 May. **10.** The EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTIONS to the PRINCE OF ORANGE.

S. E. L. Cor. d. A. 267.

As our intention is to contribute with all our might to the entire pacification of Italy without delay or other consideration of any sort, you shall, conjointly with Antonio de Leyva, Federigo Gonzaga, Prothonotary Caracciolo, our Grand Chancellor for the Duchy of Milan, and Miçer Mai, our ambassador at the Papal Court, follow implicitly the contents of these present instructions, though they may differ slightly from those sent first to Don Ugo de Moncada,* and afterwards to Antonio de Leyva.

* The instructions to Leyva, reciting those sent to Moncada on a former occasion, are also in the volume.

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Respecting the Duke Francesco [Sforza] and the estate of Milan, which is the most important point of all, a proposal has been made to us to divide the same among the neighbouring lords (*señores comarcanos*) in such a way, that by their giving us some help in money, We may immediately withdraw our troops from Italy and employ them wherever they may be wanted for the service of God and the welfare of the Christian Republic. In this manner, it is alleged, all ambitious designs upon a large and flourishing estate like the Duchy of Milan shall cease, and if attacked, it can be more easily defended by the Italian Princes among whom it may be divided. You will hear what the Venetians and other Italian potentates have to say about this proposed dismemberment and division, and what part of the Milanese territory each potentate wants for his own share; and when you have ascertained who are to be the purchasers, and what proportionate sum is to be paid by each of them, at what dates and in how many instalments, and also what are to be the terms and conditions of the investiture, you shall inform us in detail, that We may act accordingly; and, if after taking into consideration any such proposals, you should find that there still remains any portion of the estate or estates not applied for, you will cause a careful description and valution of the said portions to be carefully made out, so that they may be opportunely and graciously divided among those persons who have suffered most for our service. You shall, however, take notice that We do not intend including in the said partition and division as aforesaid, all those estates and lands which may have been granted by our commanders in Italy, or otherwise taken possession of by private persons, for of these We purpose disposing at our pleasure, either by confirming the said grants or bestowing them on others.

With regard to Milan and its immediate territory, should the said dismemberment and partition finally take place, it must be considered whether it had not better be constituted into a republic, as others in Italy, or given in fee to some private lord. If the former, it would be requisite to treat with the Italian potentates, as well as with the principal citizens as to what sort of republic is to be established, whether one in imitation of other communities, or a special one that will ensure more effectually the peace and welfare of the Milanese; and such being the case, to ascertain who is to keep the castle of Milan, and what measures can be adopted for the better defence of the said republic in case of attack from the Switzers and other neighbours. If it should be decided to give Milan and its territory to some private lord as a fief of our Imperial Chamber, then it must be considered whether such a person, whoever he may be, is to be called *duke*, or simply *marquis* or *count*. Such being the case, as it cannot be expected that the lord invested with Milan will be able to

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pay the sum required for the investiture, it will be necessary to impose by way of taxation some reasonable tribute to be paid annually to our Imperial Chamber.

After ascertaining the opinion of all and every one of the Italian potentates on these various points, and knowing what part of the Milanese each wants for himself, what price he intends giving and at what dates, as likewise what your own opinion on these matters is, you will take care to inform us that We may at once decide what is best for our interests and the peace of Italy.

If, notwithstanding, these concessions, which We are prepared to make, you should find that the Italian potentates are still dissatisfied, and persist in their demands about the Duke Francesco, wishing us to pardon him unconditionally and restore his estate without waiting for the issue of the judicial proceedings instituted against him; and if you should think that by our not yielding to their requests the treaty of League with the Pope might be endangered, then in that case We declare to you that out of love and consideration for the said Italian potentates, and that all may be convinced of our willingness to treat them as friends and confederates rather than as enemies, We are contented to forgive the said Duke, restore him to his estate, and admit him into the new League, on this condition, however, that this be done without impeachment to our honour (*reservando nuestra honra*), and in such manner that our mercy and graciousness in forgiving his faults and crimes against the Empire be clearly set forth, and the Duke remain, as before, under our sway and allegiance, under the same terms and obligations as stipulated at Toledo with his ambassador, Cavalier Billia (of which a copy is enclosed),* when We first invested him with the Duchy. Provided also, that all Milanese, his subjects, who during the late wars have followed our banners against him, be allowed to remain in their houses and enjoy their property freely without impediment or annoyance of any kind. We further promise, that should the Duke require longer time to pay us the remainder of the price of his former investiture, as stipulated in the covenant of Toledo, a prorogation of the terms will be granted to him; and, moreover, that should he otherwise be prevented from bad health or other causes from coming to us, as he ought, to renew the oath of fidelity and vassalage, he may be allowed to take it at Milan by means of a third person, for which purpose We have just transmitted to the Grand Chancellor of the Duchy (Marino Caracciolo) the original deed of investiture drawn up for that purpose.

With regard to the Venetians, you will treat with them in conformity with our previous instructions lowering, if you think proper, our demands from them. If, however, you were to see that notwithstanding our concessions, the Signory of

* Not in the volume.

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Venice was unwilling to accede to our terms, you will try to obtain from them the best you can. First, and above all things, the complete restitution of the towns, lands, and fortresses they may have occupied in our kingdom of Naples or in the estate of Milan, without which previous restitution nothing can be done, and then as much money as you can for the pay of our troops, even if the sum thus demanded should be much less than in the former instructions, taking at the same time proper care of our brother's affairs and the claims of the emigrants (*foraxidos*), without, however, being too exacting for fear of coming to a rupture with them, for on no account would We let this opportunity slip of concluding a peace, now more necessary than ever for the settlement of our affairs here [in Spain].*

Respecting the Florentines, if no agreement has been made with the Pope, or if there has really been one, and they have been left out of it, should they still refuse to pay the sum mentioned in our former instructions, one of the two following expedients may be proposed to them after first exhausting all means of persuasion: 1st. They may either remain free and independent as a republic, and preserve all their privileges without acknowledging the authority of a tyrant, though under our protection, or else they may adopt any form of government they choose, provided they accept within the walls of their city a captain of ours and a small body of troops to defend them against the common enemy in case of need, just as the Sienese have done. In either case We shall be glad to deduct from the sum mentioned in our former instructions whatever amount you and your colleagues may consider proper, and even remit the whole, if it should be considered necessary, in order to establish on a more solid footing the peace of Italy; but you will on no account come to this last conclusion except at the greatest extremity, and after exhausting all other means of conciliation.†—Barcelona, 16th May 1529.

16 May. **11.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. C. 71, f. 213.

Wrote on the 6th instant, advising the Emperor's arrival in this city (Barcelona). His letter went by way of the Belzeras (Welzers), as one of the partners of that firm, Henry, who is now here, shows the greatest good-will in this respect.

The Emperor seems still determined to cross over to Italy, and is making every preparation for his journey, although, as reported in former despatches, most of his councillors are of opinion that the expedition ought to be postponed, if not entirely abandoned, owing to various causes, and principally to the scarcity of provisions in Italy, which, they

* "Por que hallamos sernos para lo de acá necesario.

† Copies of these instructions were also sent to Leyva, Mai, Caracciolo, &c.

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say, amounts almost to famine. The same may be said with respect to these Castillian provinces, in which, in consequence of the last harvest having fallen short of the usual average, and permission having been granted to certain parties to export wheat to Portugal, famine is also apprehended, if the prospects of a good harvest are not better than they look just now. If to this be added that serious fears are entertained of disturbances and riots similar to those of the "Comunidades," it may safely be said that nothing but the Emperor's stubborn resolution can prevail against so many obstacles.

The Empress [Isabella] is at Toledo in the family way, as Don Pedro de Cardoba writes from that town.

On the 15th a messenger arrived from Biscay, announcing that several ships from Flanders had entered a port of that country, laden with 40,000 fanegas (bushels) of wheat, which is the thing of which we stand most in need, 40 pieces of ordnance, and 600 casks (*pipotes*) of gunpowder. Intelligence has also been received by the same channel of the arrival in Flanders of Monfort and the rest,* and likewise that the German Diet had voted 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse against the Turk, and the clergy without distinction one half of their temporal revenues.—Barcelona, 16th May 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1

19 May. **12.** THE MARQUIS OF MANTUA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 325. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 281.

Thanks His Imperial Majesty for his very kind offers. Is ready to enter his service, and do his will. Hopes that poor and distracted Italy will enjoy peace at last.—19th May 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

19 May. **13.** MARCELLUS BERINGHARIUS†, Secretary of the Duke of Ferrara, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 336. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 282.

Thanks His Imperial Majesty for the favours bestowed on him.—Ex Palatio, 19th May 1529.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

19 May. **14.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. de Hist. C. 71, f. 213 v°.

Since his two last of the 6th‡ and 16th instant nothing new has occurred. The preparations for the journey go on briskly. Orders have been sent to Cartagena for the fleet to come to

* *i.e.* Gabriel, Sanchez, and Nogarolo or Noguerol, who sailed in the same vessel. See vol. III., part 2, p. 905.

† See Andrea del Burgo's letters of the 3rd November and 8th December 1527, where he intimates that this Berengaro betrayed to him all the Duke's secrets. vol. III. part 2, pp. 440 and 493.

‡ His letter of the 6th may be found in vol. III., part 2, No. 684.

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this port, and messengers dispatched to the Prince [of Orange] and to Antonio de Leyva, who, it is believed, are expected here.* One thing, however, is quite certain, namely, that Andrea Doria† has been sent for. Everything shows that the Emperor is really in earnest, although, as he (Salinas) mentioned in his two last despatches, most courtiers, and indeed the whole of the Emperor's Privy Council, think that the voyage ought to be postponed or abandoned altogether, for the reasons specified in his, Salina's, despatch of the 16th instant. Will not fail to advise of any new incident.—Barcelona, 19th May 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

24 Mai. **15.** GOMEZ SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

S. E Leg. 1,553, f. 397.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 284.

On the 14th instant the confederates had not yet operated their junction. Mons. de St. Pol was at Vigebano, on this side of the Tessino. The Venetians had crossed the Adda, and were at Puzzuolo, between Casan (Cassano) and Milan. (*Cipher :*) The Duke Francesco [Sforza] strongly recommended a march on Milan, pretending that Leyva had but a small force with him, and that provisions were scarce in that city; besides which, he added, he had secret intelligence within the city. Our news, however, is very different, and as Rivadeneyra, the bearer, will be able to inform the Emperor, should the confederates attack Milan they will find Leyva quite prepared to receive them with 6,000 men of different nations, and a good supply of provisions. Nevertheless, it is not to be presumed that if left entirely to himself Leyva will be able long to resist the enemy, unless the remedy comes soon, and that must be from Spain. None is to be expected from Naples, as Venice is continually reinforcing the garrisons she has in that kingdom. Now information has been lately received that the Lord of Rimini‡ is coming with more troops by sea, and though the rumour is that his destination is Genoa, the truth is that the expedition is intended against Naples, for the wish of the confederates is evidently to remove war as far as they can from their own territory. That is why our utmost efforts should be directed towards attacking them in these parts, so as to oblige them to abandon the others.

* "Y su Mt. tiene inbiados ciertos mensageros al principe de Orange y á Antonio de Leyva, á los quales creo aguardan." Thus in the original; but in my opinion it was not Chalon and Leyva who were expected at Barcelona as stated, but the messengers themselves with the answer. Those generals could not well leave the command of their respective armies to receive instructions from the Emperor in Barcelona. If to the last sentence, "á los quales aguardan," we add "con la respuesta," the passage becomes more intelligible.

† Andrea de Orio (*sic*) says the original, but it is not unfrequent for Spanish historians of this time to write Oria, d'Oria, and even "de Oria," which after all was the real family name of that celebrated sea-captain, taken from a town in the kingdom of Naples. See Guerazzi *Vita di Andrea Doria.*

‡ "El Señor Vismonde de Rimini" says the original. *Vismonde* appears to me a mistake for Gismondo or Sigismondo, which was Malatesta's name.

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Leyva has sent the copy of a letter intercepted by our light horse, which Joannes (Janus) de Campo Fragoso wrote the other day to the Signory. It is therein said that an experienced captain coming from Genoa had assured him (Janus) that an attack upon that city might be successful, now that most of the inhabitants, discontented as they are with Doria's rule, would easily go over to the confederates. He (Janus) was unwilling to let the French ambassador know of the good dispositions of the Genoese, and had preferred informing the Signory first, trusting they would aid him in an enterprise which offered them so many advantages.

Having discussed the point with Andrea Doria, it has been resolved to increase the defences of this city, and double the spies (*espias*) in order to ascertain the true sentiments of the Genoese. It was not likely that the confederates would undertake at the same time Genoa and Milan. There was no danger either of the citizens protesting so soon against a union of their own making, and yet precautions were taken and the guards doubled, &c.

Doria's galleys that went to the coast of Provence have returned without doing anything save sacking a place on shore called Sanctope (St. Tropez?) and taking 60 prisoners and two galleons laden with wheat, one of which belonged to Cervian (*sic*), who, they say, had a safe-conduct from Andrea himself.

Advices have come that the knights of St. John are arming certain galleys, for the purpose, as it is presumed, of allowing the French to use them even against the will of the Grand Master of the Order (Villiers de l'Isle Adam). Doria and he (Figueroa) have conferred on this subject, but as he has orders not to molest the said knights, no steps will be taken to prevent their arming.

Agostino and Stefano Grimaldo.

Captain Sancho de Prado left for Naples on Sunday, the first day of Easter. He takes with him 300 Spaniards of his own company, and others who had to remain in the hospitals of this place,* actually begging for charity, 100 more remain, who might be sent to Milan, provided Leyva had money to dress and feed them.

Count Lodovico Belgioioso has received letters from Leyva, desiring him to enlist 3,000 or 4,000 infantry, in addition to the 2,000 which this Signory has already. It is proposed with this force to attack the Venetians and the confederates on this side of the river Pò, so as to oblige them to come to the relief of that district, or else abandon it altogether. Milan might in this manner be relieved, as the Venetians would hardly dare remain by themselves on this side of the Adda. Money was to be raised on the cargoes of

* "Lleva cerea de 300 hombres que aqui quedaron de su compañia, y de las que fueron á Milan cerca de ciento, en estos hospitales, y pidiendo por Dios."

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certain ships expected in this port with wheat from Sicily, but the ships have not arrived yet, and even if they do, no money is to be procured on the cargoes, for Ansaldo Grimaldo and other bankers pretend that their last bills have been dishonored by the Spanish treasury.

Lope de Soria advises that there is still a talk among the confederates of an attack upon this city. Joannes (Janus) de Campo Fragoso asks Venice to give him 3,000 men, who, joined to as many more of St. Pol, might, he says, undertake this city. But unless the said Fragoso has secret intelligences within Genoa, which is not likely to be the case, a larger force by land and a good fleet of galleys would be required for the undertaking, and the confederates cannot dispose just now of either one or the other.—Genoa, 24th May 1529.

Signed: "Suarez de Figueroa."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 10.

26 May. **16.** MARGARET OF AUSTRIA to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* No. 16,070, f. 115.

Has received his letters by the Sieur de Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres, as well as the powers and instructions for the meeting [at Cambray]. Would willingly have replied in her own hand to every one of the points contained in them had it not been for the insecurity of the roads, which will oblige her to have this present letter written out in cipher.

And first about the peace now in contemplation. Since the return of Rosymboz and of Secretary Des Barres, the Frenchman known as L'Eslû Bayart has come to inquire what the Emperor's intentions are, but as the instructions she (Margaret) has received refer to various ways and means of bringing about the said peace according to time and circumstances; as it was, moreover, doubtful whether the King of France and Madame d' Angousmois (Louise), seeing that the terms now proposed are very different from those offered on former occasions, would not withdraw their consent at once, she has, with the advice of the Cardinal,* of the Marquis Darschot (d' Aaarshot), the lords of Gavres, Buren, Reulx, Hooghestraten, Berghes, and Rosymboz, merely given a general answer to the said Bayard's question, and agreed with him that on the 15th of June next she (Margaret) and Madame d' Angousmois will meet at Cambray, there to discuss the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which she (Margaret) had no doubt would be easily obtained, provided the French King felt disposed to be as reasonable as the Emperor, &c.

On their passage through France the said Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres were told by the King and his mother [Madame d' Angousmois], among other things, that as the

* Most likely Jean de Carondelet, president of the Council of the Low Countries, Archbishop of Palermo, and Cardinal.

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English suspected that a peace was about to be negociated, and had accordingly made certain overtures in connexion with it, it was important not to displease them, inasmuch as their assistance and co-operation would most certainly be required as regards the indemnity and the debts. He (the King) considered himself bound to inform the ambassadors of the proposed meeting, and advised that the same should be done on our side. To this end a memorandum, in the form of a letter addressed to the King of England, was drawn up, of which the above said Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres brought a copy for approval. Bayard, however, says that since then the King and his mother have changed their mind, and decided to send Mons. de Bayonne [Du Bellay] to England with letters of credence for the King only, and therefore in order to keep the English in good humour, and not to give them further cause of hatred, Master Jehan le Sauch has, by the advice of this Council, been dispatched to the King of England to inform him of the appointed meeting, and signify at the same time that nothing shall be negociated tending to impair the good and amicable relations between his country or the Empire, and no treaty concluded without his being comprised in it.* It must be said, however, that lest the Cardinal [of England] should wish to be present at the conferences, and thereby hinder or prevent in any way the conclusion of the treaty, the King of France and his mother have both expressed a wish that the meeting should take place as early as possible so as to prevent the said Cardinal from attending, which has been accordingly done. Has also written to the Prince of Orange [Philibert de Chalon], to the ambassador at Rome (Mai), and likewise to Antonio de Leyva, informing them of the intended meeting, and begging them to send as soon as possible, and without sparing trouble or money, such faithful reports about the state of Italy as may enable us to profit by our late successes in those parts, and conduct the negociations accordingly.

Respecting the Emperor's visit [to Italy], as it cannot but result in his glory and honour, as well as in the advancement of his personal interest, she (Margaret) has only to remark that its mere announcement has already given much pleasure to all the faithful servants and vassals of the Empire in these parts. And yet, though it cannot be doubted that the Emperor has carefully weighed the dangers and inconveniences of such a journey, and is fully prepared to meet them wherever they may rise, she does not hesitate to express her opinion about it, which is that such a journey ought never to be undertaken without plenty of means, money, provisions, and men: for when King Charles [the Eighth of France] arrived in Italy, intent upon the conquest of Naples, all people flocked under his standard, believing him to have much

* *See* above, No. 8, p. 29.

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money with him, but when on his arrival at Rome he was found to be pennyless, and obliged to borrow money to feed his troops, all deserted him, and he had the greatest difficulty with the 5,000 or 6,000 men, who remained faithful, to fight his way back to France.

Money cannot be procured in Italy in the present state of that country, and as to reinforcements from Germany, it will be next to impossible to have any under two or three months time; for although there was some time ago a good number of lansquenets ready to take service, they have been waiting so long that, as Roghandorff writes, the King of France has been able to secure the services of most of them, besides which, if the infantry the Emperor intends taking with him from Spain is entirely composed, as may be presumed, of raw levies, it would not be safe for him to commit his person entirely to the keeping of the Germans. The Imperial army in Naples is so surrounded by enemies that it cannot be removed from that kingdom, and as to Antonio de Leyva, he has too much work on his hands at Milan to be of any use elsewhere, besides which the Italian bands under his orders cannot, as the Emperor knows full well, be trusted. In short, all things considered, and subject to the Emperor's superior wisdom, her opinion is that the embarkation ought to be suspended until the probable issue of the negociations at Cambray may be fairly surmised, as well as the precise time at which the lansquenets and men-at-arms will be ready to descend into Italy, for if, with God's help, the meeting takes place, and has a favourable termination, the Emperor will then be able to carry out his plans at less cost, and with greater chance of success. The French King being unable to help his allies in Italy, the Pope and the Venetians will soon come to terms, and everything will turn out well.

Such is her (Margaret's) advice after consulting the Cardinal, who knows Italy well, and Mons. de Berghes, one of the Emperor's oldest servants in these parts.

Should there be no news from her between the 15th and 20th of July, the Emperor may at once conclude that nothing has been settled between Madame d' Angosmois and her, for in such a case, the Emperor may be sure that no messenger from this country will be allowed to pass through France with the information. Every effort, however, will be made by sea or land to apprize the Emperor of the failure of the negociations, that he may take his own measures, and provide for the security of his own person and patrimonial estates.

In case of the King of France refusing to treat on the basis contained in the memorandum, the last instructions received prescribe that she (Margaret) is immediately to inform the Emperor of the objections raised that he may fully consider the same and, if convenient, modify his terms. But in her humble opinion such a course is now impracticable, for the said Madame d' Angosmois will never consent to make a long stay

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at Cambray, and for the contracting parties to separate whilst awaiting the Emperor's answer would be an awkward and dangerous proceeding, as events might happen in the meantime to disturb the present favourable state of affairs. Besides which His Imperial Majesty may be sure that the moment King Francis loses all hope of a speedy settlement, he is sure to send a fresh army into Italy, whilst England and the Italian confederates, who, as is well known, cannot tolerate the idea of the announced visit, will do everything in their power to prevent the same. Indeed, the Bishop of Burgos [Don Iñigo de Mendoça] writes to say that the King of the former country has lately sent the Duke of Suffolk to France for the express purpose of encouraging Francis to keep aloof; and has also remitted large sums of money to Italy, with which to help and assist the confederates in case King Francis could not be persuaded to refuse all overtures for peace, and send another army to Italy. For if he does, and obtains some advantage, however small, the King of France will naturally wish to profit by it; peace will be delayed, and the Emperor obliged to accept the same on terms much worse than the present. Even supposing he obtained no advantage over the Imperial arms, there is still a danger to be incurred; the King might spend in Italy the whole or part of the money set apart for the ransom of his two sons, and thus be prevented from accepting peace.

The above is perhaps the chief difficulty, but there are other considerations no less weighty, such as the surrender of the towns and fortresses taken by the French and by the confederates in the kingdom of Naples, some of which the Venetians actually hold. It is to be hoped that King Francis will act honourably, and that Gaeta, now held by Renzo da Ceri in his name, will be speedily surrendered, but what the Venetians themselves hold will not be so easily recovered; for in the first place the Signory has nothing to do with the present peace, and though it is stipulated in her treaty with France that, if required for the ends of peace, Venice shall surrender every fortress and town taken during the last war, no persuasions of the King will induce the Venetians to give up the very rod with which they are to be scourged. She (Margaret) knows very well that the surrender of the fortresses is a thing which touches the Emperor's honour and reputation, and that were peace to be concluded without such surrender it would be a costly undertaking to recover them, whereas, if an agreement be made with the kings of France and England, it stands to reason that the Venetians, rather than stand aloof, and make war single-handed, will accept the peace offered to them from fear of being treated as they were at Cambray, in 1508, during the reign of Maximilian. Should they still persevere in their purpose, the fortresses might then be recovered from them at less cost and with more security than from the whole League. Has, therefore, thought of one expedient, among others, to avoid

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this difficulty, which is to stipulate a clause by which the French King shall be obliged, in case of the Venetians refusing to surrender the fortresses, to furnish a contingent, or else pay a body of men, both infantry and cavalry, sufficiently strong to take by force of arms that which they (the Venetians) are bound to restore by treaty at the suggestion of their ally, the French King. Such a stipulation once made, securities might be asked from the King in the shape of hostages or merchant's bills.

The second difficulty lies in the money which the Emperor wishes to receive in specie and at once, after deducting from the total sum the debt to England. This, in the opinion of the Council, will not be easily obtained for many reasons, and especially owing to the impoverished state of France. Were the surplus of the 1,200,000 cr., demanded as ransom, to be taken out of the property of French subjects residing in Spain, she (Margaret) and the Council of the Low Countries think that it would be a more substantial security than any hostages or merchant's bills, preferable even to ready cash; for, after all, money kept in coffers brings no interest, whereas the sequestered property might produce at least 40,000 or 50,000 florins; and, if necessary, the Emperor could easily within one month's time raise upon it any sums he wanted, and repay the same by selling the sequestered property. To abandon such a course in consideration of the property which Imperial subjects may have in France is not advisable, for it is not to be presumed that the King of France, in the state in which his kingdom is at present, without nobility or resources of any kind, especially after the payment of the said ransom, will feel inclined, the peace once concluded, to recommence war; or, if he should have the inclination, will be able to carry it on successfully. This is the more probable that Frenchmen in this country, according to information received, are now doing their utmost to sell or exchange what property they own without our being able to prevent it, and will ere long get rid of all their belongings, which is a very good example for the Imperialists who reside in France to follow.

The third difficult point is the obligation of the King of Portugal (Dom João) which King Francis wishes to obtain, and the Emperor in his instructions refuses to grant. If so, it is doubtful whether the King will consent to restore Hesdin, the county of Asti, and the places he still holds both in Naples and Milan, or recall his army from Italy, unless he obtains previous security that his sons will be released. Everything, however, shall be tried to persuade him to content himself with the obligation of the Duke of Savoy (Carlo), supposing the latter will consent to sign it.

The above two points, nevertheless, shall be discussed according to the instructions received, but she (Margaret) should like to know as soon as possible, and before the meeting at Cambray, what is the Emperor's final resolution respecting

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them, and also how she is to act in case of the negociations being suspended or broken off for want of conformity; whether the Emperor prefers the non-conclusion of the peace, or whether she (Margaret) may be allowed to modify the terms according to the above ideas.

L'Esleu Bayart has inquired whether in case of the King, his master, being unable to recover from the King of England the bonds which he holds for the Emperor's private debt to him, His Imperial Majesty would grant him sufficient time to pay the said sum into his hands, giving as security bills of exchange accepted by Antwerp bankers. To this question no answer has been made, except that the matter will be discussed at Cambray.

The King and Madame Dangousmois (Louise), his mother, told Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres, that if the treaty of peace about to be negociated was also to comprise England and the Italian princes, it was their wish to treat with the Emperor of an offensive and defensive league, as ample and general as possible. He (L'Esleu) has since repeated his intimation. The proposition in itself seems advantageous, and so the Council considers it; but nothing shall be done in this particular without the Emperor's express orders, and in the meantime no innovation shall be introduced contrary to the text of the Madrid convention.

Secretary Des Barres also says that in case of the negociations being broken off, and of the King of France attempting to invade the kingdom of Navarre, owing to the greater facility which the Emperor's absence from Spain would seem to afford him for such an invasion, it was His Majesty's wish that the truce should not be prorogued, but rather some incursion made into France from these estates by way of diversion. The scheme is excellent, but impracticable just now, for His Imperial Majesty must recollect what the Sieur de Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres have no doubt told him about the state of his finances in this country; for in raising the troops now asked for, and sending to Italy most of the men-at-arms, the greater part of the money in the Imperial treasury will be consumed, and if the remainder is to be applied towards the expenses of the Italian expedition, enough will not remain for the other object. Besides which, the Emperor must bear in mind that the truce with France once broken, that with England will of necessity likewise come to an end, for the King and Cardinal have often absolutely declared that they will not consent to the prorogation of a truce in which France is not comprised, and if the Emperor has not the means of carrying on war against the French alone, much less will he be able to compete with the two kings. Begs the Emperor well to consider the matter, and let her know what his last commands are in this particular, that she may act as shall be most advantageous for the Imperial interests.—Brussels, the 26th of May 1529.

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Just as the courier, bearer of this despatch, was about to start, Montfort arrived from his journey. As he cannot have failed to have informed the Emperor of what he has observed and done at the places where he has been, there is no need for her (Margaret) to enter into details; suffice it to say, that whatever orders and instructions he and Moucqueron have brought will be speedily attended to, and every assistance given for the execution of their charge.

A gentleman of Queen Katharine's household has also arrived with a message from her, to the effect that since the return to England of the person sent by King Henry to Spain for the purpose of obtaining the dispensation brief, the King, her husband, has recommenced judicial proceedings for the divorce more briskly than before. She wishes her (Margaret) to send to England two qualified personages to counsel and help her to draw out the allegations and appeals that may be required. But as the Emperor's orders communicated by the Sieur de Rosymboz and Secretary Des Barres is that the case is not to be pleaded in England or decided by the judges appointed there, no lawyers have been chosen for that purpose, as the Queen wished. She (Margaret), however, intends sending to Malines (Mechlin) to obtain the opinion of experienced lawyers in that place; and if the personage appointed by the Emperor to replace Don Iñigo has not yet left Spain, his departure should be hastened, for the poor Queen is very perplexed, and there is no one in England who dares take up her defence against the King's will.—Brussels, the 27th.

Signed: "Margarite."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

26 May. **17.** Miçer Mai to the Prince of Orange.

S. E. L. 848, f. 47.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 324.

On Easter Day, as the Pope was saying mass, he had one of his usual fits (*le retentó el dolor*) and was therefore obliged to take to his bed again. Everyone here is alarmed, and the Pope himself much frightened in consequence of Jovio,* having removed his own goods and chattels out of the palace. Yesterday his physicians gave him some mineral waters to drink, but as he did not evacuate they do not augur well of his case.

Should His Holiness die, which God forbid, there are two points of my special charge on which I should be very sorry to be found in fault. One is that of the cardinals of the contrary party taking the Pope's death as an excuse for quitting Rome, and holding the election elsewhere, for although the restitution of the fortresses, and the dread of a famine have ceased to be an excuse for such a step, I am afraid of their now pretending to be in fear of the Neapolitan army lest it should come this way and interfere with them. The

* The celebrated Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera, in Naples; whose historical works are well known.

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other is that in a conversation held with some of these same cardinals, when I happened to tell them that I could faithfully promise in the Emperor's name that the College should not be interfered with in its deliberations, and that the army of Naples would not advance, I could not, whatever arguments I used, quiet their fears. It was in vain that I told them that should any attempt be made on our part, they had on their side this very Abbot of Farfa, and the rest of the Orsini, besides the confederated army in Puglia; all of whom might in such a case, come to Rome by sea much quicker than our own men could by land, and therefore that I could not account for their fears. "In cases of this kind," I added, "there was no better security than the faith given, and I could assure them that the Emperor would on no account break it."

This I said because Your Excellency's last letter was written in this sense; but as it is now rather old, and circumstances often change with time, I wish to know whether I am to insist on the same idea, or whether it would not be advisable to tell Ascanio Colonna to approach Rome, and allow also the Neapolitan barons of both parties to return home; or, again, whether it would not be better that none of the "fuorusciti" came, although in my opinion it would be safer for us to allow all to come back indiscriminately.*

The other point is the election of a new Pope. This is so delicate and perilous a matter, and things are so disturbed (*revueltas*) just now, that I can assure Your Lordship there is hardly one Cardinal of our party, or of those who profess to be neutrals, that has two votes in his favour.

As to the partisans of France and of the League, I fancy that they are more united than we ourselves are. On the other hand, I do not think that our votes are so numerous as calculated in the first instance. Colonna, Valle, and Siena, I fancy, will be glad to make an agreement between themselves, namely, the two last to support the former in case he should have a greater number of votes; if not, to vote for the second, and lastly for the third. This is no doubt a good commencement, but I dare not take the affair in hand, because, though I have consulted the Emperor and his Council of State thereupon, I have had no answer, and secondly, because His Holiness having recovered from his late attack, there is no excuse or occasion for me to act in the affair, except in accordance with my general instructions.

In the Emperor's letter of the middle of February†, there is a paragraph thus worded, "Though, owing to the Pope's recovery, these letters will not be immediately required, We have ordered a copy of them to be made out and sent to you, that you may

* "Y estauamos pensando si seria mejor que los barones entrasen unos y otros ó que no entrase ninguno."

† See vol. III., part 2, Nos. 637–8, with the date of Toledo, the 3rd of March; but as neither of those letters contains any allusion to this subject, it must be inferred that it was written before, about the 16th of February. See the Emperor's letter to Santacroce (vol. III., part 2, No. 637), where an allusion of this kind is made.

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know how to act on such an emergency." Such are the Emperor's words literally transcribed, but as, owing, no doubt, to the Secretary's oversight, such copies were not enclosed in the packet, or perhaps were addressed to some one else in Italy, I conclude that the Emperor could only allude to Your Excellency, as the only person in Italy to whom instructions of this kind could be addressed. If so, I humbly request a copy of the same, that I may, the case being so, act in conformity with the Emperor's wishes; and let it be as soon as possible, because if the roads should be intercepted, as they have been at other times, I and my colleague (Burgo) will be perfectly in the dark.

I have been told that Mantua, Ridolfi, Tribultio (Triulzo), and I do not know how many more Cardinals, have commenced to discuss among themselves the future election, and have agreed to bestow their votes on Cesis; but the thing is kept so secret that I cannot learn the details of the affair.

As to Cardinal Santa Croce I fancy that he will give more trouble than help in this affair, because he is much given to God (*porque está muy puesto en Dios*) and he keeps saying, to whomsoever chooses to listen to him, that he will not do this or do that, even if the Emperor order it, for he is more bound to God than to the Emperor.* He declines to interfere in matters of the Pontificate, as he says he considers such intervention a mortal sin; especially when his own person is concerned. The other day I well nigh lost patience hearing His Reverence express himself in this manner; but in this, as other similar affairs, it is perhaps wise to indulge the Cardinal's particular mania, since we cannot always shape men's wits to our own taste. For this reason I am rather anxious, because should the next election fall on a Pope unfriendly to the Empire, as all the rest of the cardinals are supposed to be, there would lurk therein a great danger for religion. That is the reason why, as I myself told Santa Croce, every effort must needs be made that the new Pope elected should be favourable to the Emperor.—Rome, 26th May 1529.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.

—May. **18.** The Emperor to the Legate of England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 14.

Monsieur le Legat, mon bon amy: You will hear through Messire Eustace Chapuys, our councillor, present bearer, the mission he has for our very dear uncle and brother, the King of England, respecting various matters, and principally touching the validity and efficacy of the brief of dispensation granted by Pope [Julius] for the marriage between the King of England and our most beloved aunt [Queen Katharine], about which some doubts have, it appears, been raised in England. This

* "Que le va mas con Dios que con el Emperador."

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original brief has been here carefully examined by the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci), and by Dr. [Edward] Lee, who have also scrupulously collated with it the copy that was made, and handed over to them. We trust that, after hearing what the said Chapuys will represent in our name, the King of England will relinquish any scruples he may entertain respecting his marriage with our aunt.—Barcelona,*—May 1529.

French. Original draft. 1 *p.*

19. The EMPEROR to the KING OF ENGLAND.

Tres hault, &c. Credentials in favour of Messire Eustace Chappuis (*sic*) his "aime et feal conseiller et maistre aux requestes," going as ambassador to England.

French. Original draft. 1 *p.*

27 May.
S. E. Cap. c. Pont. L. 6, f. 10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 291.

20. PROTEST of the LUTHERAN PRINCES at the DIET of SPIRES.

Follow the signatures:—John, Duke of Saxony, Sacri Romani Imperii Archimarschalius, Princeps Elector, &c.

George, Marquis of Brandemburg.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Luneburg.

Wolfang (Wolfgang), Prince of Anhalt.

The free cities of Nuremberg, Argentina (Strassburg), Constance, Ulm, Memmingen, Nordlinghen, Saint Gall, Landaw (Lindau), &c.—Norinbergæ, die Jovis, 27th of May 1529.

Latin. Contemporary copy. 2 *pp.*

27 May.
S. E. L. 2,005, f. 29.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 290.

21. KING FERDINAND'S INSTRUCTIONS to DIEGO LASSO DE CASTILLA and BONACURSIO DE GRINO.

They will proceed to Rome and inform the Pope in the Emperor's name, and in his own, of the resolutions taken by the Diet of Nuremberg. They will declare to the Apostolic Nuncio and to the noble Papal Chamberlain, as well as to the ambassadors of the Catholic League now present at Nuremberg, that the Pope really wishes to join the League. They will inform the latter that his Nuncio and his Chamberlain have positively declared: 1st. That His Holiness disapproves entirely of the recess of Ratisbon, because there was nothing in the deliberations of that diet against Christianity or Papal authority. 2ndly. That the sum demanded from him (the Pope) as a contribution to help the League is onerous to excess.

* The day of the month is omitted in the draft, but as Chapuy's appointment took place at Barcelona, a few days before the Emperor sailed for Genoa; as his commission for bringing the treaty of Cambray to England for ratification by Henry is dated from that city the 29th of August, it is probable that these credentials were drawn in the last days of May.

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They will ask the Pope to pay special attention to the above two articles, and tell him that neither the Emperor nor the Princes of the Catholic League intend any detriment whatever to religion or Papal authority, but, on the contrary, propose to work zealously for the protection and defence of both.

On the other hand, the confederated Princes beg the Pope not that they may be charged, as proposed, with the fourth part of the expenses to defend religion and the Apostolic See. The Emperor, the King, and the confederated Princes have other burdens to sustain.

The Pope himself to keep in readiness 60,000 cr. with which to help the League.—Norimberga, 27th May 1529.

Latin. Contemporary copy. 2 *pp.*

27 May. **22.** CARDINAL WOLSEY to MARGARET.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 26.

Madame ma bonne mere, &c. Has received the letter brought by her secretary, Maistre Jehan de la Sauche (*sic*), for whom an audience was immediately procured. Maistre Le Sauch, who is now returning to Flanders, and is to be the bearer of this present, will inform her how glad the King, his master, was to hear the news, and how delighted he is at the prospect of peace. As to himself, he needs scarcely say that he is entirely at her service.—Richemont, 27th May 1529. Votre tres humble seruiteur et filz. T. Cardinalis Eboracensis.

Indorsed: "A madame ma dame, ma bonne mere Larchiducesse d'austrice, ducesse et contesse de Bourgogne et douayriere de Savoye."

French. Original. 1 *p.*

— May. **23.** MICER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 46. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 318.

According to advices of the 30th of April last, the Diet at Spires has ended its labours, and His Majesty [Ferdinand], the King of Hungary, is actually marching against the Turk. It has been there resolved that the Catholic [Princes and electors], and all those who remain unchanged in matters of faith, are to persevere in their purpose, whilst those who have forsaken (*declinado*) their religion, may remain in the condition in which they now are, without going any further, unless they choose to return to their creed. Mass to be again celebrated and divine service to be held in every town or village, except in those whose inhabitants have voluntarily forsaken that mode of worship, and refuse to return to it.

As at a previous diet it was resolved that all and each [of the German Prince, electors] should do on their part what was best for God's and the Emperor's service, which resolution was naturally the cause of many errors and mistakes, all the articles then passed have since been revoked,* and especially

* "Agora se han revocado todos y el mismo articulo, con contradicion, empero, del Duque Jo. de Saxonia, &c."

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the one above mentioned, which measure was, however, opposed by Jo., Duke of Saxony, the Marquis George of Brandenbourg, two young men (*mancebos*) sons of the Mieburch (*sic*), also dukes of Saxony,* the Landgrave of Asia (Hesse) and Count Hannalt, all of whom voted and protested against the adoption of the said act of revocation, and the closing of the Diet, as well as against the tax imposed upon the country, in which declaration and protest some towns and districts (*tierras*) have also joined. The above-mentioned measures to last until the celebration of the Council, which is to meet within one year or 18 months at the latest. The Papal Nuncio [in Germany] is the channel through whom the above news has been received.

The people of Barletta make frequent sallies without being at all molested. The other day 2,000 of them went as far as Lanchano (Lanciano), which they entered, taking some of our men-at-arms inside prisoners. Negociations are actually being carried on for the mutual exchange of prisoners. Renzo da Ceri, the commander at Barletta, whose son is also our prisoner of war, favours the exchange, and would willingly give up all the men-at-arms he has taken, and perhaps some more into the bargain, to recover his own son; but the disproportion in numbers is so great that I doubt much whether the exchange will ever take place.

Some of the Neapolitan emigrants (*foraxidos*) have returned, and gone about with white crosses crying "Italia è Libertà." As most of them were armed with hackbuts they began to give trouble. They were, however, hunted down, slain, or taken prisoners for the most part. At one place only 300 of them surrendered at discretion, and the Prince [of Orange] has sent them to serve in the galleys.

Colonnese and Orsini are up in arms, and likely to come to blows with each other soon. The Pope has appointed a provost (*bargello*) over Campania with a force of 200 foot and 50 horse, who, if he chooses, can prevent much of the mischief that is in store. Meanwhile the Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) is at Subiacco, plundering and robbing all those who fall into his hands, whether Spaniards or Frenchmen, fryars and ecclesiastics of all denominations, as well as laymen. Our Lord (the Pope) tolerates this, and it is reported even that he is about to give him a "condotta" to secure him and prevent further mischief.†

Venice is procuring money by all possible means, and fitting out galleys to send to Puglia, to maintain the war there until our troops shall be compelled by the rainy season (*por la incomodidad de las aguas*) to raise the siege of Barleta and

* "Dos mancebos del mieburch, tambien duches de Saxonia," says the original text, which must be singularly vitiated.

† "El Abad Ursino se está en subiatzano (*sic*) de adonde roban á Dios y al mundo, asi españoles como franceses, frailes y clerigos y liegos (*sic*), y nuestro Señor se lo consiente; y aun pienso que le dará conducta para asegurarle, que no haga mas mal."

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other places. All the pressure put upon them by Theodoro de Triulzi on behalf of the King of France to persuade them to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope has been of no avail; they have obstinately refused to comply with his request. They have lately built a galley with five sets of oars (*quinquereme*), according to the design of a Greek professor in Venice, called Fausto, who has assurred them that the said galley will be a faster vessel at sea than any they now possess. It has 30 benches (*bancos*) on each side, for five oars each, except the two first, which have only four. They have also sent fresh reinforcements of men and provisions to Ravenna and Cervia, much more indeed than is required for the keeping and defence of those cities, which, in my opinion, is a sign that they have some new project. Their men-at-arms have been for some time in a state of mutiny in the Bresciano. The Duke of Urbino (Alfonso d'Este), the commander-in-chief of their army, is at strife (*ha entrado en competencia*) with the Count of St. Pol.

The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) under colour of a fishing and pleasure excursion to "Las Miras," went lately [to Venice] in disguise; but the Doge and Council could not prevail on him to accept the command-in-chief of the armies of the League; not indeed that he entirely refuses to take it, but the conditions he asks are so exorbitant that they could not possibly be granted. He has now returned to his capital. Don Hercules, his son, has also passed several days in Venice, and I am told that he has obtained for Count de Montorio the command of 50 lances at Ferrara.*

At Nize the knights of St. John are arming five galleys and four smaller vessels. What is their destination nobody knows for certain, though the knights say that they are intended for Maltha.

The captains of the League do not agree as to the plan of the future campaign, and whether Milan or Genoa is to be attacked first. The Venetians are of one opinion: Mons. de St. Pol of another. Both, however, wish to have on their side the Duke Francesco Sforza with the troops under his command, but he has not yet sent them any. It is generally asserted that the opinion of the Venetians has prevailed at last, and that Milan is to be attacked first by all the forces of the League, but, if so, we are not afraid of the enemy, for Leyva is on the alert and sure to do his duty. I am told that each of the city gates has 10 gentlemen keeping guard along with the soldiers.

Advices from Lombardy state that there are symptoms of disturbance at Bologna, in consequence of an old feud between Pepuli (Peppoli) and Ramossot.† The fire of discord, as it was supposed, was fanned by the French, whose policy is,

* "Y hanme dicho que ha acordado al conde de Montoro (*sic*) con cinquenta lanças que le dan alli en Ferrara."

† Ramazzoto?

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whenever they happen to be at variance with the Church, to create similar disturbances in the Papal States. It was in anticipation of these troubles that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) was said to be recruiting men; the Pope knows it, and is afraid of him.

A rumour is in circulation that the Germans serving the Emperor in the Abruzzo are secretly in treaty with the confederates. They want only three months' pay to desert and go home, and whoever promises this to them is sure to gain their favour. The French and the Florentines were willing to pay two thirds of the sum down; the other third to be furnished by Venice. I believe this, however, to be a pure invention of the enemy, though the intelligence comes from several quarters.

The Venetian galleys at Corfu have actually sailed for the Mediterranean to join the French squadron. They are reported in excellent condition, and so very well armed and appointed as to be a match for those of Doria.

General discontent prevails in Italy at certain words the French King is reported to have said to the Venetian ambassador, in answer to his application in the Signory's name. Having asked him to think of Venice whenever he came to make his peace with the Emperor, the King is said to have answered, "I will certainly do my best in their favour (*trabajaré en hacer sus hechos*) when the negociations begin."

The plague has broken out in Lombardy, and both here (at Rome) and in Naples pestilential fevers prevail.

The warder of Mus (Gianiacopo de' Medici) has been lately much pressed by the confederates to declare for the League, but has hitherto firmly rejected their offers.

Advices from Germany state that the King of the French is trying to form a league with the Lutheran Princes against the Emperor. This, and the opposition offered here by his ambassador, when Miçer Andrea del Burgo and I applied on behalf of the King of Hungary for assistance against the Turk, bear sufficient testimony to the highly commendable manner in which that monarch uses his title of "Most Christian."

It is also reported that the Vayvod (Zapolsky) is about to marry a daughter of the Grand Turk, and that a son of the present Doge of Venice, Luigi Gritti by name, has been the negociator of the marriage. The Turk (Solyman) to give as dower the government of Hungary whenever he conquers it. Others say that the Bishop of Strigonia, called "the Five Churches" (*Cinco Iglesias*), and another bishop, whose name escapes me at this moment, are to be present at the ceremony. Many catholics think very badly of all this, and not without reason, because the father of Gritti [Andrea] being so principal a personage in the Republic of Venice, his son at Constantinople could hardly dare do all these things without his

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consent. They say, moreover, that the Turk is coming at the head of 300,000 men, and has proclaimed (*pregonado*) war throughout his dominions for three years to come.

The Pope is much better now, and is drinking mineral waters. The Romans, who the other day resigned in consequence of the new taxes imposed upon the people of this city, have not yet been reinstated in their offices.* Much discontent and confusion prevail in consequence.—Rome, , [1529].

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

— May. **24.** GONZALO FERNANDEZ to the EMPEROR.

Arch d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Neg. d'Ang.* Vol. I., f. 20.

Though in a document signed by the Earl of Desmond himself, I gave Your Imperial Majesty an idea of what that Earl's intentions are, I will now put down in writing some particulars about him, and also an estimate of his available forces, of his person and qualities, and those of his people.

Arrived at a port of the King of England, not far from a city called Corca (Cork), where the Earl is by no means popular.† Many Irish came on board my vessel, and told me that some days previous a gentleman of the Earl's suite had returned from Spain, and brought him a gold cup as a present from the Emperor.

Sailed from the said port of Cork, and next day, owing to stress of weather, was obliged to put up at another called Biran,‡ belonging to a knight vassal of the Earl. Learned from him that the Earl was 25 leagues off, waiting for some of the lords of the land, formerly his enemies, whom he had summoned to the spot for the purpose of making his peace with them.§ Dispatched one of my own servants with a letter informing him of my arrival, and asking His Lordship's pleasure as to where I was to meet him. Four days after this the Earl sent me a message by one of his servants to say that I was welcome to his country, and desiring me to go to a seaport town of his called Tingla (Dingle), where he himself would be before me, as he intended starting immediately in that direction. I must observe that the letter which the Earl wrote to me on this occasion was addressed thus, "To Gonçalo Ferrandes, Chaplain of the Emperor, our Lord," and that on many other occasions after this, whenever he named Your Imperial Majesty, he never failed to add "Our supreme Lord."

After sending a message to the said lords putting off the intended interview for 40 days, the Earl set out on his journey,

* See above, p. 14, No. 5.

† "Cerca de una ciudad que se llama Corca adonde el conde no es bien quisto."

‡ "Tomé otro puerto que se llama Biran, que es de un cavayero (*sic*) que esté debaxo del conde." *Biran* is Beer Haven.

§ "Del qual supe que estaba de alli xxv. leguas, y que se ajuntava con otros señores de la tierra, enemigos suyos para hazer amistad."

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and reached the place of the appointment before me. But when half a league off at sea he sent me six gentlemen of his suite with the request that I would go to another seaport of his, two leagues distant from the former, and help him in the seizure of certain French and English merchant ships at anchor there, adding that his galleys had already sailed in that direction two hours ago, and that he himself was going thither at the head of 500 men. Declined the invitation as cautiously as I could, my answer being taken to the Earl.

Next day, the 21st of April, I landed at Tingla (Dingle), and was well received and honourably entertained by the inhabitants, as well as by some knights, whom the Earl had left there for my reception. Four hours after my landing the Earl himself returned from his expedition against the French and English. He came escorted by 50 horsemen and as many halberdiers (*halabarderos*). He would not allow me to visit him, but called at the lodgings that had been prepared for me. The first thing he did was to inquire after Your Imperial Majesty's health. My answer was, "The Emperor, our Lord, is well, and sends his greetings by me." After banqueting for some time on shore (*afuera de la tierra*), the Earl, his councillors, and I retired to my private chamber, where, with the usual formalities, I delivered into his hands Your Majesty's letter, and after its being read and explained unto him, he beckoned me to state what I had to say, "Since," he added, "full credence is given you, as demanded by the Emperor's letter." Upon which I explained to him my mission, in English, the substance of which I afterwards wrote in Latin, and gave, by his direction, to his councillors. My oration was thus couched: "Galfrigidius, illustrissimi domini principis familiaris, proximis diebus venit ad Cæsarem cum suis litteris, et de sua erga cysarem (*sic*) singulari benevolentia summoque studio multa verba faciens, edocuit quanto desiderio sua Celsitudo teneretur arctissimam cum sua Majestate ineundi amicitiam; ut videlicet amici sui omnes, et quicunque sub sua ditione degunt, eos amicos ac inimicos haberent quos Cæsar prescriberet, et ex eius nutu toti penderent. Petiit etiam summis a Cæsare precibus suo nomine ut aliquem exploratæ fidei virum ad illum mitteret, qui manifestè cognosceret ac intelligeret tum mentem ac intentionem suæ Illustrissimæ Dominationis, tum etiam sui ipsius vires ac posse, quibus etiam mediis ad transigendum cum Cæsare sit procedendum, et de cæteris omnibus rebus agendum, ut firma rataque essent quæ duos inter illos convenirent. Ego igitur sum a Cæsare missus ad Suam Magnitudinem ut sublimitate suæ gratias agam, et suum istum animum complectens simul insinuem nihil esse deinceps quod a Cæsare sua non possit Magnitudo sperare, &c."

My oration over the Earl conversed for a while with his councillors, and then came up to me, and taking his cap off, said, that he was very grateful to Your Imperial Majesty for writing

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and sending me to him. He had applied to Your Imperial Majesty for help and protection against his enemies, considering that Your Majesty had been placed [by God] in this world to prevent one prince from injuring another. Though he did not presume to compare himself with other princes as to the amount of assistance and help he could afford, yet he hoped to be of great service to Your Imperial Majesty in that land where he was. He then began to tell me about his lineage, and the causes of the enmity which his ancestors and he himself bore to the English, as well as the causes and reasons which prompted the latter to be his enemies. My answer was that Your Imperial Majesty always favoured and helped those who professed to be his friends, and that if His Lordship showed himself such, I had not the least doubt that in whatever shape Your Imperial Majesty's assistance might be required it would be willingly conferred, as was always your custom to do on similar occasions. That my advice was, that everything he had just told me about his lineage and the causes of his disagreement with the English should be put down in writing and forwarded to the Emperor, that the latter might see the justice of his case and the injustice of his enemies.

To this remark of mine the Earl objected, on the ground that what he had just told me was enough for me to report to the Emperor, but on my replying that I could not possibly retain by heart all he had said about the causes of his enmity to England, so as to produce a favourable impression on Your Majesty's mind, he agreed and promised to do as I advised.

After this, having inquired about his forces, and where they had better be employed for Your Majesty's service, and what sort of aid he [the Earl] required in return, he answered in general terms that Your Majesty could dispose of him as he pleased in that country where he resided. Upon which I begged him to be more explicit, and say where and how he intended doing service,and with what force, that Your Majesty might be able to appreciate his good-will and more certainly rely upon his help. Both the Earl and his Council considered this request of mine reasonable, and orders were immediately issued for an official report to be drawn up to that effect.

Respecting the help which he (the Earl) required from Your Imperial Majesty, I was told that with four large ships of about 200 tons, and six smaller ones provided with good artillery, and having on board 500 Flemings, he would be satisfied. Upon which I observed to him in the most courteous terms possible that, in my opinion, it was unreasonable to ask such aid from Your Imperial Majesty before he himself had given actual proofs of his friendship, or done some signal service. Other reasons I alleged, which I omit for brevity's sake, and which had the effect of making him desist from his request, for, after consulting with his Council, the Earl said that my observation

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was very just, and that therefore he would only ask for the artillery and ammunition stated in his former memorandum.

I next asked him what security he would offer that his engagements with Your Majesty would be fulfilled, and that he would behave in future like a true friend and servant (*servidor*). His answer was that he had no security to offer except in Ireland; that he was ready to give it there in the manner the Emperor liked best. Out of Ireland he had none to offer except his word of honour, which was enough for any gentleman. So it was agreed that an article should be drawn up to that effect.

The Earl upon the whole entertained me most hospitably, often sending venison and beef to my ship. The person whom he hates most is undoubtedly the Cardinal of England (Wolsey). He owned that he had been hitherto the ally of France, and had in that country a relative of the name Mr. de Quindal (Kendal), a Breton, who lived near Bordeaux, and had served in King Francis' army; but he promised henceforth not to correspond with him, and to hold the French as enemies, as long as they were such to the Emperor.

As to his forces and domains, I am told that here, in Ireland, no less than four principal cities, of which Dublin is the largest and the richest, acknowledge his sway more or less. True, the Earl, himself, has no possessions in the neighbourhood of the latter city, but his kinsman, the Earl of Kildare, who is married to his sister, has many estates and great influence, though now confined a prisoner in the Tower of London, principally, as they say, on the Earl's account. The other three cities are Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, in all of which this Earl has many adherents. He also has great power among the wild Irish, and receives tribute from several knights. He has no less than ten strong castles in his dominions, one of which, called Galvan (Galway), the King of England has several times attempted to take, though unsuccessfully.

With regard to the Earl's personal appearance, he is 34 years of age, of middle height, very well spoken, cool and confident in battle. He is lame, having received a gunshot wound in one of his legs. He is known to enforce justice more strictly in his land than any other Irish lord, especially as regards theft and murder. His men are much given to these things, but show no skill in anything, except in braving death like wild beasts. Their arms consist of small bows and swords. They generally wear coats of mail down to the feet, with gorsals and halberts. The Earl has besides a considerable body of horse, and some among them are said to be well fitted for breaking lances. The men ride without saddle or stirrups, and yet do wonders on horseback.

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

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3 Juin. **25.** KING HENRY VIII. to the ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 30.

Complains of certain depredations committed in the channel by pinnaces or galleons (*pynnaces ou galeons*) said to belong to the Emperor. —Windsor, 3rd June 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

Addressed: "A l' [archiducesse d' Autrice (*sic*), ducesse et contesse de bourgogne, et ducesse Douagiere de Savoye."

French. Original. 1 *p.*

— June **26.** PETITION of GONÇALO FERNANDEZ to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me. de Belg. *Neg. d'Ang.* Vol I., f. 22.

Has returned from his mission to Ireland, in which he has employed upwards of four months, having spent all the money he took with him, and a considerable sum of his own besides. Begs for the settlement of his accounts.—June 1529.

Spanish. Original. 1 *p.*

3 June. **27.** DON IÑIGO LOPEZ DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR.

B. M. Cotton, *Vespas*, c. xiii, f. 320.

Has nothing to report since his letter from Calais dated the 1st of June, except that this King perceiving the shattered state of his health and how difficult it was for him to recover where he was, at last consented to his departure for Flanders, on condition, however, that immediately after the news of his release reached Spain, the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci) and Doctor Edward Lee, should be allowed to proceed to France. In case of non-compliance or delay in the execution of this arrangement, he (Don Iñigo) has pledged his most solemn word in writing to return to his prison at Calais until such time as the said English ambassadors be allowed to quit Spain. Madame Margaret, the governess of Flanders, having promised the same, he (Don Iñigo) begs leave to inform His Imperial Majesty of the conditions under which he has actually recovered his liberty, that the English ambassadors being permitted to cross the frontier, he may inform the King and be released from his bond.—Gravelinghes (Gravelines), 3rd June [1529].

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoza."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord, &c."

Spanish. Original. 1 *p.*

5 June. **28.** LE SAUCH'S report of his embassy to England, sent to MADAME MARGARET.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 225, No. 27.

Embarked on the 16th of May and arrived in London on the 20th. The day after (21st), wrote to the Cardinal, who

* The letter being original it may be inferred that it never reached its destination and was perhaps intercepted, unless it was intended as a copy of what Don Iñigo wrote to the Emperor. It is to be found as above in one of the volumes of the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum.

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was at Richmond, informing him of his arrival, and begging for an audience from the King, that he might present his credentials and deliver Madame's message. Received no answer until the 23rd, when he was told to be the next day before the dinner hour at Windesort (Windsor). Went thither on the 24th at the appointed time, when he was introduced to the King by an old man of the name of Weston.* After many inquiries after Madame's health, her present place of residence, &c., to all of which he (Le Sauch) answered as satisfactorily as he could, the King naturally asked what news he brought from Flanders, when he (Le Sauch), after placing in his hands his letters of credence, proceeded to deliver the message with which he had been entrusted.

His address at an end, the King inquired whether he (Le Sauch) had anything more to say, and upon his answering in the negative, observed, "The news brought by Madame's ambassador are very gratifying to me. I rejoice extremely at them, for certainly I am a man of peace" (*prince de paix*).

His next question was whether he (Le Sauch) had not something to say respecting the overtures of peace made by the Duchess of Angosmois,† or the terms (*articles*) of the appointment and meeting of the two ladies, to which he (Le Sauch) answered as instructed, that he had no knowledge whatever of them.

The King then asked whether he (Le Sauch) could tell the day and place of the appointed meeting. Answered that at the time of his departure from Brussels nothing had yet been fixed. Upon which the King observed, "The news you bring me I had already received through Mons. de Bayonne,† the ambassador of King Francis. He has even been more explicit than you have. Yet you are welcome to my Court; I am very glad to hear that the Emperor is so well disposed towards peace." His (Le Sauch's) reply was, "the Emperor has always been averse to war; he has never shut his ears to honourable proposals for putting an end to it." "Had it been as you say (retorted the King) he (the Emperor) would never have acted towards the King of France in the manner he has done; although, on the other hand, it must be owned that he might have dealt more harshly with him had he chosen." Replied: "That if the Emperor had not treated King Francis as he deserved, it was merely out of consideration and regard for him. At any rate he must own that neither he nor his subjects (the English) had been very harshly treated by the Emperor after the challenge."

His next question was what he (Le Sauch) thought as to the Emperor's journey to Italy. Told him that it was decided upon, and sure to take place, upon which the King observed

* Probably Sir Richard, treasurer of Calais and master of the Wards.

† Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, whose title is generally written Angoumois and sometimes Angousmois.

‡ Jean Du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne.

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that he had recent letters from Spain, from a reliable source, announcing that it could not possibly be accomplished. His reply was, "If God grant me to live 40 more days, I am in hope of seeing the Emperor in Italy." Upon which the King looked hard at him, and smiled with something like incredulity.

He then asked, "Since you have no more to say, what are your intentions?" "To return to Madame as soon as possible, for such are my instructions. I will, therefore, with Your Highness' permission, ask this very moment for leave to depart." "Willingly," replied the King, "you have it, and are at liberty to go whenever you please. Have you seen the Cardinal?" "I have not." "Then you will offer to Madame my most cordial and affectionate commendations, and will tell her that We thank her most earnestly for the good news she has been pleased to send us. I am, as I said before, a friend to peace, and nothing shall be left undone on my part to forward her views, when We have seen the articles, which, considering that King Francis is our friend and ally, will, I presume, be sent for our inspection, before peace is finally concluded. We will certainly do everything in our power to forward the ends of peace, so necessary now that Christianity is threatened by the Turk and by this accursed Lutheran sect. Yet I do not think peace so easy as you imagine; for, in the first place, the Emperor seems determined to go to Italy, which the most Christian King is sure to prevent by all possible means, and in the second place the sons of France are still in confinement. This nothwithstanding, my impression is that these are only devices of both kings to deceive each other as to their real intentions, and to obtain better terms, and that in the end a lasting peace will be brought about. You had better see the Cardinal, that he may at once prepare an answer for Madame."

The very same day, after dinner, the Duke of Norfolk sent a message to say that the Cardinal would see him (Le Sauch) in the evening. Went thither with the Duke, who introduced him to the Cardinal, when it was agreed that, on the ensuing day, the 25th, at the same hour, he would be received officially.

Having then presented his credentials and explained the nature of his mission, the Cardinal manifested great joy at the prospect of the peace being about to be discussed. He himself (he said) had always ardently wished for it, and incessantly exhorted the King, his master, to work for its conclusion on terms honourable for the belligerents. He (the Cardinal) had not the least doubt some good might result from the meeting of the two duchesses (*i.e.* Your Highness and Madame Louise de Savoie, your sister)* especially as he knew how greatly the latter had always desired

* "Car il sçavoit quelle y a tousjours esté fort enclinée, et qu'il me devoit souvenir que des l'année passée il m'avoyt bien dit quil l'auoit tousjours trouvé une tres bonne femme."

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peace. "You ought to remember (he continued) that last year I confessed to you that Madame was in my opinion an excellent Princess, and that something good might in that sense be expected from her." After which flattering words, and having inquired from him (Le Sauch) just as the King had done, whether he had anything particular to communicate respecting the overtures of peace proposed by Madame [of France], or with regard to the terms, time, and place of the appointment, &c., the Cardinal began after his usual manner to discourse at length on the immediate necessity of peace, and the threatening invasion of the Turk, who, he said, had 100 galleys in the Gulf of Venice (*au gouffre de Venise*), and intended soon to attack the estates of the King of Bohemia, as well as those of the Emperor in Sicily and Naples. Should the Turk be able to carry out his purpose, and penetrate into Germany, what (he asked) will be the fate of that poor country, distracted as it is now by the errors of the Lutheran sect? If to this be added that the German Princes and electors in general hate the King of Bohemia (Ferdinand), and that he has left the Diet of Spires in disgust, I ask you (Maistre Le Sauch) whether the state of things is reassuring? He (the Cardinal) was very sorry to see matters in such danger, and that was the reason why he so ardently wished for the peace of Christendom, which he intended to promote with all his might. Should any difficulty arise between the two sovereigns likely to prevent the speedy conclusion of it, he (the Cardinal), if apprized in time, would exert himself to persuade the King, his master, to interfere, and devise some expedient likely to conciliate both monarchs, sure as he was that of all the Christian Princes, King Henry was the one most sincerely inclined to peace. The Cardinal went on to say that since the declaration of war made to the Emperor both by England and France in 1528, the King, his master, had behaved very graciously towards the Emperor, not invading the Low Countries, as he might then have done, and that last year he had tried hard to prevent his subjects from attacking the Empire in those parts. In this manner, and without the least attempt on his (Le Sauch's) part to interrupt him, the Cardinal went on expatiating at full length on the favours and benefits (*bienfaitz*) which, he said, the King, his master, had at various times conferred upon us and the Low Countries.

With regard to the Turk and his designs on Hungary, the Cardinal observed that no positive information had reached England. The affair concerned greatly the King of Hungary, who most undoubtedly had every reason to look sharp in that quarter (*l'oueil au guet*). Yet there was, in his opinion, no danger to be apprehended for this year, and he had written so to Madame.

Le Sauch's answer was, that even granting that the King of England had behaved graciously towards the Low Countries after the declaration of war in 1528, this had turned out con-

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siderably to his own advantage and that of the English subjects, and as for an English invasion, We were not the least afraid of it, as he (the Cardinal) must have observed when a truce was discussed last year.

The Cardinal then asked Le Sauch to declare on his word of honour whether he really thought the two Duchesses were in earnest. Told him that he could answer for one of them; as to the other, time would tell. Hoped, however, that the intention was good. Upon which he (the Cardinal) again remarked that the Duchess [of Savoy] was "une bonne femme," and requested him to present his respects to Doña Margarita, as he called her, to whom (he said) he was about to write immediately, which he did, for on the 29th Brian Tuke came to London and brought the enclosed despatch. Next day (the 30th) he (Le Sauch) quitted London and returned.—5th June 1529.

Signed: "Sauch."

Indorsed: "Rapport de maistre Johan de le Sauch de son voyage d'Angleterre en May xxix., No. 49.

French. Original minute. pp. 5.

5 June. **29.** Miçer Mai, Imperial Ambassador at Rome, to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 44. ff. 44–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 301.

The Provost of St. Mary of Utrecht* has arrived with letters and papers relating to the affair of that bishopric. He comes sent by Madame [Margaret]. Will introduce him to the Pope as soon as he is in a state to give audience, for at present he is very unwell.

Meanwhile he (Mai) and Andrea del Burgo have presented in Consistory the petition for help against the Turk. All the ambassadors of the League, and especially the French, object on the plea that should the Turk not come to Europe, all the money collected will turn to the profit of the Emperor and of his brother, the King [of Hungary].

[Gives a summary of the speech delivered by Andrea del Burgo on this occasion, and continues.] At the meeting of cardinals, which took place afterwards, some raised difficulties as to the appointment of a legate for the intended expedition against the Turk, alleging that the election, if made, ought to fall on one of the highest order, and that the operation would take time, &c. The objection, however, was overruled, and there, in the same Consistory, the Archbishop of Rosano was elected. The Archbishop is perhaps the most eminent orator and scholar in all Italy, and a vassal of His Imperial Majesty. He goes as Nuncio, not as Legate, instead of the Bishop of Castellamare,† who applied in the first instance for the post,

* Philip Naturelli or Neturelli, generally called Dom Prevost. See vol. III., part 2., pp. 549 and 639.

† Centellas, a Spaniard. See vol. III., part 2, p. 974.

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and when recommended by us, and actually appointed, declined to go.

In fact the cardinals of the opposite party have done, and are still doing, everything they can to prevent the formation of this new Catholic League. One of them had the other day the impudence to say, in the very presence of Cardinal Santa Croce, that this asking for help on the part of the Emperor and of his brother, the King [of Hungary], was only a pretence to deprive the Pope of his estate, and subjugate the whole of Italy. For his part (he added) he much preferred living under the Turks than under the Imperialists, who were much worse than Turks. If the King of Hungary did not feel sufficiently strong to defend his estates he could give up that kingdom to its legitimate owner, the Vayvod (Zapolsky). He (Mai) confesses that when he heard these words from the mouth of a cardinal, as reported by Santa Croce, he was so enraged that he decided to go with Burgo to the Pope, and beg him not again to send such matters for the deliberation of his cardinals in Consistory, since the nomination of legates and nuncios was exclusively an affair of his office, and needed no discussion. Did not, however, call on His Holiness, but sent him a message to that effect, adding that if ever it came to his notice that the same Cardinal, or any other member of that collegiate body, had dared to speak in such an indecent manner of the Emperor, he (Mai) took his most solemn oath that he would have him beheaded or burnt alive within his own apartment. He (Mai) had this time refrained out of respect of His Holiness, but should the insult be repeated he would certainly not hesitate in his determination. They could, if they chose, attend to their bulls and other rogueries, grant or refuse them as they liked, but in no manner should they mix themselves up with or discuss the rights of princes and subjects.*

This threatening message was sent *verbatim* to the Pope because he (Mai) knew very well that owing to certain disagreements now existing between the Pope and the cardinals, and of which Burgo gave him (Mai) notice, His Holiness would be rather glad than otherwise, and also that the Emperor's enemies may know at once how matters stand, and not be surprised at what the Lutherans say and profess to believe; for certainly excepting in matters of faith, in most other things concerning Rome the right is on their side.†

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* "Imbiamos a decir al Papa que no pusiese mas semejantes cosas en consistorio, pues él lo podia hacer solo; sino que yo juraba á Dios que si otra vez se atrevia á tal ni él ni otro, que le haria degollar dentro de mi casa ó quemar vivo, Y que agora lo havria hecho sino por el respecto que se ha de tener á Su Santidad, y que ennoramala que se curasen de sus bullas, y de sus bellaquerias, si las querian dar ó no dar, y que no pongan lengua en los Reyes, y querer ser jueces de la subjection de los Reynos."

† "Y tambien porque conozcan la verdad, y no se maravillen tanto de los luteranos, que á mi ver, sino tocaran en lo de la fé, en muchas otras cosas de lo de acá tienen razon."

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Has been unable to advance one step in the affair of the Military Orders. Some opposition has likewise been offered in Consistory to the bulls of Coria and Elna. Notwithstanding the Pope's verbal promise that they should be issued on presentation and nomination of His Imperial Majesty, the majority of the cardinals who, as the Emperor must know, belong to the French party, have again refused to expedite them, as demanded. This being a matter in which it is dangerous to give way, he (Mai) protested, applied again to the Pope, and has finally obtained that for this time, at least, those of Coria and Elna shall be issued "a presentacion y nominacion."

Cardinal Cesarino and the abbacy of Monte Aragon.

Bishop Urries, and the bishopric of Huesca.

Cardinals Gaddi and Doria.

San Severino, and the son of Mons. de Laxao (Lachaulx).

Commends the services of Miçer Andrea del Burgo, King Ferdinand's Ambassador, whom he (Mai) considers as a father. Has always been of great use, and worked very hard in these negociations.

A friar named Fonseca has been here [at Rome] two days on private business, as he says, of the King of Hungary (Ferdinand). He has already left for Naples without informing him (Mai), or his colleague (Burgo), of his purpose in coming to Rome. Has, however, left the enclosed letters* for His Imperial Majesty.

The affair Salinas is finished, and goes with the rest of the papers. That of Silli (Cilly ?),† would have been concluded also had the Pope been in better health, for it is necessary to speak to him beforehand.‡—Rome, 5th June 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

5 June. **30.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L, 848, f. 45. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 308 v°.

After writing the enclosed despatch he (Mai) pressed the Pope to send the Capuan (Schomberg) to Flanders, as had been resolved, but whether it be that he has changed his mind since his last attack, or that [Jacopo] Salviati, whose son (the Cardinal) is now Legate in France, opposed the idea, the fact is that when he (Mai) spoke again about it, his application was refused under various pleas. Since then, however, hearing that the conferences at Cambray, between the Queen Regent of France and Madame Margaret [of the Low Countries], have actually commenced, the departure of the Capuan has been definitively settled. He will leave to-morrow for Chamberi, where he is to wait for the courier who brings the

* Not in the packet.

† Claude de Cilly, whose name has occasionally been written *Scilly* and *Silly*, at one time Imperial ambassador in England. *See* vol. III., part 1, p. 9.

‡ "El negocio de Salinas es despedido, y va con estos. Tambien fuera el de Selli sino ques menester hablar al Papa." This Salinas must be Martin, Ferdinand's ambassador, whose correspondence has been abstracted in these volumes.

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answer from the Legate (Salviati). As soon as he gets it he will go to Cambray, and if necessary, to Barcelona, or wherever His Imperial Majesty may be at the time.

On the 2nd instant a courier arrived from Brussels in nine days, with letters from Madame of the 22nd of May, asking for particulars about the confederates, their forces in the field, their plans for a future campaign, the general state of affairs in Italy, &c. There came also within the packet letters for the Prince [of Orange], and for Antonio de Leyva, which were duly forwarded. The former has already answered most circumstantially all the Emperor's inquiries; the latter has been unable to do so; but it matters little, as whatever that captain (Leyva) may have to say about Lombardy and Milan is contained in his (Mai's) despatches, of which a summary has been forwarded to Brussels.

About the time that Madame's courier arrived no less than ten others came from France and Venice, and when the news of the meeting of the two ladies [at Cambray] was made known, fear and anxiety were visible on the face of every cardinal not attached to the Empire. The Pope, himself, was afraid of being forgotten in the conferences for peace, and he accordingly sent to Miçer Andrea del Burgo and to him (Mai), to beg and entreat that the interests of the Church should be taken care of. Assured him that they would be attended to. The Emperor had not forgotten them at the conferences of Madrid; much less would he now that the Pope seemed willing to become his friend. Every year, about the harvest season, great disturbances (*revueltas*) take place here at Rome. The whole of the last month (May) we have had a good deal to suffer from this abominable blockhead of Orsino.* Now Ascanio [Colonna] has come close to Rome with about 3,000 men and 500 horse. On his arrival he sent word that he had come exclusively on the Pope's behalf, and for his service. Transmitted the message to the Pope, who grew, however, very angry, and replied, "I want not Ascanio, nor have I sent for him. I will, on the contrary, prepare for defence," and he accordingly gave immediate orders to the Archbishop of Capua (Shomberg), and to Jacopo Salviati to call on him (Mai), and announce his determination. Answered that His Holiness had nothing to fear this time from Ascanio and the Colonnese; if they once came to Rome in arms, it was because they knew the Pope to be no friend of His Imperial Majesty. Now that the contrary was the case there was no fear of his doing anything but what was acceptable to His Holiness.

With regard to the Pope's intended journey [to Spain], he (Mai) has taken every opportunity of stigmatizing it in public as a device of the French and of the English. The Pope, in his opinion, could not quit Rome without inflicting a serious

* Napoleone Orsino, abbot of Farfa, about whom see vol. III., part 2, pp. 767, 939–40. "Y este año todo hauemos sofrido á este rapaz del Abad Ursino, que es asco."

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injury on the Emperor, for it was publicly asserted in Rome that he was going away, in order not to be in Italy when the Emperor landed, which was tantamount to throwing discredit on his person, and making people believe that he did not feel secure in his own capital, whereas it was quite evident that he had nothing to fear from so catholic a prince as His Imperial Majesty. If the Pope insisted on going away he (Mai) would follow him wherever he went, to the end of the world, if necessary. But in doing so the Pope must know that his professions of friendship for His Imperial Highness could no longer be trusted. He (Mai) could not possibly object to his arming, considering the importance and authority of his person, but this he could say and promise: if the Pope did not arm, the Colonnese, far from doing him harm, would be entirely at his devotion. If His Holiness could find means for the harvest to be got in without the usual disturbances (*vollicios*), he (Mai) would engage to make the Colonnese go back to their country. The forces which the latter could bring into the field being much superior to those of the ex-Abbot, it was indifferent to him (Mai) which means were adopted, provided they were efficacious enough to put down the nuisance. Should they prove deficient he (Mai) could at any time let the Colonnese loose upon the ex-Abbot, &c.

The answer to this reasoning, the substance of which reached the Pope's ears, ran thus, "His fears were aroused at seeing the number of troops under Ascanio, so superior to those of the ex-Abbot and the Orsini, that they could at any time destroy him and enter Rome. However, he would not quit Italy without the ambassador's approbation." Such was His Holiness' answer, aud this must be said of him, that although he has hitherto remained neutral, he appears now to lean more on our side, and so we are actually looking out together for the means of putting down this nuisance.

Ever since Malatesta of Perugia declared for the French, he (Mai) has been trying to make the Pope forsake his neutrality and declare himself. Has offered him 6,000 men from Naples and 10,000 ducats in money, provided he takes the affair in hand and chastises Malatesta as he deserves. Andrea del Burgo has likewise offered a sum of money towards the expenses of the expedition, as we both wish him (the Pope) to declare himself openly against the League, and save Perugia from the hands of the French. Meanwhile, Bratcio Ballon (Braccio Baglione), who is opposed to Malatesta, has been enlisting troops to attack that city. He is a good servant of the Emperor, and the Pope approves of the plan. Observing, however, that the undertaking is not openly countenanced by the Prince [of Orange], or by him, though in reality it meets with their full approbation, Braccio has lately brought a fresh message from the Pope to the effect that any attempt on Perugia, if successful, would be exceedingly agreeable to

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him, which, in our humble opinion, is another tie to bind him the (Pope) more closely to our cause.*

Yesterday, the 4th instant, Diego Jayme sent from Ostia His Majesty's letter of the 15th of May. Showed it to the Pope, who was glad to read its contents. Told him how thankful he was to His Imperial Majesty for the trust and confidence placed in him. He was soon to dispatch the Capuan (Schomberg) on his mission, and went so far as to say that he would be glad if some troops from Naples came to the Roman frontier for his protection, as the confederates were continually threatening him.

With regard to peace, the Pope this last winter assured them [Burgo and Mai] that he was unwilling to treat separately of it, inasmuch as that of France, once concluded, was sure to bring about that of Italy. This, he openly declared, was the only effectual means of checking the Emperor's overgrowing power, as the peace of Italy once made, His Majesty would be enabled first to beat France, then to subdue Italy, and lastly the rest of the world. Now he thinks differently. He said the other day that he approved of the peace of Italy preceding that of France; as one would naturally bring about the other. Encouraged by this avowal, he (Mai) began to speak to him about the Duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), who, though quite undeserving of His Majesty's mercy, owing to his having been twice in fault, yet might be forgiven under present circumstances.† Offered even to treat of the matter with him, and begged His Holiness to do the same, which he fully promised. Must own, however, that in his (Mai's) opinion very little reliance can be placed in the Pope's exertions for this Italian peace, though, on the other hand, something has actually been done towards its accomplishment by persuading the Pope no longer to be afraid of the confederates as he was before.

Not knowing exactly how to account for the Pope's sudden change in this particular case, he (Mai) discussed the matter with Burgo, and after long deliberation both came to the following conclusion: The Pope, in his late conduct, must have been actuated by three most potent motives. The first and principal is that he has no doubt been convinced of the Emperor's innate love of truth, and therefore that whatever the Imperial ministers have told him is substantially true. Secondly. His growing suspicion of France. Indeed, all Italy is amazed at the answer he is reported to have made to the Venetian ambassador, when the latter begged him to intercede for the Signory's inclusion in the treaty of Cambray. The Pope is known to have answered on that occasion, "I will have the

* "Me dixo que tampoco le pesa á S. Sant^{d}. (Santidad) pues lo hiciesen de manera que saliesen con ello, porqe otramente nos pornian por acá mas fuego, de manera que es este un grande arbitrio que á poco á poco se gane este hombre."

† "Vinele á particularizar del Duque de Milan, aunque es tan mal rapaz que por hauernos las negadas (pegadas?) dos vezes tan descaradamente, no me paresce merescedor de la gracia de V. Md."

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matter referred to my Council, and inform you of the result." Some days after he replied in most categorical terms, "Since the Italians do not help me as I expected I must look elsewhere for what I want." Thirdly. His fear of the confederates, themselves; for he knows, and the Imperial ambassadors know also from another quarter, that there has been a design of snatching Bologna from him, as well as Perugia, which has accordingly been garrisoned with Florentine troops. In addition to this, the ex-Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) has written to the confederates that if they only give him money to raise 2,000 men he fully promises so to worry and molest the Pope here at Rome, as to oblige him to decide against the Emperor. Hears likewise that an estate which the Pope's niece (Margaret) had in France has lately been taken from her. There is, moreover, room to suppose that Milan, being, as they say, so closely invested by the enemy, the Pope may fear that the League, if successful in that quarter, will become too strong for him. However this may be, the Imperial ambassadors will persevere in their purpose, and not fail to press the Pope whenever an opportunity offers itself, besides consulting the Prince as to whether the negociations ought to be resumed or not, for although he (Mai) is not one of those who think the Pope's friendship under present circumstances absolutely necessary or of any great importance, he yet considers it advisable to keep it as long as possible, lest he should bestow it on the enemy.

Since Caracciolo, the Prothonotary, is going to Mantua to treat with the Venetians, it seems advisable not to say anything about them here, for fear of losing reputation; yet it has been agreed between Burgo and him (Mai) to broach the subject to Cardinal Cornaro, who is supposed to be a good Imperialist.

With regard to Francesco Sforza, overtures were made some time ago to a Milanese lawyer, who resides here for that Duke. His name is Miçer Galtiero Corbeta, the son of a Milanese gentleman, and formerly an intimate friend of his (Mai), when both were students at the University [of Padua]. Miçer Galtiero listened to him attentively, and promised to communicate the affair to the Milanese ambassador in ordinary, for the Duke has another one here, at Rome, and Galtiero has only been sent to work under him on account of his father's friendship for him (Mai). As, however, Girolamo Morone has since taken a hand in this affair, and the Imperial ambassadors have been told to desist, he (Mai) had dropped it altogether. He will now resume it, and try his luck again; and since the Pope promises to speak to him besides, has no doubt that, with such assistance, all chances will be in our favour.

Also intends speaking this very day to the secretary of the Ferrarese embassy, whose master (Alfonso d' Este), is, they say, about to declare in favour of the League, and already

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enlisting troops to that effect. Intends calling on him with Andrea del Burgo.

There are no more people here at Rome to be sounded respecting their views and intentions, for the Marquis of Mantua professes to wish sincerely for the alliance of the Pope and the Emperor.

With the Florentines there is nothing to be done at present, for those who reside here are all "fuorusciti" (emigrants), and consequently friends of the Pope, and opposed to those who now hold the government of that city. The Prince [of Orange] has been written to, and requested to look out for some other means of getting at them, although it is to be feared that all our exertions in that quarter will prove vain (*seran diligencias en cuerpo muerto*). It was the greatest mistake in the world to recall the Imperial ambassador (Alonso Sanchez) from Venice. The fiercer the war the more is an Imperial agent wanted to reside in that city, and report about the Signory's doings. Only yesterday the Pope told him (Mai) that the whole of Italy was anxiously watching the conduct of the Venetians in these times, in order to be guided by it; in addition to which, an Imperial agent is more needed than ever, as he might make overtures to the Signory, and thereby raise suspicion and discord among the rest of the confederates.

The Pope thinks of enlisting a number of Switzers for his body guard, as many as he had before, and perhaps more. By which means he hopes to keep that nation in good humour as regards temporal matters, and also in what concerns Luther.

Sanga called at the embassy last night, and said in the Pope's name that Bratcio Vallon (Braccio Baglione) had 3,000 men under him, and was over-running the land [of Perugia]. He had already ransomed (*compossado*), some lands in the kingdom of Naples, and was likely to do the same soon in the lands of the Church. His Holiness (he observed) might at all times have rejoiced at Baglione's success, but considering the turn affairs have taken lately he will now be obliged to alter his mind and recall him. Begged Sanga to tell His Holiness not to do anything of the sort. He (Mai) could easily apply a remedy to the evil by sending a commissary (*comisario*) to Baglione, and writing also to the Prince to send another. Since His Holiness' wishes in this particular were known, nothing was so easy for the Imperialists as to consider Baglione in the light of a captain in the Emperor's service, and send him whatever money he might require for the pay of his troops; such being the case, the Imperial ministers begged the Pope to allow this plan to be followed rather than risk altogether the loss of Perugia, for were that city to fall into the hands of the confederates they would no doubt over-run the country

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to the very gates of Florence, and get there all the supplies they wanted. Indeed, should this come to pass it would be entirely the Pope's fault for not taking active measures in time when Andrea del Burgo and he (Mai) asked him.

The Sienese are still contending with Count Pitigliano. He (Mai) is still trying to make up their differences, and has written to both parties to send agents here with full powers to treat of peace or a suspension of hostilities. The Count has already sent his, and the magistrates of the Republic have also been requested to send theirs.

The friar mentioned in his despatch of the 21st of April* as having preached the Lutheran doctrines at Siena, and of the probability of whose peaceable extradition by the Sienese some fears were entertained, has at last been secured, and is now a prisoner at Viterbo. Hearing from Naples that a white steed (*hacanea*), such as it is the custom to present yearly to the Pope, could not be procured, he (Mai) set about looking for one here. After a good deal of trouble one was found in the possession of the Pope's equerry, though very old, and having probably served already on similar occasions. Having requested the equerry to name his price he asked a most extravagant one, which he (Mai) did not hesitate to accept, owing to the impossibility of procuring another one, but when the embassy's groom called for the animal the Pope's equerry obstinately refused to give it up though the money was forwarded at the same time, and Cardinal de La Valle, who is his friend, interceded most earnestly for it. The English ambassador was also willing to sell one he has in his stable, but having learnt the object for which it was wanted withdrew his consent to the sale. In this extremity he (Mai) applied to Cardinal Grimaldo, who sent him his immediately, but would take no money for it. It would be advisable to send him two Neapolitan colts instead.

Archbishop of Saragossa and his agent at Rome,—Hungary, and the crusade against the Turk.—Rome, 5th June 1529.

Signed : "Mai."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

5 June. M. R. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 213 v°.

31. Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

Has written thrice since his arrival at Barcelona. The preparations for the voyage continue. The armament is almost complete. The Emperor has written [to Italy] to announce his determination, and promised him [Salinas] very shortly to announce by express messenger the day of his departure.—Barcelona, 5th June 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

* See vol. III., part 2, p. 985.

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5 June. **32.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. R. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 214.

In favour and commendation of the bearer, Martin* de Gurrea, son of the late treasurer, Ferriz, who has long wished to serve under His Highness [the Archduke], but has hitherto been prevented from doing so by various causes. Now that he hears the Turk is preparing to invade Germany he has made up his mind to take part in the forthcoming campaign, and is already on board ready to sail. Humbly begs that his offer be accepted in consideration of the many good services which his father, the treasurer, and his brothers once rendered to the Catholic King [Ferdinand], and to His Highness.—Barcelona, 5th June 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

5 June. **33.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. R. Ac. de Hist. c. 171, f. 214.

To-day, the 5th of June, His Highness' despatch, dated the 24th of April, came to hand by a land route, also the letter for Don Pedro de Cordoba of the 11th ult°, from Lintz. The same messenger brought despatches of Montfort, addressed to the Emperor. All these arrived after the sailing of the galley which took the Emperor's letter, and his (Salina's) foregoing despatches.

Has nothing to add, except that the lengthy report which came by the last courier was shown to the Emperor, who told him (Salinas) to forward it to the Council. This shall be done to-morrow without fail, and at the same time a summary account of the deliberations of the Diet will be drawn up for the information of that body.

Has duly recommended to His Imperial Majesty the affair of Juan Renque.†—Barcelona, 5th June 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

7 June. **34.** The KING OF ENGLAND to the LADY MARGARET of the Low Countries.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 30.

Tres haulte et excellente princesse, nostre très chère et très ameé seur, cousine et bonne commère, &c. Since his letter of the 3rd, complaining that certain pinnaces or galleons belonging to the Emperor had committed ravages, "en nos destroietz de mer et jusques en nos quenals et marches," daily capturing fishing and other craft, and selling them in the ports of that coast, it has come to pass that instead of these piracies committed during the truce having been checked the evil increases, and the depredations continue. To prevent this orders have been given for the seizure of a pinnace from those parts, whose crew have been represented as having taken part in the above excesses. It is now detained "en nostre ville

* The original has Mīn, which I suppose to be a contraction for Martin.
† Iu°. Xc̄. in the original, which I take to be Juan Xenque or Shenk.

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et port de Brightelmoston (Brighton)," and a judicial inquiry is being made. No final proceedings, however, shall be taken until an answer comes from her.—Wyndesort (Windsor), 7th June 1529.

Signed: "Vrē bon frē et cousin Henry." *Countersigned:* "Tuke."

Addressed: "A Treshaulte et excellente princesse nrē treschere et très ameé seur, cousine et bonne commère L'archiducesse daustrice, ducesse douagière de Savoye."

Indorsed: "Lettre du Roy Henri VIII. á l'archiducesse d'Autriche et comtesse de Bourgogne et ducesse douairiere de Savoye, sur les depredations commises par quelques pynaces ou galeons soy disans á l'Empereur."

French. Original. pp. 2.

7 June. **35.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 339.

Perceiving that His Holiness' intended journey [to Spain] was neither certain nor even probable at a time and under circumstances favourable to the Imperial interests, I ventured the other day, whilst conversing with Sanctiquatuor and Salviati, the only two officials at the Roman Court with whom it is possible to negociate nowadays, to utter my sentiments respecting the Pope's projected visit. Talking about the peace, I declared that in my opinion it would never be concluded, as no one took any real interest in it. I knew that His Imperial Majesty would not shut his ears to reason, as he has never done so at other times. All parties (I remarked) agreed in saying that they wished for peace; matters seemed well prepared to take definite form, and yet the negociations did not advance one step. In my opinion it was entirely the Pope's business. He ought to send out good and wise diplomatists to treat, before the interests of one or other of the parties grew too disproportionate. The person thus appointed ought to go to France and to Spain too. The Archbishop of Capua or some such a one might be named for that post. I purposely added the words "some such a one,"* because had I mentioned him alone the suspicions of these people might have been raised.

That excellent old man, Cardinal Sanctiquatuor, immediately accepted the idea, and promised to speak to the Pope about it; not so Jacopo Salviati, who began to raise objections and start new plans. It was not difficult for me to perceive the cause. I saw plainly that the circumstance of his own son [Giovanni] having been appointed Legate to France naturally prevented his joining in the idea; but I proposed that Capua should go as Nuncio under him, which, far from diminishing the Legate's character and reputation would increase it considerably. This proposal of mine had the effect of quieting his

* Otro como él.

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fears, and he accordingly promised to report our conversation to the Pope.

Meanwhile I spoke to the Capuan, who happens to be now on no very good terms with these two, and begged him not to oppose me, but give me his assistance in the present undertaking. His answer was that of an honest man, and good servant of His Imperial Majesty. He said, "I will offer no opposition to your project, and yet if the plan is to be successful it is necessary that I should do so. I will feign that I dislike the commission, and accept it only at His Holiness' commands, for were they to suppose for a moment that I liked the post I should never be appointed."

However, two days after this Miçer Andrea del Burgo and I were informed that the Pope had not only received the idea badly, but had actually refused to appoint the Capuan, on the plea that he had some time ago sent to Barcelona his own "Maestro di Casa," and that he considered that quite sufficient for the purpose. "He was expecting letters from him, and besides he had no money to lay out in embassies. The Archbishop besides would meet with a very cold reception in France." Now whether this rebuke of the Pope was owing to a fit of bad humour caused by his late severe illness, or whether the proposal was not to his taste for some reason or other unknown to me, I cannot guess; certain it is that it disappointed us terribly, and made me suspect that the "Maestro di Casa" might after all not bring us back so many things as he at first promised. However this may be, lest we should throw discredit on Your Imperial Majesty and make these people believe that we were so very anxious for peace I and Burgo made no reply, and the matter was soon dropped.

Some days after this, as Salviati and the Archbishop [of Capua] were in the same room with Andrea del Burgo and me, the former, without any previous allusion to the affair, said, "If the Pope decide on sending the Archbishop [to Barcelona], he can surely go through France under a safe-conduct." Upon which the Archbishop started up and said, as the worthy and courageous person that he is, "Rather than apply for a safe-conduct I would altogether decline going to France, confident as I am that, though a vassal and servant of His Imperial Majesty, I should be received everywhere as befits a person of my rank and quality."

This answer of the Archbishop came very apropos for me to peer into that mysterious darkness of the Pope's mind, (*cipher:*) and ascertain whether his intentions be good or bad, and what he means by "neutrality."* It might also serve our plans [at Barcelona], because, even if Your Majesty was already on the road [to Italy], this would do us no harm, but on the contrary would increase our reputation with the Italian potentates; besides which, if Your Majesty has actally begun

* "Porque descubririamos este negocio secreto de la mente buena ó mala del Papa, y si es neutral veriamos á que tira esta neutralidad."

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to negociate with Madame, the Regent of France, the Capuan is a person equally fit for this negociation as for that other.

Having decided in consequence to prosecute the idea, and press the matter as much as possible, I called on the Capuan and told him the probability there was of his being named, notwithstanding the Pope's first refusal. "Two things (said he to me), are required if I am to fulfil my commission conscienciously, namely, to know what is to be done, and how I am to do it." A personal interview between the Emperor and the King of France, besides being a dilatory expedient of itself, is fraught with some amount of danger, (*cipher:*) owing to the mutual challenges sent and accepted. We were both of the same opinion as to this, and concluded that it was far better for Madame, the Regent of France (Louise de Savoie), to go to Narbonne, and for Your Imperial Majesty to send thither his Grand Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara), or, in case of the latter not being fit for the task, any other personage whom Your Majesty should like to appoint. Or, again, if this proposal did not meet with the approbation of the parties, for Your Imperial Majesty to go to Perpignan, and Madame to repair also thither. The Capuan, therefore, wishes to know as soon as possible, and before he leaves for France, which of these two plans will be the more agreeable to Your Imperial Majesty that he (Schomberg) may propose it as if coming from himself. Indeed, whichever of the two is adopted by Your Majesty he (the Capuan) thinks has a good chance of success.* If, therefore, Your Majesty will let us know his will, a courier might be dispatched to Knight Commander Figueroa,† that he may apprize the Capuan of it on his passage through Genoa; or else the instructions required might be addressed to me, and (*cipher:*) I would transmit the same to him immediately, under the Pope's cover, by means of a private cipher concerted between ourselves beforehand. After this, and having discussed together the probabilities of a peace and the sort of conditions likely to be asked and granted, the Capuan's opinion was that the terms now proposed were nearly the same as those put forward at Burgos, when, owing to mere mutual mistrust (*solo por desconfianza*), the negociations were suddenly broken off: but the same reasons (he thought) do not exist nowadays, for besides the oaths customary on such occasions, a supplementary article might be introduced into the treaty binding the two parties to turn their arms against the Turk, or make some matrimonial alliance.

At this stage of the discussion the Capuan (Schomberg) observed that on a previous occasion Your Imperial Majesty had offered the duchy of Milan as a dower for the Infanta Doña Maria, daughter of Queen Eleanor.‡ My answer was

* "Y piensa que ternia muchas ansas (*sic*) para ello."

† Gomez Suarez, the Imperial ambassador in Genoa.

‡ "Dixome que otra vez platicó con Vuestra Magd. de dar el ducado de Milan en dote á la Serma. hija de la Señora Reina que fue de Portugal, y tomar su dote en el patrimonio."

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that I did not approve of such an expedient, for the circumstances were no longer the same. At that time the whole world was against Your Imperial Majesty, and although it might be said that nowadays it remains pretty much the same, and in downright opposition to our political views, yet on three points there is no longer any analogy whatever. 1st, that the confederates are actually tired of spending money; 2nd, that Your Majesty has still in his power the sons of France; and 3rd, that then Your Majesty was disarmed, but now he is powerful enough to make the world tremble at his sight. Besides which, the chance of one of Francis' sons, even the second born, being made Duke of Milan, is of so great an advantage to him that even if the King had come out victorious from the late contest, and had now the hostages in his possession, he could not possibly wish for more. Besides which, were such an agreement to be made, Queen Eleanor would most naturally favour her husband's views, and her daughter, the Infanta Doña Maria, would only do what her mother wished. The Capuan's reply to this objection of mine was that in all things there was a middle path. In his opinion Your Majesty might keep the children [of France] at his Court, and have them brought up and educated in his own palace. In the meantime the government and administration of the duchy of Milan could be organized to Your Majesty's content and best interests. There would be besides no necessity to give away the whole of the estate; a considerable portion of it might be retained to be granted in fiefs to those who have served the Empire during the last Italian wars, as proposed on a former occasion; and the remainder sold for a considerable sum of money. A clause might be introduced, purporting that in case of no male issue the whole should revert to the Empire or to whomsoever Your Majesty should designate.

Such are the ideas which the Capuan entertains on the subject. He is an excellent man and archbishop, most sincerely attached to Your Imperial Majesty, and has great experience of affairs. Jacopo Salviati has just called to announce his nomination. If so he is sure to conduct with ability and zeal the future negociations. I therefore entreat Your Majesty to send the instructions as soon as possible, and let this matter be kept a secret from the Papal Nuncio [at Barcelona], or at least let him ignore that the proposition of sending the Capuan to Spain comes from me, because if he should happen to hear of it I should make a sworn enemy of him, and I wish, for Your Majesty's sake and interest, to keep on good terms with all these people.—Rome, 7th June 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Most Sacred, Imperial, &c."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering between the lines. pp. 9.

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8 June. **36.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 344.

The last courier came so late in the day that there was hardly time for me to decipher the letters and wait on the Pope. I saw him, however, this morning, delivered Your Majesty's letter, and read to him the whole of mine, for as it was written in cipher, and I had leisure to translate it during the night, I could easily add or suppress anything I chose, so as to improve, if possible, the state of the negociations. (*Cipher :*) The Capuan tells me that yesterday the Pope said to him, "I have quite made up my mind to become an Imperialist, and to live and die as such. If the Empire goes to ruin the Church also will be ruined." In confirmation of this I may add that Salviati declares to anyone who chooses to listen to him that they have all this while been friendly to the Empire, and that if he (the Pope) has delayed the declaration of his sentiments it was merely for the purpose of gaining credit for this peace, and that we shall soon see by his deeds that he was and is in earnest.

Seeing the Pope so well disposed I urged him, as I have done at other times, to declare himself, but I received the same answer as on former occasions, "I am only waiting (he said) for the return of my Nuncio." Nor was I more fortunate with regard to the steps he promised to take about the Milanese and Venetian ambassadors. Both (he said) had written home for instructions, and expected them daily. On my suggestion that the Venetian ambassador ought to be reminded of his promise, he (the Pope) sent for him, and they were closeted together for more than one hour. To-morrow, most probably, I shall know what passed between them.

Must add that Andrea del Burgo having with my knowledge spoken to Cornaro on the subject, this cardinal, who is a thorough Venetian, gave him very good hopes, adding that as far as he himself was concerned, he would most willingly place his interests and fortune in our hands, and would not care whether he lost it all or not.

The Papal Legate in France (Salviati) writes that King Francis gave an uncourteous answer to the Venetian ambassador (Rosso), and when he could no longer conceal it announced to his courtiers the intended interview of the ladies. He cared not about sending money and men to Italy. He was about to leave Tours for Paris. All these were certainly signs of peace. Of his resolution not to send either money or men to Italy I have not failed to inform Leyva, as it will no doubt encourage his men and spread terror in the hearts of our enemies.

On the very same day news came to Rome that the confederates were threatening Bologna, in order, if possible, to detach the Pope from our alliance, and gain him over to the League. But Andrea del Burgo and I have done our best to give him courage, and he is now in very good spirits.

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I have given the Capuan a private cipher of my own to be used in our correspondence, a copy of which is here enclosed for the use of the Chancellery clerks. Your Majesty may trust him implicitly, for he is a very honest man. Having requested him to name a person of trust, who may go to the Pope with any message of mine, he has designated one Pietro [Paolo] Martin, who is considered a friend to the Empire, though to me it is enough that the Capuan recommends him.

I have lately been closely watching the servant of the Archbishop of Saragossa, who is here; I find that he has applied for, and obtained, a secret audience from the Pope, but a warning from me has been conveyed in time. I have great hopes that nothing detrimental to the Imperial interests will be done.

The Pope has again complained to Miçer Andrea del Burgo of the secrecy that was observed respecting the meeting of the two ladies [at Cambray]. Our answer has been the same as on former occasions.

Pietre Vours (*sic*), the auditor of the Rotta, begs to be named in the "Indulto." As he is the nephew of Cardinal Tortosa,* and a good servant of Your Imperial Majesty, I do not hesitate to back his petition.

Whilst about to sign and close this letter (*cipher:*) I hear that the Pope has received a favourable answer from Venice. —Rome, 8th June 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Impl., and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 6.

8 June. **37.** KNIGHT COMMANDER SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA to SECRETARY COVOS.

S. E. L. 1,362, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578. f. 347.

(*Cipher:*) Andrea Doria is going to Barcelona. Any favours bestowed on him publicly or privately are well deserved, for certainly nothing can equal his present zeal for the Emperor's service. As all things here depend on him, owing to the authority and credit he enjoys with His Imperial Majesty, and the reputation he has gained with the Genoese, for having lately effected their freedom†, it is important to conceal from him the Emperor's secret thoughts and

* Wilhelm Enckewoërt.

† "Y por que todas las cosas de aqui dependen dél con la abtoridad que tiene de Su Magt. y con el credito que tiene ganado con ellos de averlos puesto en livertad, [conviene] las cosas secretas guardallas, mayormente nuestras necesidades propias ó desos Reynos; ila cabsa desto [es] no por que crea [yo] que no se [le] podria fiar, sino por lo que pueden hacer los tiempos; y por que este es uno de los onbres que ay [que] mas inteligencias tiene con el papa y con todos los señores de Italia. Y aunque no sea con intencion de dañar los que saben [de estas cosas] mas que otros, y tienen mas parte [en la politica] asi lo scriven. V. Md. tome mi intencion, y no lo que digo."

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any plans which the Emperor may have formed respecting the future destinies of this Signory, as well as our own wants, and those of the Spanish kingdom just now. Not that I think Doria capable of treason, but because circumstances might change altogether, and as he (Doria) is perhaps the man who has most credit with the Pope and the rest of the Italian potentates, and is in frequent communication with them, he might unintentionally do mischief. Such is the opinion of those who know most in these matters and have political experience.—Genoa, 8th June 1529.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Spanish. Cipher. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

9 June. **38.** Cardinal Santa Croce to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 40.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 349.

The Emperor's letters, dated Toledo, the 13th ultimo, have come to hand. (*Cipher:*) Master Pasquino has lately said, among other things, that this college of cardinals has been subjected to two pressures (*ha recibido dos estretas*): one corporal, the other spiritual. The corporal through the appointment of Medici*, to whom the Pope gives all the vacant benefices; the spiritual, my own, because the Romans fancy they have not the same liberty to speak out their minds as they had before.

The Pope is [comprised] both in the corporal and in the spiritual sense as [Miçer Mai] the ambassador writes; that is the reason why I (Santa Croce) maintain that all the world lives now, and will live [hereafter] with the age†. If so, it behoves us to profit by the occasion.

This morning the Pope sent for me. I showed him Your Majesty's letter and tried hard, as I always do, to convince him of Your Majesty's very catholic intentions and sentiments towards him. To say the truth, whether it be that he is well aware of them through Your Majesty's late deeds, or that time and circumstances help to bring conviction, the fact is that he still perseveres in his good purpose. The Imperial ambassadors (Mai and Burgo) having requested me to press the Pope to make some declaration of this sort, I did so, and his answer was, "Though I have quite made up my mind to accept the Emperor's offers of friendship, yet I think that this declaration of mine ought to be kept a secret for some time. My Nuncio at the Imperial Court will explain my reasons. If, however, His Majesty wishes this my intention to become public I have no objection, it shall be done."

He also told me that he had strongly advised (*avia dado una streta*) the Venetian ambassador to write to the Signory and engage them to come to terms with Your Imperial

* Cardinal Ippolito, son of Giuliano.

† "El Papa está en la corporal y spiritual como el embaxador escrive; por [lo] que yo digo que todo el mundo bive y bivirá con el tiempo. Cierto por esto es bien aprovecharse dél."

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Majesty, and that the ambassador had raised, among others, two principal objections, first, that Venice mistrusted [Your Majesty], and secondly, that they were the allies of France. The Pope having replied, that if the Signory chose, he himself would take charge of the negociation, the ambassador had thereupon dispatched a courier to Venice, whence an answer is daily expected.

I then asked him what he thought of Your Majesty's proposed journey. He answered with great sincerity: "I believe it to be a settled thing, so much so that I am thinking of sending two cardinals to Genoa to meet him. You had better get ready, for you are to be one of them." He also added, "If the Emperor has decided to come, let it be as soon as possible, because the French are not so well prepared to oppose his coming as was thought at first, whereas if time were allowed they might make still greater preparations." —Rome, 9th June 1529.

P.S.—As the Imperial ambassador [Mai] must by this time have informed Your Majesty of His Holiness' feelings at his not having received previous notice of the meeting [of the ladies] in Flanders*, I need not return to the subject, but to say that whenever His Holiness has complained to me of what he calls "want of attention on the part of Your Majesty," I have never failed to assure him that on no account would Your Imperial Majesty consent to anything being discussed and treated at Cambray to the prejudice of the Church; and that the Capuan's journey thither is rather for the purpose of making people believe that the Pope's voice is of some moment in the conferences (*se pone algo de su casa*) than for any other cause. Is very sorry to hear what the Mantuan ambassador says about the marriage of Your Majesty's daughter, but the truth is that time and circumstances are so much in our favour just now that everything is passed over (*se disimula*).—Date *ut supra.*

Spanish: "F. de Santa +."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 7.

10 June. **39.** The Emperor to Mercurino di Gattinara, Louis de Praët, and Nicolas Perrenot.†

S.E. L. 1,454, f. 79. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 353.

The Pope has just sent Girolamo, bishop of Vaison, with proposals for a general peace.

Empowers them to treat with the said bishop, and negociate so as to conclude a general peace with His Holiness

* "Lo que el Papa a sentido y encargado de la junta de Flandes sin darsele parte."

† It would appear from the date of this letter that Praët had not yet started on his Roman embassy since he was appointed, together with Gattinara and Granvelle, to discuss the preliminaries of the treaty of peace with Clement's Nuncio at Barcelona.

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Pope Clement VII. and the rest of the princes of Christendom who wish to join in it.—Barcelona, 10th June 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

10 June. **40.** KNIGHT COMMANDER FIGUEROA, Imperial Ambassador in Genoa, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,362, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 354.

Since the departure of Andrea Doria [for Spain] nothing has occurred in Genoa worth writing about. Letters from Venice have been received, stating that a peace has been concluded [at Cambray] between the Emperor and the Kings of France and England. Hopes that it will be a durable one, and that the interests of the Empire will not suffer through it.—Genoa, 10th June 1529.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

13 June. **41.** MIÇER MAI, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 33.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578. f. 355.

Wrote on the 7th instant by Martin*, the Imperial courier, in answer to the Emperor's letter of the 16th ult°. After which came the duplicate of the 22nd, commanding him to procure for the Empress [Isabella] the "spiritual jurisdiction over the Military Orders." As the Pope is now much better, and begins again to transact business, he (Mai) intends calling upon him to-morrow. Will attend to that business in particular, as well as to other private and personal affairs of the Emperor.

Does not enclose the duplicate of his despatch of the 7th (*cipher:*) because this present one is forwarded through Florence in a most unsatisfactory manner, and he is in consequence very much afraid of its being intercepted, the Florentines just now playing all manner of tricks with all private as well as official correspondence.

Diego Jayme wrote some time ago from Ostia to say that he would leave for Naples in ten days' time, and that if he (Mai) had any despatches they could be addressed thither for him to take to Spain. Set about preparing a long report of all the business transacted during the last month of May, but before it was half ready another letter came from Jayme announcing that he had received orders [from Naples] to go on board that very day, and sail straight for Barcelona, without touching at any other port. Indeed, so sudden was the departure of Diego Jayme from Ostia, that he did not even take an board the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) who was to go with him, and who has accordingly returned [to Rome].

* Probably "de Gurrea" as in Salina's letter of the 5th (No. 32), unless Min de Larrea is intended as in vol. III. part 2, pp. 73 and 118.

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Leguiçamo goes to Genoa, and thence to Chamberi. If the ladies have not already ended their labours for the peace he is to pass through Cambray and embark in Flanders for Spain. This Leguiçamo takes with him a copy of the cipher which he (Mai) generally uses, and another of the deciphering key which Jean Lallemand gave him at his (Mai's) departure from Monçon*, that his ciphered despatches may be better interpreted with the help of both.

The Capuan (Schomberg) has left us rather unprovided, and his absence will be felt in certain affairs which had been entrusted to his especial care. He has, however, left behind him, with the Pope's permission and consent, two ecclesiastics to replace him in the transaction of business. One is Pietro Paolo Martin, once his own secretary, and now attached to the Pope's household, and another man called Balthasar del Pesce, both of whom are very desirous of serving the Empire, and have hitherto promoted as much as was in their power the Emperor's private and personal affairs.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope shows great desire of being on intimate relations with His Imperial Majesty (*muestra muy buena mente à la union de V. Md.*) He (Mai) has spoken to him three or four times about it, and so have Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] and Cardinal Santa Croce, whenever they have had an opportunity. The Pope's invariable answer to such representations is, that he is only waiting for the return of the "Maestro di Casa"† from Spain. Wishing to know what he meant by that, he (Mai) asked him to explain. Was told that "he had sent his Nuncio to state the reasons he had for remaining neutral. If, after hearing them, the Emperor still wished him to declare himself more explicitly, he (the Pope) was ready to do so."

Last winter the Pope used to say to them (Burgo and Mai) that the reason why the Italian confederates were opposed to the general peace was that they feared that the power of France once destroyed, the Emperor would turn his arms against them; and as they (the Italians) had a natural horror of monarchy they would do anything to prevent it. Now the Pope seems to think differently, for he says, "Let the peace of Italy be ensured, and France must needs join it willingly or by sheer force."

Believes, in fact, that the Pope will now grant anything that may be asked of him, except money, which he has not, and which even if he had, he would not willingly surrender. Said in one of his late despatches that the Pope had undertaken to sound the ambassador of the Duke Francesco Sforza, now residing at this court. He has since broached the subject as adroitly as he himself (Mai) might have done. The result of the conversation has been that the ambassador, having no powers from his master, and surrounded as he is by such bad

* See vol. III., part 2, page 737, where the fact is mentioned.

† The reading in Bergenroth's copy is "El Maestre de Rosa;" but this is evidently an error for *el Maestro de Casa*, that is the Bishop of Vaison, in France, whose name was Girolamo Selade.

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neighbours as the French and Venetian ambassadors, dared not open his mouth on the subject, or take any engagement. The Pope is now sending to Cremona a confidential messenger of his own, requesting the Duke to appoint some one with full powers to treat. If he does not (the Pope told him) Sforza will lose altogether the duchy of Milan, because even in the event of the King of France signing this peace for the sake of delivering his own sons from captivity, he will never consent to the Emperor becoming again lord of Milan.

The last words of the Pope may have been said out of passion and anger against these Italians, who have ever since been hankering after Milan. His (Mai's) impression is, that peace once concluded and ratified, every one of them will be in terrible fear of His Imperial Majesty, not only as regards the money he will now have in store, proceeding from the ransom of the sons of France, but also owing to his increasing reputation, glory, and good fortune in war.

The Pope likewise in a conversation with the ambassador of Venice, pressed him so hard and told him such things, that he (the ambassador) earnestly requested His Holiness to suspend his declaration [for the Emperor], that he might write to the Signory. The delay was granted, but no answer came. The Pope is afraid that the Venetians will not come to terms, unless compelled by sheer force, for they dread, above all things, the Emperor's increase of power, and consider themselves in great danger from it. They also allege, as an excuse, that they are the allies of France, and form part of the League, which they do not choose to desert under present circumstances. But since these excuses of the Venetians are only intended to forward their wicked plans, it may be God's pleasure to defeat them by causing the French to play only their own game, and abandon them altogether to their fate.

Upon the whole, as the confederates do not trust each other, it might happen that whilst he (Mai) is writing these lines, the Venetians are trying to be included in the peace of Cambray. Suspects as much, and has accordingly written to Madame to inform her of all these dealings. But as he has no cipher with which to communicate with her, he has used that of the Provost of Utrecht (Balthasar de Waltkirch), who has just come [to Rome] for the affair of his bishopric. Even as it is, the despatch will go at a venture, as do the rest of them, for they all go through France.

The Pope, as he (Mai) has frequently advised in other despatches, is very much hurt at his not having been told of the Cambray conferences. He says that the King of France first told his Legate [Salviati] of it, and advised him to go thither; after which he (the King) informed him of the whole business. He suspected that the Emperor had some reason to keep the matter secret, for not one of his ministers had said a word to him. Hearing this, he (Mai) tried to mend matters

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as well as he could by saying that some letters from Spain addressed to him, and which no doubt contained the Emperor's instructions on that particular point, had certainly been intercepted by the Florentines, and that was the reason for his not being acquainted with the fact before. However this may be, thinks it highly advisable that the Pope should in future be informed of the progress and probable issue of the negociations [at Cambray].

Courtiers and politicians have been so perplexed of late by the news of Prothonotary Caracciolo's journey to Mantua at this present time that they have not rested until they have ascertained the object of his mission. The Marquis (Federigo Gonzaga) has told them that Caracciolo went to Mantua for the sole and express purpose of proposing the marriage of his son to one of the Emperor's daughters. He (Mai) must confess that he was sadly put out when he heard of it, for a step of this sort is likely to spoil the whole negociation, and drive the Pope to despair, not so much on account of the Emperor's daughter not being given to his nephew in marriage, which is, after all, the thing he most desires in this world, but because the Princess (Margaret) having been, as it were, promised to Allessandro de' Medici, it must be exceedingly galling to him to hear of her having been offered to another without giving him previous notice.

That is why he (Mai) said the other day to the Mantuan orator, in the very presence of Miçer Andrea, "When a gentleman treats of marriage with his equal, the first thing he does is to keep the matter secret for the sake of his friend's honour and reputation. The Marquis [of Mantua] was not justified in making such haste (*correr tanto*), especially in a matter of which he had no certainty at all. He might have considered that the Emperor's greatness was of such a nature that whatever plans he conceived for the fostering of that same greatness would not, and ought not to be revealed to any living person."* The Mantuan ambassador showed regret for what has been done, for certainly he is a thorough gentleman. We shall see how matters can be set right.

His Imperial Majesty has been occasionally informed of the state of affairs at Perugia ever since Malatesta, its present lord, declared in favour of the League; for owing to its vicinity to the frontiers of Naples, that city might become in time a focus of danger (*padrastro*). He (Mai) has continually kept soliciting the Pope to send some one thither, going as far as to offer in his own name and in that of his colleague, Andrea del Burgo, no less than 10,000 men, and double that quantity of ducats, in order to have the nuisance put down. Could never persuade the Pope to follow this advice, which had two objects, namely, to prevent that city from falling into the hands of the enemy, and being converted into a sort of

* "Que bien podia pensar que la Grandeza de Vuestra Majestad tiene tantos respectos que son muchos mas los secretos que no los que podemos pensar."

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advanced post against Naples; and secondly, to oblige the Pope to declare against the League.

Since then, however, it has been ascertained that the Florentines and the confederates were sending troops to Perugia, and that Bracobalon (Braccio Baglione), Malatesta's sworn enemy, has taken the field against him. This latter captain has served for many years in the Imperial army. He is now attacking Perugia, and it is reported with money and men furnished by His Imperial Majesty. Whether the report be true or not he (Mai) cannot say, but he has told His Holiness of it, and spoken so warmly on the subject that he owned he would be glad to hear of Braccio's success and Malatesta's discomfiture, provided the feat was accomplished quickly and in a decisive manner.*

Next day Jacopo Salviati called and proposed that the undertaking should be carried out in the Pope's name, and asked what help we [the Imperialists] were prepared to give. Answered him that it was too late; they ought to have done it when he offered them men and money. Now that Bracalon (Braccio Baglione) was so far advanced, they had better not interfere with him, but let him do his deed. The undertaking over, he (Mai) had no doubt that the same obedience he now professed to the Emperor he would observe towards His Holiness, for such were Your Majesty's wishes and orders. This last observation silenced him (Salviati), and there was no more talk about it.

The day after Sanga came and said that Baglione's men were actually wasting the lands of the Church, and that the Pope had been so shocked at the news that he would most likely change his mind respecting that affair. Could not repress his anger when he heard Sanga speak thus. Told him, "I am aware that His Holiness is rather too prone to change his opinion, but in the present case he comes too late. Let things remain as they are; we will do our best to protect the Pope's interests, and it strikes me that it is at any rate far preferable for His Highness to have some of his lands wasted by Baglione than to let the Florentines, his sworn enemies, seize Perugia, and its surrounding fortresses."

Has written to Braccio and to the others, requesting them to do no harm on the territory of the Church. Is, however, afraid that his remonstrances will be in vain, for he hears that they have already taken possession of Spoletto, and of another town within the estates of the Church, and will most likely go on wasting the land until the Pope entirely loses patience. The truth is, that the Italians under Braccio are the most unruly set of soldiers ever seen, and God only can stay their excesses. Has written to the Prince about it, and will do his best in this affair, though after all, if Perugia

* "Con que lo hiciessemos gallardamente."

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is preserved, which is the most important point, it matters little if part of the country round it is wasted by the troops.

The ambassadors of France and England went yesterday to the Pope, and spoke very warmly about this Perugia affair, the measures lately taken, indicating, as they said, that His Highness was decidedly in favour of the Emperor. The Pope's answer was so shaped that they all left the room in disgust. There is still another circumstance which has caused the confederates to lose much ground here at Rome. When the news of the conferences of Cambray arrived the Pope caused prayers and processions to be made for the peace. As customary in such cases, Miçer Andrea and he (Mai) attended, but none of the ambassadors of the League came, which has been a cause of great scandal to the Romans.

Has been trying to persuade the Colonnese and the Orsini to come to some sort of mutual agreement, that each party may gather the harvest without molestation from the other. Hopes he will be successful, inasmuch as, though the sowing was scanty in some places, they will this year reap forty for one. The same can be said of the Sienese and their quarrel with Count Pitigliano. His Imperial Majesty may rely upon these two questions being soon settled in a satisfactory manner. From the spies he has among the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," he has learnt that with the assistance of some of the Orsini faction they were about to undertake an expedition to some place in Naples similar in its kind to that which they directed last year against Lanciano. Could not learn what their destination was, but has reason to believe that owing to the discovery of the conspiracy and to the arrest of three of the principal "fuorusciti" who were brought here the other day in irons, the undertaking has been postponed, if not abandoned altogether.

The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) has here [at Rome] a resident Secretary. Although not a man of great importance, Miçer Andrea and he (Mai) have decided to sound him about his master's projects. Dared not do it before on account of the Pope, but now that an opportunity offers itself intends to profit by it.

The Archbishop of Rosano, who goes as Nuncio to Germany will take his departure in three days hence, with the bulls for the bishopric of Elna.

Abbacy of Novocastro for a servant of the King of Hungary. Will speak to the Pope and cardinals about it.

Provost of Our Lady of Utrecht now at Rome for affairs of his bishopric.—Rome, 13th June 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

P.S.—Since writing the above, letters have come of very recent date from the King of Hungary, stating that the Kings of France and England were sending a sum of money to the Vayvod, not to say to the Turk. His Highness had

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made present of the money to the person who conveyed the information, and placed guards on the roads to seize the cash on its passage.

Has also heard from Leyva, in date of the 22nd of May, that Caracciolo was still at Milan, and had not left for Mantua, owing to St. Pol having refused him the safe-conduct he had applied for. So that the paragraph of this despatch wherein his journey and the probable object of his mission to Mantua are referred to, must be considered as not having been written.

Hears from various sources that the Germans serving under the Imperial banners are in treaty with some secret agents of the confederates, who offer them great rewards if they will only desert their banners and go home. Has written to the Prince about it.

Spanish. Original. pp. 19.

15 June. **42.** Miçer Miguel Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. No. 848, f. 33.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 354.

Wrote on the 7th instant by Martin, the courier, in answer to the Imperial letter of the 16th ult°. Then came the duplicate in date of the 22nd, to which he (Mai) can at present make no reply, as this is by no means a fit opportunity to ask any favour from the Pope. However, if the occasion offers itself, he (Mai) will not let it pass. Is to have an audience to-morrow, will then make the attempt, and as His Holiness is already much better and fit to transact business with his cardinals, feels sure that this matter of the Empress* and other ecclesiastic affairs of minor importance will be properly attended to.

(*Cipher:*) Does not enclose, as usual, the duplicate of his last because this packet goes by way of Florence where, as stated in former despatches, all manner of tricks are played with the foreign correspondence.†

Diego Jaime wrote the other day from Ostia that he would embark at Naples in ten days' time, and that he (Mai) was to prepare his official correspondence accordingly. Has since heard that he (Jayme) has been ordered to sail immediately and keep to the high seas without touching at any port whatsoever. That is why the present despatch and other papers do not go by that conveyance. What the reason may be for Jayme's sudden departure and for the orders he has received of not touching at Naples, he (Mai) cannot guess, for certainly the sea being now entirely free from enemies, it was, in his opinion, far more advantageous to have daily information from those parts through his means.

Mentioned also in his last that the Archbishop of Capua

* See his despatch of the 13th, p. 77, of which this one is in part a duplicate.

† "Adonde hacen todas las diligencias y vellaquerias que pueden en lo de las cartas."

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(Schomberg) had returned from Ostia owing to Leguiçamo* not choosing to wait for him. He is now going to Genoa, thence to Chamberi, and from Chamberi to Cambray, if by that time the ladies have not concluded their business. At any rate, whether the ladies have the Archbishop with them or not, the negociations are not likely to suffer from his absence.

(*Cipher :*) The Archbishop, who is one of His Majesty's most faithful servants, is to proceed to Barcelona. He takes with him a copy of his (Mai's) deciphering key, of which a transcript was duly forwarded to Spain, and likewise another copy of that which Jo. Aleman gave him at his departure from Monçon, that all the paragraphs in his (Schomberg's) correspondence which are in cipher may be properly read.

(*Common writing :*) We feel rather sad and dejected (*cipher :*) in consequence of the Capuan's departure, but, with the Pope's consent, he has left two ecclesiastics in his place, who wish to be useful to His Imperial Majesty, and have hitherto rendered very good offices. One is Pietro Paolo Martyr, once the Archbishop's secretary, and now in the Pope's service ; the other Baltasar del Pere.† They were both presented by me and accepted by the Pope.

(*Common writing :*) The Pope still perseveres in his good intentions towards His Majesty, and wishes for peace and alliance.

At the last audience Miçer Andrea del Burgo and he (Mai) made an attempt to speak about the advantages of his alliance and the consequent pacification of Italy. Without him (they observed) this was impossible, and even with him a work of considerable difficulty. It was God's pleasure that on this occasion the Pope should express himself in very different terms from what he did last winter. For then he said to us that Italy did not consent (*no se daba*) because she believed this peace to be intended solely for the destruction of France, in order that the Emperor might afterwards seize Italy and obtain universal monarchy. Now we find him better disposed, for he says, "No real danger can be apprehended for Italy on account of this peace, because should France now refuse it they will be obliged in the end to accept, whether they choose or not."

Has always said that this man (the Pope) is to be gained little by little (*se ha de ganar poco a poco*). Now that we

* A magistrate (alcalde) of this name or Leguiçama, as otherwise called, is mentioned in Sandoval, lib. VI., p. 267, as having been sent by the governors of Castille to Murcia, to put down a rising of the "Comuneros;" the same who afterwards incurred the Pope's excommunication for having taken part in the trial and execution of Bishop Acuña.

† See above, p. 78, where these two individuals are called Pietro Paolo *Martin* and Balthasar del *Pesce*. As both these despatches (that of the 13th, and the duplicate of the 15th) are in the hand of Mai's secretary, the difference in the name of the two officials recommended by the Archbishop of Capua must be attributed to some oversight. I am, however, inclined to believe that *Martyr* and *Pesce* are the true readings.

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are pretty sure of him, he will give anything we ask for except money, which he really has not; even if he had he would not willingly part with it.

We requested him to speak to the ambassador of the Duke Francesco [Sforza], which he did, and so well that I myself could not have done it better, as I afterwards learned from His Holiness' mouth. However, as the ambassador had no powers to treat, and dares not open his mouth, surrounded as he is on all sides by such bad neighbours as the Venetians and French, he was by no means explicit. (*Cipher:*) The Pope is now secretly sending a confidential messenger to ask the Duke for full powers to his ambassador here that he may treat with us. He thinks that the Duke will send the powers required. Otherwise, whether peace be concluded or not, he is sure to lose Milan for ever, for although King Francis may accept hard terms in order to obtain the liberty of his sons, he will never look favourably on Your Majesty's possession of the Duchy.

The Pope held also a conference with the Venetian ambassador, and spoke to him so warmly and so pressingly on the subject of this peace, that he asked for three days time to write home. (*Cipher:*) The answer has since come, though it is anything but satisfactory, for the Pope tells me that they (the Venetians) fear Your Majesty's aggrandisement, and do not feel secure.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope has often complained to us of not having received information of the meeting of the [ladies] at Cambray. The King of France (he says) had written to his Legate to go thither, and had besides dispatched an ambassador to apprize him of it. When the Emperor acquainted him with the fact the meeting was no longer a secret, and the negociations had actually begun. I excused myself as well as I could, saying that letters from the Emperor ordering me to communicate that intelligence to him had been intercepted by the Florentines, and that explained why the first news he had came from France.

(*Common writing:*) A rumour has been lately afloat that Prothonotary Caracciolo had come to Mantua. His leaving Milan at such a time as this seems quite a novelty, and as these Italians are so imaginative and restless a thousand inquiries have been made in every possible quarter. (*Cipher:*) The report is that the Marquis has written to his ambassador here that he believes the object of the Prothonotary's journey to Mantua to be for no other purpose than to treat of a marriage between his son and one of Your Imperial Majesty's daughters, and that he might tell the Pope so, which he (the ambassador) immediately did. I confess that I was so shocked by this intelligence that I gave up all (*pensé desesperarme*) hope of a speedy conclusion of the affair in hand, for if the Marquis' assertion be true, it would be tantamount to ruining the negociations and driving the Pope to despair, not so much on account of his nephew, whom he ardently wishes to marry

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into the Imperial family, but because he would consider it an affront that a boon offered to him should be afterwards given away to another without letting him know first.

However, as Lope [de Soria] tells me that he (the Marquis) is now in treaty with the Venetians I dared not allude to the case for fear of doing mischief,* for after all His Holiness, as I say, has opened the door to conciliation, and we must do everything in our power to meet him half-way. Nevertheless, I could not help saying to the ambassador the other day in the presence of Miçer Andrea [del Burgo], "When a gentleman (*hidalgo*) treats of a family alliance with another of his class it is important that both should keep the thing secret for their own honour. The Marquis, your master, ought not to run so fast, especially as he is not sure of his affair. He should consider that the Emperor's power is many-sided, and that there are many more secrets in it than we can imagine." The ambassador, however, much regrets his indiscretion. He is a perfect gentleman, and I have no doubt that everything will be put to rights in the end.

I have frequently, and almost by every post, mentioned the danger in which Perugia is placed, owing to Malatesta, its present ruler, having suddenly embraced the side of the French and of the League. As the vicinity of that city to the kingdom of Naples makes it a constant danger, I am incessantly warning the Pope and the Neapolitan Council on this point. The Pope evidently does not see his way clear to put a stop to the nuisance, for although I once promised him 10,000 men and 10,000 ducats, which I hoped to borrow in Your Majesty's name, and Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] made him similar offers on his master's behalf, we could never persuade him to take this affair in hand. (*Cipher :*) Our object in so doing was to help the Emperor's cause, and at the same time induce the Pope to take up arms so that he might become in the end the enemy of the League.

It would appear that the Florentines and the confederates are now sending reinforcements to the Perugino, where Baglione, who has been all these years serving in the Imperial armies, has lately risen to oppose Malatesta, with the assistance and with the money, as it is rumoured, of Your Imperial Majesty. I have told the Pope that I know nothing about the matter, and that if it were so, I should not be sorry for it. The Pope answered, "Nor I either, if the thing were done well and quickly."

Next day Giacopo Salviati came to me and said he thought the undertaking should be on the Pope's account, and if so (he asked) how far were we prepared to help him. My answer was that it was too late; they ought to have accepted my offers of money and men when I first made them. Now that Braccio had taken the thing upon himself and advanced

* "Por que seria otro tanto mal ahunque agora no sea."

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against Perugia, he ought to be left alone. Once master of that city he could not fail to do homage for it to the Pope, as he had done to the Emperor all his life. To these remarks Salviati answered nothing; but Sanga having told me next day that Baglione's men were committing excesses and wasting the lands of the Church, and that His Holiness was very sorry to hear of it, and might most likely change his mind, I could not remain silent, but said in rather an angry tone of voice, "How very easily does His Holiness change his mind when it happens to be for his own good." I fancy, however, that it will be too late to stop Baglione's men, and that you had better leave them alone and not interfere with their doings in a matter which is so much to His Holiness' advantage. If they go on ravaging the lands of the Church we will do our utmost to prevent it. Let the job be done, no matter by whom. At any rate it is far preferable that these people should do it than the Florentines, who are the Pope's enemies, and after all would most likely commit still greater ravages." I wrote to them by a trusty messenger, but too late, for when my letter arrived Braccio had already entered and sacked Spoletto and another town in the Papal estates, which will most likely drive the Pope to despair, for the truth is that these Italian bands have been so contaminated by bad example that nothing can equal their insolence.* Nevertheless, I have written to the Prince of Orange, and will do whatever more is necessary to stop this evil, for it is highly important that the bands sent for the recovery of Perugia do not exceed their orders and sack the towns belonging to the Pope. I hear that the ambassadors of France and England waited the other day upon the Pope, and spoke to him about this Perugian affair, and the signs he himself was giving of good-will towards Your Majesty. The Pope, it appears, answered them in a manner that seemed to them unfavourable. Aware of this, I requested Miçer Andrea to call at the palace, and suggest, as if it came from him, that this was the time (*cipher :*) to declare himself, and not wait until Your Majesty's arrival, when nobody would show him any gratitude for the move. Andrea's mission was unsuccessful, for the Pope, as I said before, when hard pressed excuses himself by saying that he is expecting his "Maestro di Casa" with an answer, which I hope, with God's help will arrive within eight days.

No sooner did the Pope hear of the meeting at Cambray than he ordered processions to be made for the favourable issue of the conferences. Andrea del Burgo and I were as usual invited, and went thither by appointment. The ambassadors of the League did not attend, a thing which has scandalised all the Romans, whilst our going thither has been considered as a proof of Your Majesty's good intentions. As the processions for peace go from place to place, and the confederates do not

* "Esta milicia de la infanteria de Ytalia está tan dañada que es la maior vellaqueria del mundo."

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attend them, it is to be inferred that they do not wish it to come from the hands of God, but prefer trusting to their wonted intrigues for obtaining it (*cautelas y vellaquerias.*) That is the very reason why God cannot fail to grant it most certainly to Your Majesty, for evidently these people are as little to be trusted as regards honesty and fair dealing, as they themselves affect to trust Your Majesty's generosity.

I fancy that an agreement will soon be made between the Colonnese and the Orsini, as well as a suspension of all hostilities during the present harvest, which, I hear, is so abundant this year that for every bushel (*fanega*) sown they expect to reap forty.

Has likewise brought about a truce between the Sienese and Count Petillano (Pitigliano), so that for the present those two affairs are not likely to give trouble.

In order to bring about the above truce between the Colonnese and the Orsini, and also to ascertain what were the plans of the latter, and in fact of the Leaguers in general, I have been obliged to bribe and pension this year some of the emigrants from Naples. In this manner I heard on the 1st ins^{t}. that a party of Neapolitan *fuorusciti*, accompanied by certain of the Orsini, whose names I could not learn, were preparing an expedition similar to that of Lanciano. As the conspirators kept the thing secret I could only learn the name of the place on the frontier which was to be attacked, as well as the day and hour fixed for the departure of the "fuorusciti." I spoke to the Pope, who had guards posted at the gates and on the road, where two or three of them were arrested. We shall now know for certain what their plans were, and what assistance they expected from the Neapolitans. At any rate, their design is frustrated for the present; but I cannot help thinking that had we not been too quick for them they might have carried out their undertaking (*y creo yo que si la hizieran sallieran con ella*).

It is the custom, whenever an emperor comes to Italy, for the Pope to send two cardinals to welcome and compliment him. Santa Croce has been elected already, and two more are to be appointed.

The Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este), has a secretary here, who, though not a very important man, might be useful for enabling us to learn beforehand what line his master, the Duke, intends following. Circumstances and fear of the Pope have hitherto prevented our making overtures to him, but since the Pope himself has given us an opening it is our intention to sound him.

Two tenths, or one year's rent of all ecclesiastic revenues, are likely to be granted by the Pope in Flanders, with the proviso that the money is to be spent exclusively in armaments against the Turks.

The Archbishop of Rosano, who goes as Nuncio to Germany and Hungary, will leave in three days.

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The bulls for the Bishop of Elna had already been expedited when the Imperial orders came.

The King of Hungary has written to the Pope and cardinals respecting the abbey of Novocastro. I have spoken to Sanctiquatuor, whom I again recommend to Your Majesty, for he is doing good service just now, and has always been a faithful servant of the Empire. The Provost of our Lady of Utrecht (Waltkircke) is also here; we give him all the help we can. Since the above was written letters have been received from the King of Hungary (Ferdinand), stating that on the receipt of information purporting that the kings of France and England were about to send certain moneys to the Vayvod of Transylvania, not to say to a still more important person, he (the King) had caused guards to be placed on the roads, and granted the whole sum to the informers in case of seizure.

Lope de Soria has also written to say that he had letters from Leyva of the 22nd of May, advising that owing to St. Pol having denied him a safe-conduct, Prothonotary Caracciolo, whose journey to Mantua had been announced for the purpose of treating with the Venetians, had not left Milan.—Rome, 15th June 1529.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 19.

16 June. **43.** MARGARET to the EARL OF SURREY.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.*P.*Fasc.* c. 225, No. 31.

In credence of Messire Eustace Chapuis, her councillor, and "maistre aux Requestes," going to England as ambassador of the Emperor, and upon business of her own.—Brussels, 16th June 1529.

Addressed: "Au Conte de Surrey, Admiral d'Angleterre."

Indorsed: "Creance en faveur de Messire Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original. p. 1.

17 June. **44.** DON IÑIGO DE MENDOÇA to the EMPEROR.

Lanz, Corresp. des Kais. KarlV., pp. 308–17.

Has not written before to relate what passed at his last conference with the King and Cardinal, when he took his leave of the former, because he really thought at the time he left England that he should be his own messenger and verbally report to the Emperor his last doings in that country. So much time, however, has since elapsed owing to reasons which will be hereafter explained, that he considers it necessary to repeat the substance of his last despatches, and report on what passed then, as well as on what seemed most probable.

About the end of last March Madame Margaret wrote by Montfort that the Emperor had been pleased to grant him per-

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mission to return [to Spain], but before his departure he (Don Iñigo) was to try again to obtain, if possible, the confirmation, of the friendship and alliance formerly existing between him (the Emperor), the King of England, and the Cardinal [of York]. Should his representations be disregarded he (Don Iñigo) was to take his leave of both, and provided with a proper safe-conduct, return to Italy, or wherever His Imperial Majesty might be at the time.

In compliance with these orders, he (Don Iñigo) resolved to make a last attempt, and although he had often on former occasions nearly exhausted his stock of arguments, set about his task as if the affair had never been mentioned before. Called first on the Cardinal (Wolsey), to whom he (Mendoza) said all that occurred to him as conducive to his object, and begged him to exert his influence over the King for the acceptance of the Emperor's friendship and alliance. The Cardinal at first hesitated, and said he would first see the King, and then let him know, which he did, ten days after.

[Relates at length his interview with the Cardinal, and then proceeds.]

One whole month elapsed without his (Mendoza) being able to obtain an audience from the King, until at last in September a day was fixed for Granuche (Greenwich). Saw the King on the 6th, when, after the usual complimentary remarks and inquiries after the Emperor's health, &c., the subject of the previous conferences was resumed, and the King proceeded to say that he had several complaints to make against His Imperial Majesty. Begged him to say whether he had any wrongs to complain of, besides the non-payment of the Emperor's private debts. The King's answer was that he had been slighted and ill-treated in several matters. The Emperor had never consented to make his peace with France through his mediation, and had besides contrived to thwart him at Rome in an affair which weighed heavily on his conscience. Replied that if His Highness recollected the conditions which the King of France himself had signed, and promised to fulfil on his faith and honour, and which he afterwards entirely disregarded by declaring war and challenging the Emperor to personal combat, he would find that out of consideration for His Highness and his own love of peace, he (the Emperor) had, previously to the said hostile declaration at Burgos, relinquished most of his rights, and made the conditions of the Madrid convention as mild and considerate as they could possibly be. Had His Highness then persevered in his neutrality he might have gained greater advantages by that peace, as well as increased his authority and reputation. As to the Emperor's negociations in Rome, His Highness could not really complain, the affair being entirely private, and one which affected so much the honour of his family. It was but just and reasonable for the Emperor to take up at Rome

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the defence of his own aunt, especially when His Highness had given the example by appointing a council of prelates and lawyers, the most learned and experienced in his kingdom, to defend her in England, having previously released them from their oaths of fealty to himself, and transferred the same to the Queen, that they might more effectually attend to her defence, all of which proved that no violence was meant. The King then retorted, "As to your saying that the Emperor has waived part of his rights to do us pleasure, I know it to be otherwise, for all the articles of the Madrid convention were made public in France long before they were communicated to us or to our ambassadors in Spain. We then interfered as We have done since, for the sake of peace as mildly as possible, until, perceiving that all our efforts were in vain, We acted with greater decision, our ambassadors having always before and after sued for the conclusion of a general peace. With regard to the Queen, she stands in no need of a protector; I, myself, can defend her, and the better to declare the truth of the affair, I have chosen such a counsel for her defence, that there is no need whatever for His Majesty or any other prince of the Imperial family to interfere in the matter, and since We do not mix ourselves up with the private affairs of others, We have a right to decline all such interference in our own."

Replied that His Highness was very much mistaken if he thought that threatening language and private difficulties had more influence over the Emperor than his unchangeable love of peace, and his wish for the tranquillity and welfare of the Christian world at large. That such had always been, and was still, his constant aim, all impartial people were ready to acknowledge. Respecting the second point, if His Imperial Majesty had interfered, it was merely for the purpose of re-establishing that harmony and perfect union in which His Highness and the Queen, his wife, had always lived, and not to widen the breach between them. The Emperor's action in that matter was a conscientious one, and such as his own honour and that of one, herself a Queen, and so closely related to him, dictated. It had hitherto been conducted with such prudence and moderation that nobody could say that it proceeded from an enemy, but from a true and devoted friend, who had always loved and respected him. To which remark the King answered in rather an angry tone, and with greater passion than was consistent with his royal dignity, that he wished the Emperor to understand that the more he took the defence of the Queen in hand the worse he would make her case, and that if he thought thereby to improve her situation he was much mistaken, for he did her more harm than he could imagine. His (Mendoza's) reply was that the Emperor could not possibly abandon the Queen, his aunt; defend and console her he must in her present tribulation, even against her own express will. He, the

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Emperor, could not do less; he was bound by conscience and a sense of honour.

After this the King left the apartment to consult, as may be presumed, the Duke of Norfolk and many others who were in an adjoining room. After conversing with them for a short time, the King sent for him (Don Iñigo), and said that with respect to the friendship and alliance or particular peace to which the Emperor invited him, he had only one thing to say in answer: he would not deceive us with words, and since the Emperor had decided to make his peace first with France independently of England, he declined the offers made to him in particular. He had no objection whatever to a general peace in which all the powers should be included. The Emperor might at once name the conditions, and he (the King) would do everything in his power to bring it about for the ends and purposes which he had all along had in view.

His (Don Iñigo's) answer was that he had no mandate to negociate in England for a general peace; Madame of the Low Countries might possibly have one, or get it in time. If, however, His Highness was disposed to treat of a particular peace with the Emperor, he (Mendoza) was ready duly to accept his suggestions, provided they were directed towards a good end, equally advantageous to both the contracting parties. To which the King replied, "We see very well what you are aiming at; you have only mentioned the particular peace, to which you know We object, in order to get some word or declaration from us that may better serve the Emperor's purpose, and enable him to obtain better terms from King Francis." "Your Highness," retorted he (Mendoza), "knows little of the Emperor and his ministers, and does our sentiments wrong. Thanks be to God we have no need at present of France's friendship, and we have always preferred Your Highness' to that of the most Christian King. Your Highness is the best judge whether my proposals were feigned or in earnest; all I can say is that as Your Highness' most humble servant, and one who desires peace mostly for England's sake, I beg and entreat Your Highness well to consider how much authority and reputation you have gained through the Emperor's friendship, and how largely you have shared in the victories and successes of your ally. Were Your Highness to follow on the present occasion the steps of your predecessors people would no doubt ascribe to you most of the merit and glory gained at Pavia, as if that signal victory had been achieved principally by your instrumentality and advice. Should you still persist in your refusal you would no doubt repent hereafter for not having accepted that which was so much to your profit and advantage."

The King's answer was that the affairs of Italy were not in so prosperous a state as the Imperial ministers represented. He (the King) knew best. The Emperor's journey, if decided

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upon, could not take place immediately, as the fleet of galleys, that was to escort him to Genoa, had not yet left the shores of Italy, neither was the money nor were the provisions and troops required for the undertaking ready. He was sure the Emperor would have to encounter more difficulties than he imagined, and with regard to the particular peace there was no occasion for the Emperor or his ministers to insist upon it and waste their time any longer, for he could not accept it without that with France being made simultaneously.

Seeing him so determined upon this point he (Don Iñigo) said to him that since his residence at the English Court could be of no avail under present circumstances, he begged leave to quit England, and fully report to the Emperor, wherever he might be, the failure of the negociations. So the King did, much against his will, and after granting him his congé, retired to his own apartments angry and disappointed, as it appeared. He (Don Iñigo) called next on the Duke of Norfolk, and having explained to him the cause of his sudden departure, went home to wait for a safe-conduct. Two days after the Cardinal sent for him (Mendoza) on some slight excuse, as if he wanted to speak to him of his own accord, not by the King's direction. Went thither at the appointed hour, when, the Cardinal finding that his (Mendoza's) departure at such a juncture would be highly detrimental to his own interests, as the Emperor's projected visit to Italy, which he could in nowise prevent, was likely to weaken the English and result in a lasting peace with France, made every possible effort to retain him, and said among other things, "Monsieur l'ambassadeur, you ought not to wonder at the King, my master, preferring a general to a particular peace; he is in honour bound so to do, and cannot act otherwise. But in affairs of this kind every day brings change, and since your health is not good, and it is but just that you should rest after so much fatigue and trouble, I advise you to go, especially as another Imperial ambassador has been announced, with whom all these matters of the general and particular peace can at any time be discussed, on a basis equally advantageous to all parties."

Hearing the Cardinal express himself in such words, and unwilling to leave things is so desperate a state, he (Mendoza) observed that His Imperial Majesty was of precisely the same opinion. He would soon send a personage to reside in England, as liege ambassador, in order that the overtures just made should not fall to the ground. After which he (Mendoza) took leave of the Cardinal and went home. He remained seventeen more days in London, waiting for his passports to quit the kingdom.

During this time the gentleman whom this King sent to Saragossa in demand of the original dispensation brief, returned to London, and brought the King three pieces of

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intelligence at which he was highly incensed. The first of which was that the Emperor's journey was a settled thing; the second that his ambassadors had been sent back to Valladolid, at which he was much displeased; and the third and last, that he had not been informed of the causes for such a harsh measure. With regard to the Emperor's journey, he (the King) was so affected by the news that he immediately dispatched the Duke of Suffolk to France, to urge King Francis, as is generally believed, to take such steps in Italy as to impede, and, if possible, prevent altogether the Emperor's visit to that country; for which purpose he offered both counsel and assistance. All of which originates, as may be presumed, from this wretched divorce, to obtain which this King is sure to make superhuman efforts, that being the very reason why he will try to prevent the Emperor's journey to Italy and visit to Rome, from fear lest the Emperor should there defeat his plans.

With regard to the English ambassadors, the King wishes that one of them, at least, should go on residing at the Imperial court. He has (he says) hitherto had one even at the worst times, and he thinks that Dr. Edward Lee ought now to follow the Emperor's court wherever he goes. On the whole, the King and Cardinal now show sorrow and regret for what was done [at Burgos], and, therefore, it is prudent to dissemble with them, and for the sake of the future forget what passed on that occasion. Feels quite sure that had he (Mendoza) not asked for his congé they would have sooner or later given it him, and, therefore, something has been gained by his demanding his passports, and as it had been agreed that he should be exchanged for the Bishop of Worcester, and that Dr. Edward Lee should continue to reside at the Imperial court, it is now settled that both shall return, and himself be allowed to proceed to Spain.

In pursuance of the above arrangement, he (Mendoza) departed from London and went to Calais, where the Cardinal said he would find his passports, which, as promised, came really three days after his arrival at that port, though so full of mistakes and with such restrictions that he (Mendoza) considered them quite insufficient to travel with in safety. As, moreover, letters received both by way of Lyons and by that of Genoa confirmed the fact of the Emperor's speedy departure for Italy, he (Mendoza) wrote to the Cardinal to ask the King's permission to proceed on his journey and join the Emperor, wherever he might be, promising on his faith and honour, and if necessary under his own signature and seal, not to leave the English dominions before his ambassadors had reached the frontiers of France, and that if by any accident, which was not to be expected, the English ambassadors were detained in Spain, he (Mendoza) bound himself to return and again constitute himself prisoner at Calais, until

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such time as the King's ambassadors should have left Spain. The King, therefore, perceiving that there was nothing to be gained by the rumour assiduously circulated that the negociations [at Cambray] had failed, and besides that, his (Mendoza's) liberty once obtained, the Emperor could not fail to send back his ambassadors, readily granted his request.

Three were the reasons which moved him (Mendoza) to take the above step. The first and principal was that he was afraid, as public report went, that on his arrival at Barcelona he should find the Emperor already started on his journey; the second, that should he arrive in time to see the Emperor [in Spain], he felt sure that he (the King) would employ all manner of devices rather than proceed in a straightforward manner in the affair, the more so that in some conferences held here with the French ministers, matters being so delicate just now, the ambassador, Trèves, did not defend his master's interest and honour as completely as he ought to have done, at which, he (Mendoza) hears the English were exceedingly displeased. The third and last, that having hitherto attended the Emperor in all his expeditions, he (Mendoza) could not possibly be absent from one so important as the present, which he must have done had he been obliged to remain in these parts, besides which, it would have been almost impossible for him to go to Spain or Italy by sea, suffering as he generally does, whereas his travelling by land gives time for the English ambassadors to come back. Begs His Imperial Majesty to dispatch them as quickly as possible, and exact their word of honour that as soon as they find themselves safe on this side of the French frontier they shall inform the captain of Calais that he (Mendoza) may be released from his engagements, as also the Lady Margaret.

Soon after his crossing the Straits, the Emperor's letter of the 19th April ult°. was duly received, as well as the original act drawn [at Burgos] after the exhibition of the dispensation brief to the English ambassadors. This last was not needed, for the Queen's messengers had already brought a copy of it. Wrote, however, to the Cardinal asking for a safe-conduct in favour of the person whom the Emperor was about to send in his (Mendoza's) room. His answer was that it was indispensable that the name of the person appointed should be mentioned in that document, but as he (Mendoza) could not designate the person, some delay must necessarily be experienced in this affair.

At the time of his departure from London the Queen's case was at a standstill, and there were no symptoms of its being proceeded with. There was, therefore, no occasion or need for a protest, nor for making an appeal to the judges, for Campeggio had not yet adjourned the suit, and it was not yet known whether the Legate of England would accept the Papal mandate or not.

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After his arrival at Brûges learned that the King was pressing the proceedings, and that the Queen had accordingly been summoned to appear before the two Legates on the 18th ins^{t}. Of which summons the Queen immediately informed the Lady Margaret, at the same time begging and entreating her to send two lawyers, the same who had formerly attended her case, for (she thought) were she to retain any English advocates they would not be able to speak as freely as the foreign ones. Madame and her council are of opinion that since it has been alleged that the Queen's defence cannot be properly conducted in England, it would be imprudent and contrary also to the said allegation to send thither any lawyers from Flanders. For his own part he (Mendoza) should very much like to see them appear in London, if it were for no other purpose than declining jurisdiction in the Queen's name, and alleging the reasons they have for it, as well for challenging any other advocates and judges, and interposing appeals; besides which the Emperor may be certain of this, that when the Queen sees that the lawyers are not coming she will be exceedingly annoyed and distressed, and the English, who love her and generally take her part in this affair, will lose courage, thinking she is abandoned by her own relatives and friends.

As far as he (Mendoza) is concerned his intention is to attend to the Queen's case, and be useful to her, as long as he resides here (in the Low Countries) in his capacity of ambassador to the English court, and until the Emperor be pleased to send another one to replace him. Let him be a good lawyer, equally well versed in civil as in canon law, and able to see his way through the intricate maze of French and English politics. Cannot say what Madame will decide on this point, nor whom she intends sending in case she grants the Queen's earnest request.

Doctor Mai writes from Rome in date of the 17th ult^{o}., advising all that has passed between the Pope and him concerning this affair, and enclosing copy of the protest lately entered by him. Needs not go into more details, sure as he is that by this time the Emperor has been duly informed of all of them; fancies, however, that His Holiness is delaying as much as he can the fulfilment of his promise to the Imperial ambassadors, and fears that he has now sent orders to his legates in England (Campeggio and Wolsey), to resume the suspended proceedings, and pronounce sentence in virtue of the first mandate; should this be true, His Majesty may consider the Queen, his aunt, as condemned. A notary has secretly left this city for England, with instructions to appeal against the very first act of the legates, and the Queen is to forward the appeal that it may be sent to Rome. This once done, whatever steps are taken [in England], for the Queen's defence can be of little or no avail; the remedy is only to be procured at the Pope's court. Believes, however, that the Queen is being deceived by her

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Council, which, though principally composed of worthy prelates and lawyers, contains some members scarcely to be trusted. That is the reason why the Queen's request ought not to be disregarded under present circumstances, and why the Flemish lawyers, whom he (Mendoza) asked for many months ago, should be sent to England forthwith. The Queen, as announced in former despatches, is a very pious and honourable lady, possessing many virtues and high qualities, which make her richly deserving of all our respect and sympathy.

Of Madame's departure for Cambray His Imperial Majesty must have been informed long ago. Some think that the meeting of the two ladies will come to nothing. In his humble opinion the conferences cannot fail to be profitable under many aspects. They cannot do harm, even if they do not immediately turn to good. As His Majesty's departure [for Italy] must be somewhat delayed in consequence, it stands to reason that the devices and intrigues of the Italian confederates, and also of England, to prevent the same, will abate, since the hope of a general peace without cost is preferable for them to keeping up agitation at great expense. To this may be added that if the scarcity of wheat and other provisions in Italy is so great as represented in this country, there will, independently of other unforeseen obstacles which might arise, be a better opportunity and excuse for the Emperor, after the conclusion of peace, to return to his dominions than there would be otherwise: as well as that the [Emperor's] passage through France must be considered a great advantage for the prospects of peace, for we shall then be able in one week to consult him on any difficulties that may arise, and receive an answer in as many days. Knows as a positive fact that when the news of the interview of the ladies first reached England, the Duke of Suffolk, who was about to depart on a mission to France, received immediate orders to proceed to Cambray, and be present at the conferences. He was to be furnished with powers to that effect, the Cardinal having stated at the time, as he (Mendoza) has often heard him say, that the King, his master, wished to be one of the contracting parties of the treaty concluded at Cambray under whatever conditions rather than be altogether excluded from the said treaty. And, although as regards treaties with France, the kings of England have always been rather guarded and cautious, he (Mendoza) is sure that rather than lose the money he has scattered about in various ways, King Henry will change his line on this occasion, and until he has gathered his corn will do everything in his power to promote the continuance of the war. Please God, that after this king has recovered the whole of his money, and the French one his two sons, the opportunities for peace may be as favourable as at present, and our adversaries in still greater need. Hopes that those who are about to work for peace on terms more advantageous than those agreed to at Burgos, will be able to

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achieve something through which God may be served, and the Emperor's authority and reputation increased.

An ambassador from Scotland has arrived at this Court with offers of marriage between King James and the dowager Queen of Hungary.* Fancies that he has delayed his proposals till now not to displease King Francis, who has (they say) sent him a message to the effect that he prefers the friendship of England to his. That is the very reason why the said King of Scotland is now soliciting the Imperial alliance, which seems to him (Mendoza) a very desirable one under present circumstances, were it for no other purpose than to annoy and trouble this king, although it is very doubtful whether the affection which the English people undoubtedly profess to His Imperial Majesty will not prove an obstacle to the application of the Scottish ambassador. The affair (he hears) was initiated some time ago by Mr. de Bredan, who in all his missions and travels has always proved himself a zealous and devoted servant of his Imperial Majesty.—Brussels, 17th June 1529.

Signed: "Don Iñigo de Mendoça."

Spanish. Original. pp 14.

19 June. **45.** SUMMARY of the TREATY of PEACE between CLEMENT VII. and CHARLES V.

S. E. L. 2,016, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 365.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

18 June. **46.** GOMEZ SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Leg. 848, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 328.

On the 13th inst. four galleys of Sicily and one of Naples entered this port [of Genoa].

The confederates were at Marignano and Gazo (*sic*). Antonio de Leyva had written to say that he was not the least afraid of them, as he had a sufficient force and plenty of provisions, and besides had received intelligence of the speedy arrival of the Germans.

Had arranged with the Signory to raise 4,000 men besides those she had in her pay. Belgioioso was to levy 4,000 more for the purposes already known to the Emperor. Leyva had written to say that 6,000 ducats were to be paid to the Count out of the produce of the wheat sold [in Genoa].

The galleys took on their way a brigantine loaded entirely with silk, but some doubts were entertained as to its being a lawful prize, in consequence of which a portion of the silk, said to belong to merchants of Lucca, has been restored.

This city has chosen, and is already fitting up, the quarters that the Emperor is to occupy on his landing.

* Mary, daughter of Philip and Joanna, and consequently sister of Charles V. Born in 1505, she was married in 1521 to Louis, King of Bohemia and Hungary, who was slain at Mohatz on the 29th of August 1526. She died at Valladolid on the 18th of October 1558.

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The Order of Rhodes has armed four galleys, and wishes to arm a fifth. Their destination is unknown. Having imparted his fears to Andrea [Doria], the latter wrote to the Grand Master of the Order (Villiers de l'Isle Adam), who answered at once that they would in nowise be employed against the Emperor or his allies.

The Signory of Venice has sent a gentleman to ask the Genoese whether they wished them to interpose their influence with the King of France, that he might take them under his protection, and the answer of the Genoese has been such as might be expected from them under present circumstances.

Rodrigo de Ripalda sailed off the other day without despatches.

A galleon belonging, as it is rumoured, to a Florentine merchant, has just been brought into this port. She was captured by the Imperial galleys at Porto Pisano.

Belgioioso is gone to operate his junction with the troops of this Signory.

Hears that an army of 20,000 Germans and 1,000 horse will soon be in Italy. Genoa has already raised and armed 3,000, who will soon be increased to 4,000.

The sons of the Count del Verme have come with 1,000 men and two pieces of ordnance to offer their services, on condition that the community takes them under her protection.

The Archbishop of Capua (Fr. Nicolas Schomberg) has arrived. Could not see him as he was engaged writing this despatch.—Genoa, 18th June 1529.

Signed: "Gomez Suarez de Figueroa."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

21 June. **47.** The Emperor to the Duke of Lorraine.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 224, No. 40.

His letters brought by his ambassador, Claude Chançonnette, have come to hand. The present is in credence of Eustace Chapuys, officer of Geneva and of his Council [in the Low Countries], who will communicate certain matters relating to his service.—Barcelona, 21st June 1529.

Addressed: "Au Duc de Lorrenne."

French. Original draft. p. 1.

22 June. **48.** Martin de Salinas to the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. R. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 214 v°.

Received, on the 4th inst., the King's despatch and letters dated Spires, the 24th of April, and took the earliest opportunity to acquaint the Emperor with their contents. Though the news they convey is anything but agreeable, yet His Imperial Majesty showed at the time every disposition to meet difficulties abroad, and bade him (Salinas) forward all the papers and despatches for the inspection of the Privy Council, and of his confessor (Garcia de Loaysa), which was accordingly done. They are there since yesterday.

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On the 18th Louis de Tassis arrived with the duplicate of the resolutions taken by the Diet, and also with His Highness' holograph letter to the Emperor, explanatory of the same, besides one from Secretary Castellejo to him (Salinas).

Andrea Doria landed also on the same day, and had an audience.

The Emperor was glad to hear of the levies now being made in Germany for his Italian army. He would, however, have much preferred that those destined to Antonio de Leyva had been prepared with greater speed, to relieve the dangerous position in which that captain was placed.

He was equally glad to hear of the good reception given to Montfort; not so at his too long stay in Flanders, as it was exceedingly inconvenient under present circumstances, and much time was lost through it.

To the questions which the Emperor put respecting Rocandorf (Rokendolf) he (Salinas) answered as well as he could. The Emperor remarked that he knew nothing about his having offered to raise 6,000 Germans, as advised from Flanders. A similar application (he observed) had been made some time ago by a great personage, but had been most peremptorily refused. The Emperor did not state the name and quality of the individual alluded to, but there is reason to suspect that it was Rocandorf himself who made the offer, for when he last left this place he was by no means in the Imperial favour.

Respecting Hungary and Bohemia and the rest of His Highness' patrimonial estates threatened by a Turkish invasion, the Emperor was sorry to hear the news; he, however, trusted in God that the plans of the Infidel would be defeated.

Did not fail to inform the Emperor, as ordered, of the adjournment of the Diet,* of the negociations with the Switzers, and of the sums paid to Brunswick for his late services in Italy, of which a detailed account came by the last post.

Gave Count Nassaot (Nassau) His Highness' holograph letter, and read also to him the paragraphs of those addressed to him (Salinas) in which he was mentioned. The Count, who is very well disposed, seems pleased at the promises of advancement and favour made to him.

With regard to Johan Lallemand,† he (Salinas) did not hesitate to defend his cause in the Emperor's presence. As the result of the judicial inquiry lately made shows that he is entirely innocent, not one of the charges brought against him by his enemies having been proved, he (Salinas) spoke warmly to the Emperor in Lallemand's favour, and resolutely said that there was no reason whatever to proclaim him a

* "En lo del entretenimiento del Regimiento [de Inspruch ?] se hiço relacion por que su Mt. esté advertido."

† Written "Lalleman" or L'Aleman, who, as stated elsewhere, incurred the Emperor's disgrace, and was finally deprived of his office as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which post was given first to Nicolas Perrenot, and afterwards to Francisco de los Covos.

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traitor. His enemies had accused him of things which the Emperor's secretary had never dreamt of, and it would be highly discreditable if the punishment inflicted rested on no other ground than the gratuituous charges brought by people anxious to revenge his refusal to serve their own private views. Delivered His Highness' message to that effect, and begged the Emperor to treat his secretary with his usual benevolence. The answer was that he (the Emperor) was quite satisfied as to Lallemand's innocence of the principal charges, but was neverthless highly displeased with other trifling offences (*otras cosillas*), which, after all, in his (Salinas') opinion, are not sufficiently proved or grievous to deserve so severe a punishment.

Don Pedro de Cordoba* has received His Highness' letter explaining why his charge of Chief Equerry has been bestowed upon Don Pedro Lasso. He showed regret at the intelligence, as he had hoped that the post might have been kept vacant for him, and that his late marriage here [in Spain] would have been no impediment to his filling that post.

Laxao (Lachaulx) was glad to hear of the message. He hopes with His Highness' favour to obtain the object of his wishes (*que habra fin su desseo*).

The Polish ambassador is now here. As his master's late behaviour in these matters of the Turk is well known at this court, he (Salinas) advised the Emperor to interrogate him about it, which was accordingly done; the ambassador said in excuse that his master [King Sigismond] never issued such orders, but that the nobleman, who gave himself out as Polish ambassador, had asked leave of absence to go to our Lady of Loretto in pilgrimage, and had then taken a different route, and done on his own account what he is charged with.†

One of the privy councillors, Nicolas Pernot (Perrenot) by name, better known by the title of Mons. de Granvelle, and who was Imperial ambassador at the court of France after the King's liberation, now fills Lallemand's place. He shows great inclination to serve His Highness efficiently, so that a letter complimenting him on his nomination and promising him favour would be most opportune.

Of the supplies sent by King Francis to the Vayvod (Zapolsky), the Emperor had already full intelligence through letters from that King himself that have been intercepted.—Barcelona, 22nd June 1529.

P.S.—The Emperor is writing to inquire of what size and colour the standards are to be which he is to take [to Germany] for his Turkish expedition.

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* Don Pedro was Sessa's brother; he was married to Doña Felipa Henriquez.

† The original text has, "El embaxador del Rey de Polonia está aqui, y á mi me pareció que era bien que pues á Su. Mt. constaba lo que su amo hauia echo acerca del Turco éra bien que gelo diesen á entender como Su. Mt. fuese servido y Su. Mt. se determinó de lo hazer. Y el dicho embajador dió por disculpa que su amo nunca tal mandó sino que aquel que se intituló su embaxador le pidió iicencia para yr á Nuestra Señora de Loreto, y de su propria voluntad hiço el contrario."

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As Mons. de Laxao (Laschaulx) is to accompany him, he will be best able to explain what the Emperor's wishes are. The bad health of the Archbishop [of Toledo, Fonseca], which prevents his attending the Council, is very much in Lachaulx' favour,* since that prelate is by no means favourable to him.

As above stated, the Emperor interrogated the ambassador of the King of Poland [Sigismond] respecting his master's conduct. The ambassador alleged as an excuse that the King gave no such order, but that the nobleman who assumed the title of ambassador and went to the Vayvod [of Transylvania], asked him permission to make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, and started in a contrary direction. Such, at least, is the excuse which this Polish ambassador offers for his master, showing the King's letters to that effect, whereof a copy is here enclosed.† What may be the real truth nobody knows, for certainly had the statement been correct the King [of Poland] himself would have hastened to inform the Emperor of his servant's infidelity, and not waited until he was questioned about his strange negociations with the Vayvod.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4.

22 June. **49.** JEAN LE SAUCH to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u. Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 225, No. 32. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 367.

After dispatching his letter from Cambray, on the 16th inst[t]., he (Le Sauch) left at three in the afternoon for Senlis, where he arrived on the morning of Friday. Found that the King of France and Madame [Louise de Savoie], his mother, were no longer there, but had gone two leagues beyond to Chantilly, a fine estate belonging to the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency). Following the advice of L'Esleu Bayart he (Le Sauch) dispatched a messenger to the Bailli Robertet that he might immediately inform Madame of his arrival.

On the following Saturday an answer came stating that Madame was very pleased, and had sent one named Sermacre‡, president of accounts in Bretagne, to conduct him (Le Sauch) to Chantilly, which was done, the Grand Master soon after his arrival introducing him, &c.

After exhibiting his letters of credence, he (Le Sauch) proceeded to explain, as he thought most fit, the object of his mission, for Madame must be aware that his instructions are rather vague, and that nothing was added to them on

* "Y lo que al presente hay en que se le pueda hazer merced es lo que e [mismo] escrive á V. Al. por la necesidad de la indisposicion del arçobispo presente." D. Alonso de Fonseca, who had been formerly Archbishop of Santiago, was promoted to Toledo in 1524 (the 26th of April). He died on the 4th of February 1534.

† Not in the volume.

‡ Thus in the original, but evidently a mistake for Commercy or Commacre, as he is otherwise named.

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his departure [from Brussels]. Besides, finding that the affairs had lately taken another turn, that Madame had left [Cambray] soon after the conferences, that Mons. de Humières (Brinon) had also left, taking, moreover, into account many other circumstances referred to in his last despatches, he (Le Sauch) was very careful how he alluded to the object of his mission.

After presenting his respects to Madame Louise, he (Le Sauch) was conducted to the presence of the King, who after the usual inquiries for Madame's health, asked where she was then, and when likely to return to Cambray, adding that it was his earnest wish to see the present preliminary negociations come to an issue, that he might himself see and speak to Madame. Whilst commenting on his (Le Sauch's) letters of credence, said that you, Madame, having received the letters of the King, and of Madame, his mother, brought by L'Esleu Bayart, and listened to the kind message brought from them, felt that you could not do less than send some person to them to return thanks for their attention, and inform them at the same time of your intended journey to Cambray. That in conformity with this resolution you were to leave Brussels on Wednesday last, or on Thursday at the latest; that on Saturday you would be at Mons, stay there the whole of Sunday, go to Valenciennes on Tuesday, and there wait for news. With regard to the precautions which the King and Madame, his mother, wished to be taken on both sides, such as sending people of each party to the frontiers to ascertain if there were any gatherings or assemblies of men in arms, observed that certainly several courtiers had written to warn you, Madame, against your going to Cambray, inasmuch as the King of France being also expected on that frontier, he might, on the plea of protecting his own person, bring with him so considerable a number of retainers, that one night you might find yourself surrounded in your own lodgings, and made, together with all your courtiers, lords, and grand masters (*grans maistres*) a prisoner in the hands of the French. That for this reason you ought not to advance beyond Valenciennes, nor the Queen of France beyond St. Quentin; that thence both ladies might communicate with each other and discuss the affairs they had in hand through persons appointed for that purpose. That your answer to such warnings and admonitions had been that you had no mistrust or fear of any sort as regarded Madame Louise or the King, her son, and that if any of your councillors or courtiers were afraid they might remain at home.

That not satisfied with this answer, the courtiers had suggested that since it was your pleasure to come [to Cambray] you ought at least to come with a considerable escort, and as you could not but consent to your own sister bringing with her an honourable company, you ought to make sure that your own escort was the stronger and more numerous, sufficient to cope with the French, and if required, with the people of the town also (*et au dessus d'elle et de la*

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ville). That your answer had been, that if there was one single armed man in your suite, people might imagine that you were going on a warlike enterprise, not on a work of peace, which circumstance would be of itself enough to make you return home without delay. You had started on a mission of peace, and hoped, God willing, to be successful. You wanted nothing in your attendance that looked like war; and were coming as a princess of peace, as frankly and sincerely as she herself (Madame Louise) meant to come when she offered, if necessary, to meet you in some good town of Haynault or Flanders.

Other objections have been raised which you, Madame, had completely disregarded, thinking of nothing short of your coming personally to Cambray without escort of any kind, thus showing that in your opinion these were not matters to be discussed by commissaries on both sides, but by the common consent of your sister, the Queen Mother of France, and yourself to meet each other at Cambray or some other town, and come to an understanding, &c. Yet (I added) as L'Esleu Bayart once proposed that people should be secretly dispatched to the towns on each side of the frontier to observe whether any movements or gatherings of people were visible, you, Madame, were quite ready, if she thought the measure advisable, to grant you consent, though considering the said precautionary measure quite unnecessary on your part, or on that of your sister.

On all and every one of these particular points the Queen answered as follows: Respecting the first, she said, she was very glad to hear the good news brought her. There was nothing she desired so much as to see her sister, whom she loves extremely, and co-operate with her in the establishment of a solid and lasting peace between the Christian princes. She would have come much sooner to keep the appointment had she not been prevented by a severe illness. She doubted not but that all manner of difficulties had been raised there in Flanders. She and her son had received similar warnings from various quarters. In the first place, from the Duke of Suffolk and from Treasurer Feuwillain (Fitzwilliam), then from the Pope, who would like to see himself venerated by the Italians residing at this our Court*, from the Venetians and from other Italian potentates. However, the more all these people had done to prevent the conferences, the more attached she had become to her idea, and therefore had hastened on her journey as much as she possibly could, for it seemed to her that the enemy [of mankind] was tempting all and every one of the above named to throw impediments in the way of peace.† She then told him (Le Sauch) to announce that on Wednesday next without fail she would be at St. Quentin,

* "De la part du Pappe, qui se vouldroit faire venerer des Italiens qui sont en ceste Court."

† "Car il luy semble que l'enemy tente chascun pour enpeschier ung si grant bien."

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and that you, Madame, would do well to inform the Emperor of the impediments thrown in her way by the English and the rest of the Italian confederates. As soon as she herself had arrived at Cambray she would not fail to acquaint you with the causes of the Duke of Suffolk's arrival at the French court, and the return to England of Feuwillain (Fitzwilliam), who came with him.

With regard to her sending special commissioners beyond the frontiers of France for the purpose of reconnoitring, and seeing whether any unlawful assemblies of armed people took place, she had no mistrust or fear of any sort, and yet considering that the French towns in that part of the frontier are more numerous and have stronger garrisons than ours, she strongly recommended that such precautions should also be taken on our part for the satisfaction of the lords and grand masters (*grands maistres*) of those countries.

That Mons. d' Humière's application for two gates at Cambray to be destined one for King Francis' exclusive use, and the other for your own, had only been made on the presumption and in the hope that the conferences ending prosperously, as was anticipated on both sides, the King, her son, would wish to see you privately, and with a small retinue, as Mons. d' Humières himself had previously hinted to him (Le Sauch). This, however, is a point on which they no longer insist.

She (the Queen) had no objection whatever to make respecting the arrangements and preparations at Cambray for your mutual visits, and was glad to hear that your dwelling and her's were close to each other.

After the above questions and answers Madame [of France] inquired of where Mons. du Rœulx was then, and whether he intended going soon to Spain. Answered that he (Mons. Rœulx) was in his own estates waiting for the arrival at Cambray. Had no doubt he would himself go thither, and pay his respects to both ladies, unless he were prevented by his journey to Italy, where he was to meet the Emperor. He had no business whatever to transact in Spain since the Emperor had already sailed, or was about to sail, from Barcelona to Genoa. Must here observe that this is not the first time that he has been cross-questioned about Mons. du Rœulx personally, much more indeed than about any other gentleman in the Imperial service. What the reason can be he (Le Sauch) cannot say, but he was particularly asked on this occasion to mention the names of all those who are coming with you, Madame, to Cambray.

After this conversation, the details of which he omits for brevity's sake, and because he does not consider them of paramount importance for the present question, the Queen bade him return to Senlis, remarking that he (Le Sauch) would find there better lodgings, and besides that she herself and the King, her son, would be there on Saturday the 15th, that is to-day. He would find there President Commacre (Commercy),

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who had been instructed to keep him company, attend to his wants, and defray all expenses in a very handsome manner. Takes this opportunity of informing Madame that the same may be done with L'Esleu Bayart, who has, however, written to this Court that he is very handsomely entertained and honourably treated.

Has received Madame's letters dated Brussels, the 17th; by Mons. de la Hargerye (*sic*).

Hears that the meeting is not to take place before Sunday or Monday next, for it is not likely that the Queen Mother will travel from St. Quentin to Cambray, a distance of eight leagues, in 24 hours, and most probably she will not stop at Crevecœur. However this may be, nothing has been officially announced yet, but will endeavour to ascertain what the Queen's intentions are, and let Madame know as soon as possible.—Compiegnes (*sic*), Monday the 21st of June [1529.]

19 June. **50.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c.225, No. 33.

Madame, the Queen and the King, her son, arrived last evening in this town. I immediately requested President Commacre (Commercy) to go to the Grand Master and inform him that I wished to dispatch a messenger, as I had not communicated with you since my arrival in this town. The President remained in Court until 11 o'clock at night, and brought no other answer except that the Queen Mother and the Grand Master of France would receive me this morning, which has been the cause of my keeping this despatch open till after the audience.

I accordingly called first upon the Grand Master, who said he had no message to deliver from the Queen Mother, except that as soon as she was ready to depart she would let me know. I did not, however, wait for this message, but suspecting there would be no time for me to see the Queen, I begged the Grand Master to go and apply for an audience after dinner. The Grand Master did as he was desired; he went first to the King, whom he found at table attended by the Duke of Suffolk and Treasurer Feuwillain (Fitzwilliam), just returned from England, and Dr. Hincht.* The dinner over, all the guests withdrew to the King's chamber, and the hall was cleared and prepared for a meeting of the Council.

On this information I repaired to the apartments of the Queen, who was just going to dinner. I found, however, means of penetrating into her chamber, and so contrived that she saw me, beckoned me to approach, and asked whether I had news of Madame. Answered that I had, and that not later than yesterday I had heard of your departure from Brussels on Thursday. I had been particularly requested to inform her of the fact, and send back what news I had of her intended movements. I therefore wished to dispatch a courier

* Probably Dr. William Knight.

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to apprize her of what she herself had told me at Chantilly, respecting her intended movements.

The Queen approved entirely of the idea, but observed that her arrival at St. Quentin could no longer take place on Friday, as she had at first announced, but on Saturday, for she could not possibly start to-morrow. After which she went on to say: "I depart upon this journey frankly (*franchement*), and full of confidence in my sister, sincerely hoping that our meeting and conference will turn out as I wish, and that whatever is agreed upon between us the Emperor will approve and ratify. I know not whether you are aware that some of the conditions have already been settled between Madame and myself by letter, and that I hardly think Madame would like me to undertake this journey for nothing, though I confess that I would have taken even a much longer one for her sake, and to have the pleasure of seeing her." My answer was: "There can be no doubt that both of you will agree on all points. The Emperor is sure to consent, and Madame herself is not likely to propose anything that he cannot approve. With regard to the conditions you speak of, as having already been settled preliminarily between you, I know nothing about them; if any one knows it must be either Mons. de Rosymboz or Mons. Guillaume des Barres, who have lately gone to the Emperor and brought the powers which, as I am told, you have received."*

She replied that nothing could be better than the arrangements made. It was very important, indeed, that but very few people should be made acquainted with the bases of the negociation. She had taken the same precaution in France. Upon which I took the liberty of mentioning to her that Fitzwilliam, the King of England's treasurer, was still at Compiegne, where I had seen him, and yet I had heard her say that he was to leave for England on Saturday last. She instantly replied: "He left, as I told you, but has since returned. The King, after dinner to-day, is to hear what he and Suffolk have to say; but you may confidently write to Madame, my sister, that she need not be jealous of the English, or imagine that they can prevent my journey to Cambray, for in no case would I miss the appointment, or make less concessions than I am prepared for. The object of the English, as I am given to understand, is to send the King's plein-pouvoirs to treat in his name, he and the King of France, my son, being allies, and unable to discuss peace separately." My answer was: "Madame, it is but reasonable to fulfil what one has promised. For my part, I am inclined to think that the Emperor will raise no difficulty to having the King of England comprised in the treaty about to be made, for it is now more than a month since I, myself, took the offer to him on Madame's behalf." "I know very well (replied the Queen) that you have been in England and

* "Qui ont este devers l'Empereur dernierement, et ont apporte le pooir (*sic*) que vous en avez, comme j'ay entendu."

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performed there the duties of a good ambassador, for I am informed by Mons. de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), that you positively refused to name to the King and Cardinal the place and day for which my interview with my sister had been fixed."

After this she asked me, "Is the Cardinal of Liege coming with Madame?" I answered, "Yes, he is coming." "Is he useful to you in that country (*par delá*)?" "He has been so useful (said I) ever since he entered the Emperor's service, that I calculate he has been worth upwards of 4,000,000 of crowns to him, and intends doing still more, as he is determined to devote his whole fortune and talents to the cause of the Empire.* He is consequently the most important person in the estates of Flanders after Madame, and the one who enjoys most favour with the Emperor. There is nothing His Imperial Majesty would not grant him were he to ask for it." "Still," said Madame, "Is he a man to aim at good?" "You may believe me when I say that he is strongly attached to peace, and would like to see others share his opinion, for you must indeed believe that Madame [Marguerite] is incapable of bringing in her suite people who do not desire peace."

"Well then (replied the Queen), I am very glad to hear this. I intend bringing in my company my own chancellor, but there is no fear of his thwarting in any way my good wishes. Should he be unable to come, I intend taking with me this good old knight of Mons. de Montmorency, together with his son, the Grand Master [Anne.]† I take no princes or nobles in my suite because my good sister [Margaret] brings none with her, and in reality they are not wanted. Some lords from Britanny will also accompany me, such as Messieurs de Laval, de Rieuz, and Mons. de Chasteaubrien (Chateaubriand), besides a few gentlemen of my own household or of that of the King, my son. Of women, I only take with me those of my own chamber, who are numerous enough, for when Queen [Claude] died we kept them all in our service, and many are also wanted on account of the children. The dowager Madame de Vendosme comes likewise. You may write this to my sister, and tell her what my plans are, and that I hope we may hear of each other daily. Write also to her boldly that we must necessarily contend and argue, but that I sincerely hope it will be without anger or ill-will. I will tell her things which she will be astonished to hear. She thinks that the Pope is the Emperor's friend, but I can assure her that he is very far from being such, for he is evidently trying to prevent the Emperor's journey to Italy before the treaty is concluded between the parties, and in all other matters he will be found very different from what you think. I do not mean to imply thereby that he (the Pope) acts any better towards us; such is,

* "Il le fait tel que s'extime son service du proffit à l'Empereur et à ses pays, depuis qu'il est au service de sa Majesté, d'escus de millions de iiii."

† "Mais il ne fault craindre qu'il me trompe; et si manque aussi ce bon vielz chevalier, le s^{r} de Montmorency et son filz le grand maistre."

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however, his condition, that he is of no good to us, nor to you, nor to the Church itself."

My answer was: "I recollect, Madame, that on Saturday last you told me that Dr. Estienne (Stephen Gardiner), the English ambassador, just arrived from Rome, had told you that the Pope was very ill, and not likely to recover." "So it is." "I am told also that Dr. Estienne is taking to England the Pope's decision on the divorce case. Is that true?"

"I cannot positively affirm (was my reply) that he takes any document with him, or what the Pope's resolution has been;* but I hear that there has been some difficulty respecting a certain brief which has not been found valid at Rome; but this question of the marriage does not concern us in the least, and we have nothing in common with the English."—Compiegnes, Tuesday, the 22nd of June anno xxix., at six o'clock p.m.

P.S.—Relays of post horses have been established by the Queen between this town and Cambray, so as to be in daily communication with you.

The Queen of Navarre† felt indisposed last night, and has been obliged to take remedies to-day. I believe that this circumstance, and the return of Fitzwilliam, will prevent the Queen from starting to-morrow, as she intended.

Mons. de Tarbes has left for Rome post haste.

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 11.

23 June. **51.** MARRIAGE SETTLEMENTS between ALESSANDRO DE' MEDICI, the Pope's nephew, and MARGARET, natural daughter of the Emperor.—[Barcelona‡], 23rd June 1529.

S. Pat. Re. Div. de Ital. Cap. con. Pont. L. 593, f. 17. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 373.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 1.

25 June. **52.** The EMPEROR'S Instructions to EUSTACE CHAPUIS.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u Staats Arch. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 225, No. 34.

Memoir and instruction of what you, Eustace Chapuis, are to do and say at the Court, and to the personages hereafter mentioned, to whom you are now sent by us.

1st. You shall first of all go to the Duke of Savoy (Carlo II.), our cousin. After the delivery of your letters of credence, you will tell him that you are going home on leave to attend to some private business of your own, whilst We dispose of you otherwise. That you were also to have received despatches for Rome or for the King of Hungary, our brother,

* "Je ne veulz pas dire qu'il le apporte, et n'en poiz [que] trop maisgrement escripre, mais j'ai entendu, &c.'

† Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I., better known as Madame d'Alençon, owing to her marriage with the Duke of Alençon, after whose death, in 1527, she married Henry d'Albret, surnamed King of Navarre.

‡ The Emperor was at Barcelona from the 28th of April to the 27th of July, when he sailed for Palamós, on the coast of Catalonia.

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but these not being ready against your departure you had to start without them.

That the object of your visit is to inform him (the Duke) of our present intention to cross over to Italy, unless something very important for the welfare of Christendom should prevent us. That he (the Duke) will always find us well disposed to forward and promote his interests, hoping that he will communicate with and furnish us with provisions, and anything else We may require during our stay in his country, and also give orders for his subjects and vassals not to help our enemies directly or indirectly, especially if, as We intend, We should presently cross thither in person. We leave it to your discretion to say anything else likely to remind the Duke of the duties which he and his subjects are bound to fulfil towards us as members of and dependants on the Empire as they are.

On the subject of the peace about to be made you will tell the Duke what our intentions have always been in that respect, and how We always thought and intended that he should be one of the commissaries of the peace, as We informed him at the time through President Lambert, and also wrote to Madame, our aunt.* Not having, however, heard from her, or from her secretary since then, and being quite ignorant of what has passed at Cambray, We have avoided writing thereupon to the Duke, who is, no doubt, informed by this time of the resolutions of the meeting. You will, moreover, tell him that the Geneva affair is in good train, and that orders have been issued for the speedy settlement of all his claims in the manner he wishes.

Should you meet the Count of the Genevois (Philippe), you will exhibit your credentials, and speak to him in the same terms as to his brother, the Duke, taking care not to involve yourself in any contradictions. You will make him understand the entire trust We place in him, and our hope that he will always behave towards us as a good relative and subject, in conformity with his last letter to us. On our part he will always find us ready to do him pleasure.

You will also deliver to our cousin, the Bishop of Genesve and Abbot of Saint Claude,† the letters in your credence, and tell him that We shall consider it a service to our house and family if he will see (*tenir main*) that the companies of the Bailli d'Aumont, his brother, and also those of the lords de Varax et d'Autrey, be looked up and attended to as may seem needful (*diligentees et solicitees selon l'exigence*).

You will endeavour to procure intelligence from France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries, and inform us as soon as possible of the result of your inquiries.

* Probably Margaret of the Low Countries, although the words "our aunt" might also apply to the Duchess of Savoy, Beatrix, daughter of Dom Manuel of Portugal, and Marie, the Emperor's aunt.

† Another member of the ducal family, by name Pietro ;. he was the brother of Philiberto and the uncle of Carlo.

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You will tell [the Duke] in what good memory (*souvenance*) We hold his loyalty and past services, that We trust he will continue the same towards us, and that We shall always care for his affairs as though they were our own. In what regards Cardinal Volterra and the Prior of Arbois (?), We shall see that no injury is done to them according to our engagements in writing. The same may be said respecting the Geneva business; as soon as We have taken cognizance of the means adopted for putting an end to the quarrel, and settling all claims, due provision shall be made to satisfy both parties.

When in Burgundy, if the Count de Varax, the Sieur d'Autrey, and the Bailli d'Aymont, have not yet taken their departure, as they are instructed to do, you shall give or forward to them our letters, and inform them that you have strict orders from us to press the execution of their various commissions. They are to consult together as to the best means of crossing over [to Italy] with their respective companies of German foot or Flemish horse, as they may think best; and in case of their being unable to complete the number of men contracted for, they are to march with such forces as are ready at present, and inform us of their movements as soon and as often as they can.

Should you pass near the residence of our cousin* the Duke of Lorrenne (Lorraine) you will visit him in our name, as well as the Duchess†, his wife (*sa compaigne*). You will deliver our letters, and tell them that taking advantage of your passing through their estate to go to Flanders or Autrept (Utrecht), as it may be, We have instructed you to present our compliments to them. You may also tell the Duke [of Lorraine] that We have been informed by our aunt of Flanders [Madame Marguerite] of the good relations and friendly intercourse which he, as her neighbour, maintains, for which We thank him most sincerely, and that on our part We shall do everything in our power to show our gratitude and watch over his interests.

You will tell the Duchess, our cousin, the good-will and high regard We entertain for her and for all the relatives of our most dear cousin, the Duke of Bourbonnais‡, her brother, whom may God forgive. And that with respect to his succession and inheritance, every care shall be taken that no injustice or harm is done to her or any of the Constable's relations; but, on the contrary, if peace should be made, her own private affairs will be attended to as if they were our own.

When at the court of Madame [Margaret] our aunt, you will inform her minutely of everything you have observed,

* Antoine who was the twenty-first Duke from 1508 to 1544. There is in the Imperial Archives of Vienna, C. 224, No. 40, a letter of the Emperor (21 June), acknowledging receipt of those brought by Claude Chançonette, his ambassador.

† Renée de Bourbon—Montpensier.

‡ The Constable, Charles de Bourbon, Duke of Auvergne.

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and heard during your journey, that she herself may immediately acquaint us with it. And you will also show her the instructions you have for England that she may tell you how matters stand in that country.

You will tell Madame, our aunt, that We have no doubt she has made all diligence concerning what We wrote to her by André, the courier, respecting the artillery and the passage of the Germans into Italy.

Should you find an opportunity you will tell the lords and principal personages of the Low Countries (*de noz pays de par delà*) how satisfied We are with their services in general, as We have already signified to them through Moqueron and Montfort.—Barcelona, 25th Juin 1529.

French. Original draft.

27 June. **53.** The Emperor's Secret Instruction to Antonio de Leyva and Prothonotary Caracciolo to treat with the Marquis of Mantua.

S. E. L. 848, f. 24. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 313.

What you Antonio de Leyva, of our Council, our captain of men-at-arms, and governor of the estate of Milan, and you our beloved Marino Caracciolo, Apostolical Prothonotary, and also of our Council, are to treat and negociate with the illustrious Marquis of Mantua, is as follows:

After telling the Marquis how pleased We are to hear that he is willing to exert himself for the peace of Italy, you will communicate to him the enclosed powers and instructions, but only after the bases have been agreed upon between you, not otherwise.

With regard to the appointment of our lieutenant or vicar and captain-general in Italy, you will tell him that nothing could have been more agreeable to us than to confer such a charge on a person of his merits and military talents, and who has given so many proofs of affection to our person, but the fact is that the post being at the present moment filled by the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), who at this very moment is marching from Naples at the head of our army to succour Lombardy, We could not think of depriving him of his honours and position, thus doing him serious injury. Besides which, as our intended journey to Italy is to take place very shortly, were We to give him the post he so much desires it could only be for a short time, since the moment We land in Italy all such charges and delegations must naturally cease.

Nevertheless, that the Marquis may know our good intentions towards him, you will tell him that immediately upon our arrival in Italy We shall take his personal services into consideration, increase his honours and dignity, and in the event of our quitting Italy, leave him in such high post and place that he may have reason to be well satisfied. Should he, however, prefer going to Milan, and serving there against

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our enemies, before the Prince has had time to arrive from Naples, then in that case you will tell him that you have our orders to obey him, and consider him in every respect as your commander and chief.

Should the Marquis be satisfied with this answer to his application, as We have no doubt he will be, you will at once settle with him as to the number of men, both foot and horse, with whom he intends helping us at this present juncture (as his ambassador at this our court has proposed), and assure him that before he starts on this expedition We shall have at his disposal a sufficient sum of money to defray all expenses. And you will, moreover, agree with him as to the number of men We are willing to pay in time of peace, that he may be prepared for either emergency.

Besides this, as his ambassador here has given us to understand that the Marquis, his master, would like to have the hand of one of our sisters, should the Marquis himself broach the affair, you will tell him how sorry We are that an alliance of this sort cannot take place, since, as he well knows, one of them is already married, and the other one is at the disposal of our own brother Ferdinand, the king of Hungary. Should however, the Marquis propose a marriage with our natural daughter Margaret, the same who was once promised to Don Hercules, the son of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, you will give him a favourable answer, and tell him that that engagement being now broken off you will communicate with us thereupon, and have no doubt that We shall look upon the said marriage favourably.

The above points once settled, and the Marquis agreeing to our proposals, but not otherwise, you will show him the powers and instructions that have been prepared for him to treat with the Venetians and other Italian potentates.

With regard to this last point, as our intention is to pacify Italy as soon as possible, that We may be free and disengaged to carry on war against the Turk, the enemy of our faith, you will strictly follow the instructions sent with these secret drafts, wherein We have taken care so to express our will and determination that you may without further consultation, negociate at once and conclude a treaty as you think best under the assurance that whatever stipulations are made in our name shall be immediately ratified by us.

Respecting the Duke Francesco Sforza, and the estate of Milan, which is, after all, the most important point, if you should find that the Italian potentates are dissatisfied with our terms, as specified in our former instructions, and that they are so obstinate that the issue of the negociations may be endangered through it, the said potentates insisting on our pardoning the Duke's guilt unconditionally, then in that case, and that the said princes and republics may know the extent of our wishes for the pacification of Italy, you may tell them that We consent to forgive the crimes of the said Francesco

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Sforza, and again give him the investiture of his Duchy so that he may be comprised in this new league now being formed for the security and defence of that estate, provided it be done in a manner not affecting in any way our honour and reputation, but showing clearly the mercy and indulgence We use towards him, and indicating also that if We remit his sins towards us, it is for the sole purpose of ensuring the peace of Italy. Of course the said Duke to remain in our obedience and service and fulfil each and all of the conditions stipulated in the agreement (*asiento*) made at Toledo with Chevalier Billia, his ambassador.

With regard to the Venetians, you will also follow the letter of our former instructions; but should you find that our terms are not accepted, you will endeavour to obtain conditions as advantageous as possible, and conclude a treaty whereby in the first place they (the Venetians) bind themselves to restore all the places and fortresses they now have in Naples, and in the duchy of Milan, and in the second pay a sum of money for the maintenance of our armies, though that may be much less than the one specified in our former instructions, in your negociations with the Signory. You will also attend to the interests of our brother, the King of Hungary, and do your best for the protection of the "fuorusciti," without, however, compromising for their sake the good issue of the same. In short, you will conclude with them and with the rest of the Italian potentates such a treaty as may ensure for the future the peace of Italy, on the best terms that you can considering the times and circumstances, for this present opportunity must not be allowed to pass.

Should our brother of Hungary send you his powers and instructions to treat with Venice, as likewise for the protection of his interests in the estate of Milan, it is our will that you join your instructions to his as if they were one and the same.

With regard to the Florentines, should the Prince [of Orange] be unable to come to terms with them, and with the Pope conjointly, or should an agreement be made without the concurrence of the latter, or should they refuse to pay the sum specified in our general instructions, you may, after earnestly requesting them to do so, propose to them one of the two following expedients which in your opinion may be best for our interests: either for us to maintain and preserve them in the republican form of government, which they have adopted, in accordance with their privileges and without acknowledging the superiority of any lord or tyrant whomsoever, but only under our own Imperial protection; or else, as the Sienese have done, to appoint a captain with a sufficient force under him, on whom We may rely, and who may keep them in security and under our protection. Should you persuade the Florentines to adopt this latter means, and consent to live under our protection and care, so as to preserve their

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privileges and form of government, then in that case We shall be glad to deduct from the money they will have to pay us, as contained in the general instructions, whatever sum you may deem just, and, if necessary, the whole of it, rather than run the risk of peace not being ensured. But let it be well understood that only in case of extreme necessity, and when all hopes of a speedy settlement have vanished, are you to make this last concession.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 11.

27 June. **54.** The Emperor to Queen Katharine.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 39.

In addition to what I wrote in another letter, I have given orders to my ambassador,* bearer of this present, to inform you verbally of all that has been done at Rome in your behalf, and to show you the answer I have received from my ambassador at the Papal Court†, as well as from His Holiness' nuncio‡ lately arrived at this place, and what the latter and I have written to His Holiness on this subject. You may be sure that I have greatly at heart this affair of your's, and that as much care shall be bestowed upon it as if it were my own, and, therefore, that I will attend to it to the best of my power.

You may place implicit reliance in this my ambassador, and also consult him and follow his advice in whatever step you may think proper to take, for besides his being well acquainted with the business, he is a very trusty person, and sure to take up your defence with all fidelity and diligence.—[Barcelona], 27th June 1529.

Spanish. Original minute partly holograph. p. 1.

27 June. **55.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 11.

Draft of the same letter in Gattinara's hand, with corrections by the Emperor, who for the words *y será bien que os guieys por su parecer y consejo,* substituted "y tambien puede vuestra Alteza tomar y usar de su parecer y consejo por que soy cierto que él lo dará con toda fydelidad y diligencia." A 27 de Junio de 1529."

29 June. **56.** Ratification of the Peace between the Pope and the Emperor.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital. L. 1,454, f. 81. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 375.

At Barcelona, on the 29th of June 1529, the Emperor ratified the treaty of peace concluded on the same day with the Pope, and swore to it before the grand altar of the cathedral church, and in the presence of the undersigned princes, noblemen, and councillors, holding in his hand a copy of the said treaty.

* Etienne Chapuys who left Brussels in August.
† Miçer Miguel Mai.
‡ Girolamo Selade, bishop of Vaison.]

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The following noblemen were present:
Hernando de Cardona, constable of Aragon.
Henry [de Nasau], marquis del Zenete, count of Flanders.
Mercurino di Gattinara.
Lorenzo* de Gorrevod, "Comes Pontis Vallium, supremus camerarius."
Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, count of Saldaña.†
John Albert, marquis de Brandenburg.
Pedro Sarmiento, bishop of Palencia.
Guillelmo de Behamonte,‡ count of Lerin in Navarre.
Andrea Doria, captain-general in the Mediterranean Sea.
Charles de Poupet, dit de Lachaux, High Commander of the order of Alcañtara.
Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praët.
Nicolas Perrenot, Sieur de Granvelle.
Bartholomé Gattinara, "Regens Napolitanus."
Dated Barcelona, 27th June 1529.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

6 July.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 39.

57. The EMPEROR to QUEEN KATHARINE.

Madame and Aunt. In compliance with the promise made to the ambassadors of my good brother and uncle, the King of England, your husband, and with the desire expressed by those you yourself sent to me to Saragossa, I now appoint to reside in England as my ambassador Miçer Eustace Chappuis,§ officer of Geneva and of my Council, who has been instructed by me to make every effort to persuade the King, my good brother, to keep his mind at rest, and cast away the doubts and scruples he has hitherto entertained, and may still entertain, respecting your marriage. Considering, however, the arguments and reasons which I then brought before the English ambassadors, and those which the said Miçer Chappuis is now about to submit to the said King, your husband, there is every reason to hope that his great virtues and magnanimity will ultimately triumph over his scruples, and lead him to act in this affair as befits him, and as We think he ought and can, with a conscience perfectly at ease. As the said Chappuis, moreover, is now going to reside in London as our ambassador, I beg and entreat you to assist and favour him in the fulfilment of his mission, &c.—Barcelona, 6th [July] 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

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* This Laurentius à Gorrevod, count of Pont des Vaux, and viscount of Salinas, according to Sandoval (*Hist. del Empr. Carlos* V., *lib.* xix., § 29), was at this time the Emperor's chief chamberlain. He is named in the treaty of Cambray as one of the noblemen to be indemnified for their losses during the war.

† Son of the Duke del Infantado Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

‡ Beamunt or Beamont (Beaumont), is the true writing of this name (as he himself signs it).

§ See the Emperor's letter of the 27th June, in credence of Chapuys under No. 49.

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7 July. **58.** CHRISTOVAL DE CASTILLEJO, Secretary to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia and Hungary, to MIÇER ANDREA DEL BURGO, Ambassador at Rome.

S. E. Alemania, L. 635, f. 53. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 376.

The Turk is coming down in force.

The King is expecting the arrival of the Archbishop of Rosano, the new Apostolic Nuncio, who is bringing the bulls for the Crusade. They come, alas! too late, for there will be hardly time to collect the revenue this year.

It is to be regretted that the Emperor could not obtain at the same time from the Pope the sale of all immovable property of the Church in the Low Countries (*in partibus inferioribus*) for 300,000 ducats. It is very urgent, indeed, that the Pope make this grant by way of assistance against the Turk, and also that he give His Royal Majesty permission for selling all immovable Church property throughout the Empire.

Danger from the Turks is great, but greater still is to be apprehended in Germany from the Lutherans and Anabaptists, as these last, who assert that they must be baptized again, and wish everything to be held in common, call themselves.* —Lintz, 7th July 1529.

Indorsed: "Abstract and copies of letters in the handwriting of Andrea del Burgo."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

8 July. **59.** RATIFICATION of the TREATY OF BARCELONA.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital. L. 1,454, f. 78. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 384.

The treaty concluded between the Bishop of Vasone (Vaison) on one side, and the ambassadors of Charles, Emperor-elect on the other, concerning a marriage to be contracted between the Duke of Penna† (Alessandro de' Medici) and Margaret, the Emperor's natural daughter.—Barcelona, 8th July 1529.

Signed: "Bartolomé Gattinara—Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praët, and Nicolas Perrenot."

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

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* "Et ex secta eorum qui volunt iterum baptizare et seducunt ut omnia sint communia."

† "Ducem Parmae," says the original consulted and transcribed by Bergenroth; but it is evidently a mistake. Alessandro de' Medici was never Duke of Parma, but of *Penna*, a town of the Roman Estates. It was Ottavio Farnese, the nephew of Pope Paul III., who in 1545 became Duke of Parma and Piacenza, and married Alessandro's widow. In another copy or draft of the same paper, also at Simancas, I read: "*Ratificatio tractatus conclusi inter Episcopum Varionensem (sic) et oratores Caroli Imperatoris electi de matrimonio contrahendo inter Ducem Pennæ Alexandrum de Medicis et Margaritam filiam naturalem Imperatoris. Barcinonæ octavo calendas Julii MDXXIX.* Again here Bartholomœus must be an error for Mercurinus, for the latter, who was still the Emperor's chancellor or prime minister, was then at Barcelona, and accompanied him to Genoa, whereas his cousin Bartholomew resided in Naples.

Vasoniensis, here written *Varionensis* by mistake, is from Vasione, or Vaison, in the department of Vaucluse (France), the see of Girolamo or Jerome Selade, the Pope's "maestro di casa," who went as nuncio to Barcelona in April 1529. See vol. III., part 2, pp. 965–6.

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8 July. **60.** The SAME TREATY, with the date of BARCELONA, 10th of June 1529.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital. L. 1,454, f. 79. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 385.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 2.

8 July. **61.** The EMPEROR to the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 43. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 385.

The last news concerning the Pope's health is so alarming that the contingency of his death must be feared.

In case of a new election being required, he (the Emperor) will abstain from all interference, and will only ask them to elect a good Pope. Sends Mons. de Praët with instructions.—Barcelona, 8th July 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

9 July. **62.** CARTA LEGITIMATIONIS MARGARITE DE AUSTRIA.

M. R. Ac. d. Hist. A. 44, f. 135. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 386.

Legitimates his daughter Margaret "cum igitur te prefatam Margaretam olim matrimonio soluti ex N. . . . solutam genuerimus."—Barcelona, 9th July 1529.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

8 July. **63.** The EMPEROR to MIÇER MAI.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 106. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 378.

Your letters of the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 13th ult° have been duly received.* We now answer their various contents as follows:

You tell us that in the Roman archives documents are preserved to prove that the castle of Santangelo [at Rome] and the town of Hostia (Ostia) belong to the Empire, as well as the privilege of laying taxes on the Romans. We command you not to make any search for such papers, as We do not wish to arouse on this head the suspicions of the Pope, and of the Sacred College of Cardinals. Respecting the election of a new Pope, in case of the death of the present one, We have already instructed you to follow strictly the orders of the Prince of Orange (Philibert de Chalon), who knows our mind well, and We do not wish at the next election for a party Pope, but for one who may be a good shepherd to the Christian flock, &c. We approve entirely of your interference in the quarrel between the Colonnese and the Orsini, as well as of your endeavours to establish peace between them. We wish you to persevere in your purpose until that desirable object be attained.

With regard to our journey [to Italy], and the manner in which the Papal Nuncio is to be treated here [at Barcelona], We inform you that everything is already settled and that a peace has been concluded between His Holiness and us. We herein enclose the original treaty which has been signed and

* See above, Nos. 27, 32, and 38, ‖ that of the 3rd is not in the Archives.

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sealed here [at Barcelona], that you may obtain from His Holiness the required ratification. We also enclose the marriage settlements between the Duke Alessandro [de' Medici] and our natural daughter, Margaret. You will take care that they are properly signed and ratified by His Holiness, together with the derogating clauses (*derogaciones*) therein contained.

In the affair of the Queen of England, our most beloved aunt, you have certainly done all that was in your power. We command you to persevere until the case be advoked to Rome.

The measures concerted with Ascanio Colonna, that the Romans may get in their harvests peacefully, deserve our utmost approval.

With regard to Malatesta, it seems to us that it is the Pope's real interest and business to put him down at once. Should he (the Pope) require the assistance of our arms to that effect We cannot refuse it, since it is one of the stipulations in the treaty. For the same reason We completely approve of the help given to Braccio Baglione, the opponent of the said Malatesta.

The white steed and census of Naples.—Diego Jaymes de Haro.

The conferences which you said you had with a Milanese lawyer* respecting the Duke [Francesco Sforza], are no longer needed. Peace being already concluded between His Holiness and us, you must not meddle any longer in the political affairs of Italy, without obtaining first the Pope's sanction. Should the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) as you say, enlist troops in favour of the League, We will try to ascertain what his intentions really are, and if hostile perchance he will have to repent of his doings.

There is no occasion for you to speculate about the Florentines. You are to act in that affair exactly as His Holiness tells you, and in conformity with the articles of the treaty.

What you tell us respecting the inopportune recall of our ambassador from Venice, who, you say, might have sent us advices from that city, is no doubt true; but the thing being done, We need not revert to it. Only We will observe that since Alonso Sanchez' recall, more valuable information has been obtained by means of intercepted letters than that ambassador could have procured had he remained in Venice.

Ecclesiastic affairs. The provost of our Lady of Utrecht—Cardinal Sancti Quatuor—The military orders—Abbacy of Monte Aragon—Bishopric of Huesca, and bishop Cabrero—Cardinal Gaddi, and the archbishopric of Cosenza—Cardinals Doria, Cesarino, and Severino—Bishop of Mauriana, &c.

His Holiness, the Pope, must be thanked for the prayers and processions which he has caused to be made for the success of the conferences at Cambray, although, to say the truth, not much

* See No. 6, p. 22.

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good is expected to come therefrom. However, His Holiness' intentions were good, and you must thank him in our name. If We did not inform him at the time of the intended meeting, it was owing to our want of confidence in its success, and to our knowing that he (the Pope) had been apprized of it beforehand, and even before We ourselves heard of it. Should His Holiness, however, wish for more satisfaction on this point, you can give it him as you think proper. Since writing the above, We have resolved to send Monsieur de Praët,* of our Council, to communicate certain matters to our most Holy Father. You will join him, and conduct together the business of that embassy until such time as We may be pleased to dispose of him otherwise.—Barcelona, 8th July 1529.

Spanish. Original draft.

Docketted: "El despacho que llevó Mussiur de Praët a viii de Jullio 1529." *pp.* 12.

8 July. **64.** The Bishop of Trent† to Andrea del Burgo.

S. E. Alemania, L. 635, f. 35. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 376.

King Ferdinand has left Ratisbon to hold a new Diet of the Bohemians at Budweis, where he intends asking them for a still larger subsidy against the Turk. The Bohemians are tolerably well equipped and armed.

News from Hungary state that the Turk is expected to arrive at Belgrade on the 25th. Should he succeed in conquering Hungary, the whole of Austria and Germany might be in danger. For this reason, if the King [Ferdinand] could advance quickly and occupy the mountain passes and the fords of the rivers there would be much gained. He might for this service use his Hungarians, and principally the light cavalry. At all events, the Turk will be obliged to retire or to fight, "gagliardamente," in which case let us hope that with God's help we shall be victorious and recover the places lost in Hungary. For if it were otherwise, there is no saying to what tribulations and dangers the faithful might be subjected through the increase of these Lutheran and Anabaptist sects, that are daily spreading over Germany.—Lintz, 8th July 1529.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

8 July. **65.** Martin de Salinas to the King of Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 216.

By Don Luis de Tassis, who sailed from this port on St. John's Day (the 21st of June), His Highness must have received the latest news. Since his departure, however, a

* Praët, here written Prat, is no other than Louis de Flandre, sieur de Praët, whose despatches, as Imperial ambassador in England first, and in France afterwards, have been abstracted in vol. III., parts 1 and 2, of this calendar. The Spanish writers of the time often write his name *Prat*, thus mistaking him for Antoine du Prat, Francis' High Chancellor.

† Bernard Clesis. See vol. III., part 2 *passim*.

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treaty of friendship and alliance between His Holiness the Pope on one side, the Emperor and His Highness (the King) on the other, has been concluded and signed, and was proclaimed with due solemnity on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul. One of the Emperor's privy councillors, Mons. de Prat (Praët) by name, will be sent to Rome on this occasion, where he is sure to take as much care of the King's affairs as if they were the Emperor's. Mons de Praët wishes very much to know what degree of confidence is to be placed in Miçer Andrea del Burgo, now residing at Rome for His Highness, and whether the Imperial ambassador is to conceal from him any portion of his private instructions. To this end Mons. de Prat (Praët) takes a new cipher and alphabet, a copy of which will be forwarded to His Highness; but he (Salinas) cannot fail to observe that if the appointment of Fray Geronimo de Fonseça instead of Burgo for the Austrian embassy at the Papal Court be true, as late advices from Naples seem to indicate, some radical alteration must be made in the instructions, for the said Fonseça is not at all considered here a fit person for that post.

The Emperor's departure will take place in about a week, for news came that on St. Peter's Day the Imperial fleet was at Alicante, sixty leagues from this port.—Barcelona, 8th July 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

8 July. **66.** The Same to Secretary Christoval de Castillejo.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 216 v°.

His letter to His Highness the King of Bohemia and Hungary will inform him of all occurrences up to this time. Mons. de Praët, once the Emperor's ambassador at the Courts of England and France, has been newly appointed to reside at the Papal Court. His mission seems to be to have this last treaty ratified by His Holiness, and at the same co-operate in the pacification of Italy and the settlement of the English business. Mons. de Praët is sure to take as much care of His Highness' affairs in Italy as if they were the Emperor's own, for such are his orders. He is very desirous to be useful in this as well as in other matters. He called the day before yesterday and inquired what degree of confidence might be placed in His Highness' resident ambassador at Rome, Miçer Andrea del Burgo. I have not hesitated to say in general terms that there had been no complaint of him as far as I was aware, and therefore that I could, without fear of any sort, communicate to him all matters relating to the treaty, and to the common interests of the two brothers, as the Emperor and His Highness might and ought to be considered in these matters as one and the same person.

A summary of the articles of the treaty is here enclosed that they may be well examined and weighed. Should there be any remarks to make thereon, His Highness might write to Praët and state them at once by means of the new cipher

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and alphabet, which that ambassador now takes to Rome, and of which a copy is enclosed. I have not the least doubt that Mons. de Praët will do anything he can to serve His Highness, and will take particular care of his personal interests in Italy.

Letters from Naples state that Frey* Geronimo de Fonseça has been appointed Austrian ambassador in Rome in the room of Andrea del Burgo, and that he has already taken possession of his office at the Papal Court. If so, I must observe that I have hitherto received no official news of his appointment, and that the opinion here prevalent among the members of the Privy Council is that Fonseça is not at all the fit man for such a post.—Barcelona, 7th July 1529.

10 July. **67.** COMMANDER LA ROSA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital. L. 1,454, fol. 81. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 118.

The Emperor's arrival is anxiously expected by all his faithful vassals. Nothing can contribute so effectually as this to the entire pacification of the whole of Italy.—Napules (Naples), 10th July 1529.

Signed; "El Comendador Rosa."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. Commander Rosa. Pero Garcia."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

11 July. **68.** IL DUCA DI GRAVINA to SECRETARY PERO GARCIA.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital. L. 1,555, f. 45. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 140.

In credence of his servant, Misser Angelo, who is going to Spain for business of his own.

Signed: "Duca di Gravina," Rome, 10th July 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

10 July. **69.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Nap. L. 1,453. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 142.

Was in Naples during part of the last siege, and, like other faithful barons, contributed money towards the support of the Imperial forces. Hearing that his estate had been sequestered by Lautrech, he obtained permission from Don Ugo de Moncada first, and afterwards from the Prince of Orange [Philibert de Chalon] to treat with the French about the release of his property, without fear of his ever being accused of rebellion on that account.† Was unsuccessful in his application, and,

* If *Frey* is not a mistake for Fray, as members of the mendicant and other orders were generally styled in Spain, it must be admitted that this Geronimo de Fonseça belonged to one of the three military orders or brotherhoods, Santiago, Alcantara, or Calatrava, and that he was a professed knight of one of them, for such is the meaning of the word *Frey* as distinct from *Fray*, though both derived from *Frater*, whence *Frayre* and *Freyre*. About this time the family of Fonseça was in high favour, and two of its members had been successively archbishops of Santiago and Toledo.

† "Jo andare a concordarme con franceses con la recuperatione del mio stato, et che non se me potesse in nullo tempo imputarne rebellione."

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therefore, retired to Sicily. When after the signal victory obtained over the French, he had a right to expect that he, like other Neapolitan barons who remained faithful to the Empire, would have been rewarded for his services, he (the Duke) finds that his estate is about to be disposed of as if he were a traitor. Begs for justice.—Naples, 10th July 1529.

Signed; "Duca di Gravina."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 3.

[12] July. **70.** The EMPEROR to MIÇER MAI.

S. E. L. 848, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 328.

Ambassador, &c. Your letters of the 5th, 8th, and 13th of June have been duly received. Since those sent by Albornoz, the courier, have reached their destination, and contain the explanation of many doubtful points in your general instructions, there is no further need of referring thereto, save to say, that you are to refrain in future from treating with the Duke Francesco Sforza, or with the Venetians, without previously informing His Holiness of the nature of the negociations. Our journey being now definitively settled for one day next month, and an agreement entered into with this Papal Nuncio respecting the terms of our treaty of peace with His Holiness, of which a copy has been sent to Rome. The moment that treaty comes back, duly approved and ratified by His Holiness, We intend to set sail in that direction; and We need scarcely say that the treaty once signed and ratified, no engagements whatever are to be taken with the confederated powers or others in Italy of which the Pope has not full cognizance.

Respecting the divorce case, We thank you for what you have hitherto done in the Queen's behalf, and command you not to desist until the advocation to Rome be decreed as demanded.

You were justified in dispatching a courier to Naples in order to ascertain from the Prince of Orange the number and quality of the towns and fortresses still occupied by the French in that kingdom; though We have very little hope of the Cambray conferences coming to a good issue.

His Holiness has answered in his own hand the letter sent by Diego James* de Haro.

Since the Pope seems to have an objection to certain ecclesiastical appointments, and especially to those recommended by Madame, you must not insist for the present. As to the bishopric for the son of Mons. de Laxao (Lachaulx),† there is no occasion now to apply for it, since there is no vacancy. As to the business of Marshal de Silly,‡ when a fit opportunity

* The original has "Fames," which I believe to be a mistake for James or Jaimes, as he is elsewhere called. See above pp. 64 and 119.

† At this time Charles Poupet de Lachaulx was ambassador in Portugal.

‡ Claude de Cilly, Scilly, or Silly, as his name is variously written in these despatches, had been ambassador of Charles in England. For his instructions, see vol. III., part 2, No. 9.

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presents itself every effort shall be made on our part to promote it as he deserves.—Barcelona, — July 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

[12] July. **71.** The Emperor to Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, his Ambassador in Genoa.

S. E. L. 848, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 334.

Your despatches of the 18th, 21st, and 23rd of June have been duly received. As by this time Rivadeneyra, the courier, must have arrived in Genoa with our letters and instructions, We need not refer to them, save to say that our journey will decidedly take place this month of July.* If in the meantime some advantage can be gained by directing the new levies under Count Lodovico Belgiojoso against the enemy We shall be glad.

Some time before our arrival in Italy, certain officers of our household shall go to that city and prepare lodgings for us.

Should the Grand Master of [the Order of] Rhodes† arm in favour of the French, which We can hardly believe, he will be punished as he deserves.

If the galleon taken at Porto Pisano belongs really to a Florentine merchant it must be detained until our arrival, and in the meantime employed in our service. — July 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

13 July. **72.** [The Bishop of Trent] to Andrea del Burgo.

S. E. *Alemania*, L. 635, f. 53.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 376.

To-day [the 13th] Il Signor Turmiano and el Capco. Castellatto,‡ were saying that they very much doubted whether the levies which the Emperor wanted for Italy, and the King (Ferdinand) for Hungary, would not impede each other; because the King wants those for Hungary to be raised first, and the men prefer enlisting for Italy rather than for Hungary.—Trent, 13th July 1529.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

16 July. **73.** Secretary Castillejo to Andrea del Burgo.

S. E. *Alemania*, L. 635, f. 55.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 390.

Mons. de Rouis§ is to take the command of the men-at-arms (*le gente armigere*); the infantry to be under Count Felis de Berdenberg (Werdenberg).—Budvicio,‖ 16th July 1529.

Italian. Contemporary copy in the handwriting of Andrea del Burgo. p. 1.

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* The Emperor sailed from Barcelona on the 27th.

† At this time Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

‡ Thus in the copy from Simancas, but I have my doubts as to the true reading. *Castellazzo* might easily have been turned into Castellatto by the copyist; but what may be the meaning of the abbreviation Capco. I am unable to decide.

§ Thus in the original. Roeulx?

‖ Budvicio must be Budweis, in Bohemia, where King Ferdinand was at the time. The letter, therefore, which is a copy and bears no signature, may have been written by Castillejo, Castro, or some other of that king's Spanish secretaries.

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— July. **74.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon.*

S. E. L. 848, f. 21, B. M. 28,579, f. 412.

If His Imperial Majesty does not arrive all is lost. He must come with peace, or else with a powerful army, so as not to put his own person and estate in jeopardy. Fair words ought to be spoken to the Papal Nuncio that he may report them at home and conciliate the Pope.—Rome, — July 1529.

The High Commander's answer to the above.

The Emperor's journey is decided upon. He will sail in a few days. A preliminary agreement has been entered into with the Papal Nuncio, and a treaty made, which will soon be sent for ratification, in order that on the receipt of a similar document from His Holiness, with "bulla plumbea," as agreed, another one signed and sealed by the Emperor may be placed in the hands of His Holiness. Enclosed is the ratification of the treaty of marriage of the Duke Alessandro [de' Medici] with the Emperor's natural daughter [Margaret]. The ambassadors must procure the Duke's signature to the said ratification, as well as the Pope's approval to every one of the derogating clauses contained in it.

Indorsed; "Abstract of letters from Rome in July 1529."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

15 July. **75.** Articles of an Agreement with the Lord of Monaco.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, c. 224, No. 43.

According to the agreements made at Burgos on the 7th of June, and at Tordesillas, on the 5th of November 1524, the Emperor promised to pay the Lord of Monego 200 "paghe morte" and 10,000 ducats annual pension besides, as long as the war between him and the King of France lasted. The Lord of Monaco engaged himself to hold his city and castle at the service of the Emperor, and be "amico de' amici et nemico de' nemici." Since then, for the further defence of the said port and city, the Emperor has promised to keep two galleys armed at his own expense, which agreement commenced on the 24th of January of last year. His Imperial Majesty, however, wishing to free the Lord of Monaco from the trouble of having to apply every year for the payment of the said pensions and consignments (*consignationi*), has instructed the "Magnifico Maestro Heustacchio Chapuisio sottosignato, official de' Geneva, maestro de Requeste et consegliere suo," to offer him (Grimaldo) instead an estate in the kingdom of Naples, yielding an annual revenue of 5,000 ducats, on condition, however, of the said lord and his heirs and successors holding the said fortress at the service and obedience of His Imperial Majesty, and of his successors, the kings of Aragon, Naples and Sicily. He has besides offered him the payment of all arrears and pensions

* After the disgrace of Jean L'Allemand, Francisco de los Covos, High Commander of the order of Alcantara in the division of Leon, was promoted to the office of First Secretary of State. Both Mai's letter and Covos' answer are misplaced in Bergenroth's volumes among papers of the year 1530.

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as follows, "Cuntando le due paghe da li 5 de Novembro 1524, et la pensione dal lo de Zenaro 1525," which the said lord also renounces in consideration of the said estate, protesting, however, that he does not intend giving up any of his rights until the said promise be completely fulfilled.

That he may the better support his own rank and dignity, the said officer (Chapuys) has promised in the Emperor's name to have him (Grimaldo) presented to the bishopric of Maggiorica (Mallorca) with an annual ecclesiastical rent of 8,000 ducats. In consideration of which grant the Lord of Monego (Monaco) is also ready to renounce the archbishopric of Oristan, which he accepted lately.—Monago, 15th July 1529.

Signed: "Augustinus Grimaldus Monaci Dominus = Eustachius Chapuysius."

Indorsed: "Articoli con el Sr. de Monago."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

16 July. S. E. L. 1,362, f. 32. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 388.

76. News from Cambray sent to [Rome] by Commander Figueroa.

The ambassadors of the League, that is of England, Venice, Ferrara, &c., have asked the Imperialists to communicate to them the articles of the treaty now being discussed. They were summoned to a conference, where those proposed by the Imperialists were shown and read to them.

It was the Emperor's wish to come to an understanding with France first, and afterwards to discuss the conditions on which peace with the other allies of that power (England, Venice, &c.) was to be made. It was, however, decided that the conditions of peace with such allies should be settled conjointly, and at the same time.

Venice and Ferrara were to give back to the Pope all they had taken from him, and pay besides a heavy sum of money to the Emperor.

Duke of Bari, Florence, &c.

Some of the ambassadors think these demands of the Emperor very moderate; others entertain a different opinion, and hope the negociations will lead to nothing, especially as the Emperor still insists upon the restitution by France of the duchy of Burgundy.

Indorsed: "News sent by Knight-Commander Figueroa enclosed in his letter of the 29th of August, respecting the peace which the two ladies are said to have concluded at Cambray."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

17 July. S. E. L. 1,553, f. 352. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 390.

77. Andrea del Burgo to the Emperor.

Sends him the latest news he has from Germany.

It is to be hoped that the other Christian princes will follow the good example given by the two luminaries of the

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earth, "el bono exemplo ui dato a duobus luminaribus mundi," and that the two diabolical enemies of Christendom, *i.e.*, the Turks and the Lutherans, will be conquered.

The Pope, who has given King Ferdinand bulls against the enemies of Christendom, has, however, no money to assist him, &c.—Rome, 17th July 1529.

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

21 July. **78.** The Marquis of Mantua [Federigo Gonzaga] to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 144.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 391.

Has sent to Venice his secretary, Malatesta, who knows that city well, and is, therefore, best qualified to negociate with the Signory.

The Venetians feel inclined to make peace, and consent to evacuate the towns and territories they possess in the kingdom of Naples, to restore Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, and pay besides a good sum of money to the Emperor. Such at least is the information which the said Malatesta has gained from senators and private persons, especially from one, "de good" (*sic*), who remained in the College Hall after the other [senators] had left, and spoke very plainly on the subject.

The Venetians, however, wish to wait until the ratification of the treaty of Cambray, that they may know who is to have the duchy of Milan, if not restored to Francesco Sforza. Malatesta has assured them already, and will again repeat the assertion that the person named will be one to their entire satisfaction.—Mantua, 21st July 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

24 July. **79.** Treaty of Cambray.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. *Salazar*, A. 44, f. 147.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 392.

In Spanish as published by Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, vol. 2, pp. 38–60.

Spanish translation. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

24 July. **80.** Ferdinand, King of Hungary, to Soliman, the Emperor of the Turks.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. A. 44, f. 149.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 392.

His ambassadors have returned. The verbal answer they bring is rather warlike, but they faithfully delivered his sealed letters and referred to their contents. No one could be found at first capable of reading and interpreting them. At last, after long researches a prisoner was discovered who could read and translate Turkish. This, and no other, has been the cause of the delay in preparing this answer.

His (the Sultan's) letter is in contradiction with what his own ambassadors formerly said in his name. If his intentions, as he asserts, are peaceful, let him send his own conditions of peace in a sealed letter. He proposes, as it appears, an armistice and disarmament in Hungary. He (the King) is ready

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to accept conditionally, but is determined to wait until he receives a categorical answer to this letter. Begs him to reply as soon as possible, for war is expensive. His army, moreover, is so powerful that he will be soon in a situation not only to defend his kingdoms successfully, but also to invade those of his enemy. Hopes, however, that he (Soliman) really wishes for peace, which is so desirable for both parties. Expects a clear and categorical answer by the same man who acted as interpreter, and whom he now sends [to Constantinople], and also the receipt of a safe-conduct for the ambassador who will visit him later in his name.—Lintz, 24th July 1529.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

24 July. M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 217.

81. MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING OF BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY.

His Highness' letter of the 27th ult° has come to hand, as likewise the report (*relacion*) of Count Ortenburg's doings in the matter of the levies, a fact of which the Emperor had already been apprized by Madame's letters from Flanders, as well as of the birth of the Infante Don Fernando.* Spoke to His Majesty about the money and the demands of the Switzers; also about the 20,000 florins due to the Duke of Brunswick. Is very much afraid, however, that this last claim will remain unsettled until the Emperor goes to Germany, for by this time he is already on board his galley, and whatever business is laid before him is invariably sent back and deferred till after his landing in Italy. He (the Emperor) thinks of nothing else, and protests that the principal object of his journey to Italy is to relieve His Highness and help him against the Turk, of whose preparations and designs he is fully aware. On his arrival at Genoa, which seems to be the port chosen for his landing, a special messenger shall be dispatched to His Highness.—Barcelona, 24th July 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

[July ?] S. Pat. R. *Div.d'It.* Venecia, A. 296.

82. INSTRUCTIONS to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA, LEYVA, and CARACCIOLO to treat with Venice.

What you, the illustrious Prince Federigo de Gonzaga, marquis de Mantua, our most beloved cousin; you, Antonio de Leyva, our captain-general in the estate of Milan, and the Reverend Marino Caracciolo, of our Council, are to treat individually, or conjointly, with the Signory of Venice, and other Italian potentates, is as follows:

1st. Before proceeding to business you will inform our viceroy at Naples [Philibert de Chalon], of the commission entrusted to you, and inquire whether he has, or has not, previously made any separate engagements with His Holiness to that effect, because should that be the case, We wish him (the

* His eldest son, who did not succeed, having died before his father.

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Prince) and you conjointly and individually to abide by what may have been already resolved respecting the basis and preliminaries of the said treaty. Should the Prince have taken any engagements you will at once begin to treat and negociate with Venice on condition, however, that immediately, and before the commencement of the negociations they (the Venetians) will restore all the towns, castles, and lands which they still retain in the kingdom of Naples, or duchy of Milan. This being so simple and reasonable a demand, We hardly think that Venice can actually refuse to comply with it.

This point once settled with the Signory, their deputies or delegates, as the case may be, you will explain to them how unjust the fears and suspicions that caused them to keep aloof from us, and violate the treaties they had made, have been assuring them that it never entered our mind to usurp that which did not belong to us, or procure our aggrandizement at the expense of others; but that, on the contrary, We have thought of nothing else but securing by all possible means the peace of Italy, even by relinquishing some of our own rights, and thereby damaging our Imperial interests.

Should they want further securities of our good intentions towards them, you may offer them at once these two: one *perpetual*, to be transmitted to our successors, the other *temporal*, to last only during the lives of the contracting parties; and they may choose that which they like best. If the former, which is also the one We ourselves should prefer, they will be enabled to hold by a valid and firm title whatever lands they have usurped at different times from the Sacred Roman Empire, provided they offer us in compensation a sum of money adequate to such a grant, as they offered to do in Maximilian's time, though from his asking them one million of ducats, and their only offering 800,000, the question then remained unsettled. This will be by far their best security for the future, as they will remain for ever under the protection of the Empire, with privileges as ample and extensive as the rest of the Imperial estates and cities in Italy.

Should, however, the Venetians not care for the said *perpetual* security founded on their old possession or usurpation, or on privileges obtained from us and the Empire, and should they prefer a *temporary* one, such as the last treaty concluded between us and them gives them, then in that case, you will make the Venetians understand that althougd for our part We should have preferred the *perpetual* security, yet We have no objection, for the sake of the peace and tranquillity of Italy, to cause the said treaty with them to be renewed, provided our own rights and those of the Empire be preserved; and that We consent to all proceedings, claims, litigious suits, and so forth being suspended for a period of time to be fixed beforehand, and to continue so long as as the peace of Italy shall last, to which end a treaty of defensive alliance

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on reciprocal terms, shall be made for their possessions in Italy.*

It must, however, be observed, that Venice has no right whatever to ask for a renewal of a treaty which she herself has violated to our great damage and cost. For, in the first place, by her not sending her army to co-operate with ours in the duchy of Milan, and expel the king of France therefrom, as they were bound to do by one of the articles of that treaty, much time was lost and money spent before the arrival of the reinforcements sent by our brother (Ferdinand) when without the help of the said Venetians the French were defeated at Pavia and their king taken prisoner. And though they might then have apologized for their non-compliance with one of the articles of that treaty, and offered money instead, when our Viceroy of Naples (Lannoy) asked them for so small a contribution as 120,000 ducats by way of indemnity, not only did they refuse to pay that sum, but entered into all sorts of leagues and confederacies against us and against the letter of that very treaty, trying to make Francesco Sforza swerve from his fidelity and obedience, exciting towns and whole districts against our armies with a view to expelling them from Italy, and effectually kindling the wars that have distracted that country ever since, to the great peril of Christendom threatened by the Turk, and so much to our individual inconvenience and cost, that were We to demand from them now an indemnity of one million of ducats We should certainly not cover our expenses. Yet, as a proof of our good wish and desire for the peace of Italy, We shall be contented with an indemnity of 300,000 ducats over and above the sum stipulated by the treaty of Worms, and we shall be glad to renew the same on condition that they will pay us and their emigrants (*fuorusciti*) whatever portions of former engagements (*de los terminos pasados*) are still owing, ensure the payment of future instalments, and in one word fulfil all the terms and conditions of the said treaty.

With regard to the estate of Milan, since the Venetians seem to think that it has been the principal cause of these late wars, you will again declare to them that should the Duke Francesco Sforza be deprived of his investiture, We do not intend taking the Duchy for ourselves, or giving it to our brother, the king of Hungary, or indeed to any other prince of whom they may entertain suspicions, but disposing of it in a manner that may give satisfaction to all the Italian potentates. But, on the other hand, as it is but just that criminals be punished for their offences, We intend the Duke to be arrayed before a tribunal of ordinary judges and other persons free from suspicion, and appointed by us. Should the Duke wish to be heard, he must not be absent or shut him-

* "Por el tiempo que será concertado, y la paz durara, y se haga para ello una liga deffensiva, y capitulacion reciproca por lo que los dichos Venecianos en Italia poseen."

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self up in a castle (*encastillado*), or conduct his defence by means of lawyers and proctors; he must appear in person before his judges, and constitute himself a prisoner (*in vinculis*) that the sentence, whatever it may be, may be executed. For should he (Sforza) not appear before his judges it must be concluded that he renounces his defence and he will then be declared contumacious. If the Duke, however, consents to be heard and tried, and is declared innocent, then in that case We shall give orders for him to be restored to his estate; We will maintain him as vassal of the Sacred Roman Empire, and admit him into any leagues and confederacies or treaties that may henceforward be made for the protection and defence of Italy. Should he be found guilty, We shall use towards him such clemency, both as regards his person and estate, that the rest of the Italian powers will have reason to be satisfied. Still more, if the Duke, without awaiting his trial, should come and beg our pardon for his offences, then We shall ask the Pope to give him a cardinal's hat, or else We will grant him a portion of what formerly constituted his estate, with a competent revenue, provided there be no important towns or fortresses in the estate thus allotted to him.

As it has been suggested to us that in the event of the deprivation of the Duke Francesco Sforza, the best way of pacifying Italy and removing all causes of war for the future would be to dismember the Duchy and divide it among the Italian potentates and noblemen, who would willingly assist with money so as to enable us to take our army out of Italy, and lead it against the Turk, you will at once inquire from the Signory and from the rest of the Italian potentates what portion of the Duchy each wants for himself, and what sums they are prepared to pay. If in so doing, any estates or portions of land should remain without purchasers, you will send us a list of them, and of their revenues, that We may gratuitously grant them to such persons, whether Italians, Spaniards, or Germans, who have done us good service during the late wars; observing, however, that all previous alienations made without our consent to private individuals by any persons whomsoever are to be declared null and void unless confirmed by us, the whole of them to be held in fief from the Sacred Roman Empire.

With regard to Milan itself and its territory, should the dismemberment and division of the Duchy take place, it has to be considered what will be best and most suitable for the welfare of Italy: whether to leave it in the form of a republic or give it in fief to some private individual. Should the former expedient be adopted, and that city remain as appertaining to the Imperial Chamber, it will be necessary to ascertain what is the form of government in other similar republics or communities, and adopt that which may seem best for the common weal. Also what is to be done with the castle or citadel [of Milan], who is to keep it, and with what

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garrison, so as to defend the city against the attacks of Switzers and other potentates bordering on the Duchy. Should the estate not remain as a republic, but be given in fief to some private nobleman, then it must be considered who is to be the lord of such estate, and what title he is to have, whether that of prince, marquis, or count, and as it is not probable that a nobleman can be found to pay at once the value of the investiture, what sum by way of annual tribute may be asked for the use of the Imperial Chamber.

Respecting the Duke of Ferrara, as the agreement to be made with him will very much depend from what the Prince [of Orange] or Miçer Mai may have negociated at Rome with the Holy Father, you shall follow implicitly what both or either of them will tell you. In any case, and notwithstanding any promises to the contrary, he is immediately to restore the country of Carpi, which was only given to him and to his son (Hercole d' Este) when there was a talk of his marrying our daughter Margaret.

The same may be said of the Florentines. If it has been decided at Rome that His Holiness and the house of Medici are to be reinstated in the government and administration of that Republic, as they formerly were, you have nothing to do in the affair but follow strictly the orders of the Prince [of Orange]. If, on the contrary, the Medici do not return, and Florence remain as republic under the protection of the Empire, in such a case, and having to negociate with them, you may propose that whereas the city of Florence, besides the privileges and freedoms which the citizens pretend to have obtained from the Sacred Roman Empire, has seized and usurped other cities, towns, and lands of the same Empire, such as Pisa, Leghorn, and others, without asking or obtaining our permission or investiture, and has, moreover, taken up arms against us and the Empire, thus making her citizens unworthy of any privileges, exemptions, &c., We demand from them 300,000 ducats, which you may, if you consider it necessary, reduce to 200,000. This money and the 300,000 from the Venetians, added to the sums that may also be procured through the dismembration of the duchy of Milan, to be exclusively applied to the expenses of the Turkish war.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 18.

25 July. **83.** Don Iñigo de Mendoza to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 806, f. 29. B. M. *Add.* 28,578. f. 410.

Wrote lately in cipher, by the Emperor's comptroller, relating to the most minute detail what passed in his conferences with the King and Cardinal, before the latter's departure for France and return to England. Wrote again by way of Genoa, relating in full what passed after his own departure from London respecting the divorce case, and how Her Highness, the Queen, had at last been persuaded to follow the advice of her faithful servants, and personally to

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challenge the legate (Wolsey), and appeal to Rome against all his decisions, past and future.

No sooner did the Queen's protest and appeal, together with the powers of attorney for Miçer Mai, reach [Brussels], than he (Mendoza) took care that they should be sent to Rome by an express messenger. On his arrival in that capital there is every reason to expect that His Imperial Majesty's favour and the justice of the Queen's own cause will induce His Holiness to dictate such measures as will tie the hands of the two legates (Campeggio and Wolsey), and stop their proceedings.

Of what has occurred since the Emperor will be informed by the enclosed minute. Fancies that Madame [of the Low Countries] must also have written the particulars from Cambray, where she is at present, though perhaps not so fully as stated in Mai's memorandum, which is also endorsed.

The Queen meanwhile is very sad and disconsolate, because though when sick in her very heart she swallowed the potion prescribed for her, she yet sees no relief at hand in her misfortune. She feels sorrow at this, as she apprehends that instead of calming her husband's irritation against her, she has rather increased it by her act. Perceiving no improvement in her pitiful state, she laments and cries, and yet she still hopes that with the Emperor's assistance His Holiness the Pope will be persuaded not to delay justice any longer, and that now he knows of her appeal he will advoke the case to his court, where it can be tried to the greater authority and reputation of the Holy Apostolic See, and decided much better than anywhere else. He (Mendoza) humbly entreats His Imperial Majesty not to forget how much the Queen, his aunt, has suffered, and is suffering, and to have the Queen's appeal strongly backed at Rome, so that the advocation may take effect.

[*Cipher :*] The Queen, however, writes that such are the King's disappointment and passion at not being able to carry out his purpose that the Cardinal (Wolsey) will inevitably be the victim of his rage.

[*Common writing :*] Is still in Brussels, owing to the oath he took of not quitting Brabant until the English ambassadors were safe on this side of the French frontier. Is expecting, however, daily, the news of their arrival, that he may leave immediately for Italy, and be there of some use to His Imperial Majesty.—Brussels, 30th July 1529.

As of the conferences at Cambray the Emperor is no doubt sufficiently well informed by way of France, he (Mendoza) need not further allude to them.

Up to the present moment the ambassador appointed to succeed him in England has not yet made his appearance in Flanders. True it is that there is no great need of him just now, as the Queen's case must be attended to in Rome, not in London, and as far as general politics are concerned it would

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seem as if greater reputation were to be gained in England by not having an ambassador there than by keeping one; besides which the English begin to feel that they have made a wrong move. Firmly believes that if they again do become friends and allies of the Empire, this last affair will be a good lesson to them, and that they will do their utmost in future to remain on good terms with us, for they see that with the Emperor's alliance they are somebody, and without it nothing at all.

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 3.

— July. Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. Neg. d' Ang. Tom. I., f. 17.

84. The EMPEROR'S answer to the EARL OF DESMOND in Ireland.

That His Imperial Majesty has received his letters, and heard the report of his own chaplain.* Thanks him for his goodwill, of which he is convinced. If at any time he (the Earl) or any of his friends and vassals should require his assistance, he may be sure that they will be welcomed, favoured, and well treated in all the kingdoms and dominions of the Emperor. And as His Imperial Majesty is now on the eve of departing for Italy (as the Earl's courier may have perceived), this letter is limited to say that once in that country the Emperor will write to him according to time and requirement, and hopes that he will likewise write whenever an opportunity offers itself.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

29 July. S. E. L. 1,553, f. 369. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 395–8.

85. CHRISTOVAL BARROSO to the EMPEROR.

Wrote a few days ago to Señor de Gattinaria (*sic*), the Grand Chancellor, on matters connected with the Imperial service. An answer has now come, ordering him (Barroso) to draw out a memorandum and state his opinion respecting Naples. In obedience, therefore, to the Imperial mandate, he (Barrosa) goes on to say:

1stly. It is well known that in the original infeudation-deed of Naples it was expressly forbidden that the said kingdom should be held conjointly with the Empire, &c. True it is that Pope Leo X. of glorious memory, at the request of my humble person, acting then as Imperial solicitor, granted Your Imperial Majesty full exemption from that rule, on the payment, I believe, of 7,000 ducats every year. By another article of the said infeudation-deed it is prescribed that whoever possesses the

* This letter must have been written at Barcelona before the Emperor sailed for Italy. It is badly placed in Bergenroth's volume after December 1529. The chaplain was Gonçalo Fernandez; his instructions dated from Toledo, the 24th of February, are in Vol. IV., Part 2, p. 907.

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kingdom of Naples is not to be lord of Milan, &c., but, it strikes me, that now is the time to obtain the required dispensation for Your Imperial Majesty and all his successors *in perpetuum*, so as to hold Naples and Milan at the same time with the kingdom of Spain, whether they be emperors of Germany and kings of the Romans or not. Also to ask for the remission (*relaxation*) of the 7,000 ducats.

All this is treated at full length in the first three articles of my memorandum, of which a copy is enclosed The fourth relates to Parma and Piacenza. The fifth to the division of the churches and ecclesiastical benefices of Naples and Milan, of which Your Majesty ought to have no fewer than thirty.

This is with regard to Italy; Spain, and in particular Castille, must follow another rule, &c.—Rome, 29th July 1529.

Signed: "Cristoval de Barroso."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 9.

86. Memorandum of Christoval de Barroso to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 358.
B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 399.

Gives his legal opinion on the various tenures of the fief of Naples.—Rome, 29th July 1529.

Latin. Original. pp. 21.

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87. Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praët, to the Emperor.

Lanz. *Corresp. d. Kais. Karl* V., pp. 318–29.

I have written twice from Genoa and from Piombino, giving an account of my arrival at those places. Will now relate in more detail the rest of my journey to and reception at Rome.

Anchored at Civitta Vecchia on the evening of the 20th inst. and passed the night there, the master of the vessel being unwilling to proceed at night on account of the Moorish pirates infesting that sea. Was well received and honourably entertained by the governor, who, in compliance with orders received from His Holiness, conducted me to his dwelling in the town, gave me supper and bed, and exhibited letters from Jacopo Salviati, implying how pleased His Holiness was with my coming, and leaving it to my choice either to sail for Hostia (Ostia), in the same galley that brought me to Civitta Vecchia, or take the land route, though strongly recommending the former mode of travelling for fear of the Abbot of Farfa and others of the Orsini, who at times infest the lands of the Church.

Was likewise requested by the governor in His Holiness' name not to send back the galley, but keep her in port for some days, for the Pope having determined upon sending the Duke Alessandro and the Cardinals [Medici and Santa Croce] to His Imperial Majesty at Genoa, their going by sea was considered preferable to their passing now through the territory of Florence. Answered that the galley would be at His Holiness' disposal

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whenever he chose to make use of her, and accordingly on my landing at Hostia (Ostia) on Wednesday the 21st, about 4 o'clock, she was sent back to Civitta Vecchia.

Was well received by the governor, and as there were no post horses to be had, spent the night in the place. Received in the evening a letter from Miçer Mai, and was also visited by one of the Papal chamberlains, the bearer of a letter of credence, wherein His Holiness expressed his satisfaction at my coming, and wished to know how and when I intended making my entry into Rome. Should my wish be (the Pope said) to enter without pomp or ceremony, as Mai had informed him, horses would be prepared for the ambassador and his suite, besides a suitable escort of 20 horsemen. Thanked the chamberlain for the honour His Holiness was pleased to confer upon me, but declined the offer, observing that as I came post-haste, and the friendship between the Emperor and His Holiness rested more on facts than on ceremonies, I was determined to start at daybreak, so as to reach the hotel of the embassy before noon. And so I did, being met one mile from Rome by Miçer Mai, and by the king of Hungary's ambassador [Miçer Andrea del Burgo].

Arrived at the hotel I begged the said Papal chamberlain and the steward of the nuncio [Selade, bishop of Vaison], who had accompanied me from Barcelona to go and ascertain at what hour His Holiness would allow me to kiss his feet; but no sooner did His Holiness hear of my arrival than he sent Jacopo Salviati and his own secretary, Sanga, to welcome me and offer his services. Told me that on the previous night His Holiness had had a touch of his old complaint, and that they feared he would not be in a condition to receive me immediately. Answered that I was exceedingly sorry to hear of His Holiness' illness, and would wait patiently for his pleasure. Gave Salviati and Sanga Your Majesty's letters to them, as well as my own credentials, and said all that was proper on the occasion. Nothing could be more courteous or flattering than their answer, and the desire both of them showed for a lasting peace and union between Your Imperial Majesty and His Holiness.

Was shortly after visited by the Duke Alessandro and also by the Cardinal de' Medici; the latter came privately and without ceremony. I have since returned their visit, and spoken to both in conformity with my instructions. Both answered me in most courteous language. The Duke is very young, as Your Majesty will soon have occasion to observe; and has the appearance of a very bold and determined man, as people say he is. As to the Cardinal, he is also young, learned, and in my opinion very graceful in manner. Both are about to sail for Genoa in the aforesaid galley, and there wait for Your Majesty's arrival. They should be honourably treated, for there is nothing His Holiness wishes for so much as their advancement. I believe that if at their first inter-

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view they were presented by the Emperor with some fine Spanish genets they would esteem it a great boon.

The same day most of the Roman cardinals sent their secretaries or stewards to visit me with all manner of compliments. My answer was that I was very thankful for their courtesy, and would soon visit all and each of them in Your Majesty's name.

Friday, the 23rd, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Miçer Mai, Andrea del Burgo, and myself called on His Holiness. I thought we ought all to go together, for Miçer Mai has really done much service to Your Imperial Majesty in these parts, to the great satisfaction and with the approval of His Holiness, and of most of his cardinals; and I considered this mark of deference to the ambassador's services a sure way of cementing the Pope's favour for the future. To have acted otherwise would have been, in my opinion, humiliating for the said Mai, and detrimental to Your Majesty's interests. Respecting Miçer Andrea [del Burgo], I found that for many months before my arrival at Rome he had purposedly joined Mai in all negociations with the Pope, in order that people might see that Your Majesty's affairs and those of the king of Hungary were one and the same. This turned out to be a very advantageous move, and one which has caused great displeasure to Your Majesty's enemies, besides which, as far as I can judge up to the present time, the said Burgo is a very wise man, and has worked very judiciously for the advancement of Your Imperial Majesty's affairs in this court, and is highly esteemed by His Holiness and by many of the cardinals besides, as I hope soon to be able to inform Your Imperial Majesty verbally.

But to return to my purpose. We found His Holiness in bed, and certainly looking like a man who had had a long illness. I knelt before the bed in order to kiss his feet; but this he would not allow, and I had to kiss the counterpane at the spot where I imagined the feet might be. This done, I presented to His Holiness the letter I had for him, which he read through with visible signs of content. After which the Pope, without waiting for an address from me, began to answer its contents at great length, expressing his joy at the treaty of alliance and friendship just concluded at Barcelona between himself and Your Imperial Majesty, as likewise at the great desire Your Majesty showed for the tranquillity and repose of Italy, the universal peace, the repulsion of the Turk, and the extirpation of all Lutheran heresies, all of which, he added, were very meritorious deeds, and worthy of so good and Christian a prince. Nor was his pleasure less (he observed), at hearing that Your Imperial Majesty was willing to grant the hand of Margaret to his nephew, the Duke [Alessandro], which he considered a great honour for his family and lineage. With regard to Your Majesty's visit [to Italy] he said that, though for a long time he had disbelieved in it, owing to Your Majesty having often written in a doubtful manner, he now saw by your letters and

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by my coming to Rome, that it was quite a settled thing. He was very glad, and looked forward to it with all his heart, being quite prepared to place himself and his Holy Apostolic See in the hands and under the protection of Your Imperial Majesty. Respecting the powers which I (Praët) had brought to treat for general peace, he could only say that he was ready to do his part as regards the dignity of the Empire and the welfare of Italy and of Christendom at large, with many other equally friendly and confidential things which would take me too long to relate.

Perceiving that His Holiness had thus, at our first interview, responded to the principal articles in my instructions, I immediately changed my line of conduct, and instead of alluding to the extent of my credentials, or fully explaining the nature of my charge, as I thought of doing at first, I merely introduced my instructions by way of reply to the Pope's memorandum in answer to Your Majesty's letter, and in this manner I indirectly told him what I had come about, and what my orders were.

The Duke of Amalphe (Amalfi) came to Rome on the same day as my arrival on a mission from the Prince of Orange, at Aquila, and asked for an audience from His Holiness. He is likely to stay four or five days more for the purpose of settling the best way and time for the undertaking against Florence, which I hear has for some time past been discussed between the Pope, the Prince, and Your Majesty's ambassador (Miçer Miguel Mai). Which negociation, of course, I intend helping with all my power, since I consider it very beneficial for Your Majesty's interests, for in the first place it will be the means of securing the Pope's friendship, and obtaining money for the support of the Imperial army either through a composition with Florence or otherwise, besides which the Prince may afterwards enter Lombardy with greater reputation and security, as he will leave no enemies behind. If attended with success, as I have no doubt it will be, the undertaking may induce the Italian potentates to follow the example of that Community. Last, not least, the Pope might, out of gratitude and reward for an expedition undertaken entirely at his wish, grant all our requests respecting the Crusade, the "Quarta," &c. Moved by these and other considerations I have, conjointly with Miçer Mai, spoken to His Holiness, and begged him not to let this opportunity of attacking Florence, and reducing it under his sway, as it was before, pass. His answer was that there was nothing he desired so much, but as he mistrusts Jacopo Salviati in these matters, he bid us communicate with Cardinal Sancti Quatuor, also a Florentine, though strongly attached to the Pope and to the Medici. And certainly for the Prince to have thus been able to withdraw the greater part of his army from Naples, seems to me nothing short of the work of God Himself.

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On Saturday Mai and I called upon Cardinal Sancti Quatuor, who, after hearing what I had to say respecting my credentials and instructions, assured us both that he was entirely at the Emperor's service, and would do everything in his power to forward his views. Miçer Mai tells me further—and indeed I myself have found it so since my arrival in Rome—that this cardinal enjoys great favour with the Pope just now, and that the speedy termination of all ecclesiastical affairs now pending, such as the grant by the Pope of the Crusade and "Quarta," &c., rests entirely with him. If he fulfil the promises made to Santa Croce, Mai, and myself, Your Imperial Majesty will be under great obligations to him, for although part of the concessions now asked from the Pope in virtue of the treaty concluded at Barcelona can offer no difficulty, yet there are many points in them to which Sancti Quatuor might possibly object, if he felt so inclined. After this we began to treat about Florence, when he (Sancti Quatuor) told us many things which it would take too long to relate, and it was agreed that on the Prince's arrival in Rome the matter should be thoroughly discussed. It was but just that it should be, for besides his being the principal minister on this side of the Alps, and the commander-in-chief of the Imperial armies, none other is more fit than he is for such an undertaking. In this manner, upon the Prince coming, as he intends, to Rome, a sum of money can be obtained from the Pope much more easily than if he were absent. I firmly believe that His Holiness will not object to contribute 20,000 or 25,000 ducats monthly towards the pacification of Florence and of the whole of Italy, provided his family is restored to the government of that city.

After this Sancti Quatuor took us to see the Pope, whom we found in bed as the day before. He sent for one of his secretaries named Evangelista, in whose presence, after many frank and flattering words, he swore faithfully to observe all and every one of the articles of the treaty just concluded between Your Imperial Majesty and himself. That very evening and the following there were at the Papal Palace, and, indeed, in those of most cardinals, as well as in that of Duke Alessandro de Medici, and at the castle of Sant Angelo, much rejoicing and many bonfires, at which we failed not to be present. Next Sunday, the 31st of August, a solemn mass of thanksgiving is to be said, which His Holiness will attend, if the state of his health permits, and which Your Majesty's ambassador (Mai), and myself will also make a point of attending for many good reasons. It appears that after the mass Balbus, the bishop of Gurce (Gurk), is to deliver an oration, as customary on such occasions.

Next day, which was the festival of Santiago (St. James), Your Majesty's ambassador (Mai), that of Your Majesty's brother, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, (Burgo,) and myself went to hear mass at the church of that Apostle, where no less than 18 cardinals were present. Most of whom, the

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mass being ended, approached my seat, complimented and welcomed me, each and every one of them protesting their desire to serve the Empire. I answered as well as I could, telling the cardinals that I had orders from Your Majesty to visit them individually one by one at their lodgings, which I have done since, calling upon four or five of them each day. My principal task has been to inform them officially of the peace of Barcelona, to assure them of the pleasure Your Imperial Majesty has felt at its conclusion, and impress them with Your Majesty's good intentions towards the Holy Apostolic See, as well as your constant desire for the peace of Italy first, and general peace afterwards, that the forces, and if possibly also, the persons of all Christian princes may be employed against the Turk, and the prevailing [Lutheran] heresies put down. I find that Your Majesty's ambassador (Miçer Mai), a very wise and excellent person, has already done in this respect all that could be expected of him, and therefore I do not hesitate to say that what with the efforts and persuasions of my said colleague, and what with my own, the greater part of the Sacred College are at the present time more attached to Your Imperial Majesty than to any other Christian prince. To write down in detail all and every one of the answers that the cardinals made on this occasion to our overtures, their professions of devotion, and constant attachment to the Empire, &c., would take me too long to relate; besides I know that my colleague has already fulfilled this part of his official duties. I will only repeat now what I recollect having frequently said to Your Majesty whilst in Spain, that it is very important to maintain this Sacred Apostolic College entirely at your devotion by distributing among the principal cardinals 20,000 ducats every year in the shape of pensions and ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, Naples, or Flanders, yielding from one to three thousand each. This is a sort of thing which befits Your Imperial Majesty better than any other Christian prince; firstly, on account of the multifarious ecclesiastical and political affairs to be transacted in this capital, for which the sanction of the cardinals is often required, and principally because, in case of a new election, it is highly important to have a majority in the College, if not for the purpose of having a Pope of our own, at least to prevent the nomination of one favourable to our enemies. I beg Your Imperial Majesty to forgive me for having been so bold as to express my sentiments on this subject, but the fact is that I have always considered the measure in question as one of the utmost importance, persuaded, as I am, that if Your Imperial Majesty wishes to secure and preserve the friendship of these cardinals, it is necessary that each of them individually may perceive his own private interest and profit by it.

With regard to the peace with Venice, Miçer Mai and I have visited Cardinal Cornaro and conferred about it. The day before my said colleague and Miçer Andrea del Burgo had called upon

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him, and found him well disposed in every respect owing, firstly, to his being, as his father and family have always been before him, much inclined towards the Empire; and secondly, because the present doge [Andrea Gritti] is particularly hostile to him. He answered us in the same strain, promised his help, and said to us that he knew of no difficulty on the Signory's side in the way of peace. Venice did not object to the surrender of the towns and fortresses she held in the kingdom of Naples, nor to the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope, nor even to the payment to the king of Hungary of the sums stipulated by the last treaty; but she was mightily afraid of Your Majesty's aggrandizement and preponderance in Italy, that being the chief and only reason why she still clung to France. Indeed, the said Cornaro told us distinctly that if the Venetians could only be sure that the duchy of Milan was not to remain in Your Majesty's hands, or to be given away to the king of Hungary, they would not hesitate to commence the negociations at once. Our reply was so conclusive that Cornaro himself was obliged to own that the Signory's fears were unfounded, and that Venice herself had nothing to apprehend from Your Majesty; and yet he persisted in his opinion that Milan was the only difficult point, and the one which must be settled beforehand. Respecting the Duchy we told him in general terms, and without taking any sort of engagement, that knowing, as we did, Your Majesty's love of peace, and ardent wish for the welfare of Christendom at large, we doubted not but that some agreement might be made with His Holiness' advice and intervention, so as to satisfy the Venetians, and calm their fears for the future. The conference ended the Cardinal promised to write to Venice, having first expressed the hope that the answer would be favourable. This, in my opinion, will not be so easy as he (Cornaro) imagines, for it will be rather hard work now to separate the interests of Venice from those of France, notwithstanding our continual and urgent representations to Cornaro and the rest of them that whenever Your Majesty chooses nothing will be easier for him than to make the king of France abandon Venice altogether. Our Holy Father has since spoken to Cornaro in the very same terms.

From last Sunday to yesterday, the Pope was much worse than before. Thanks to God he is much better now, his disease having terminated in stone and gravel, and yesterday was able to receive us (Mai and me), and gave us two hours audience, when, after discussing at length the affairs of Florence, which he seems to have much at heart, waiting only for the arrival of the Prince [of Orange], who is expected to-morrow, we went on to treat of other points contained in the instructions, after which we called on Sancti Quatuor and transacted business with him.

The Queen of England's cause had been settled (*despeche*) two or three days before my arrival in Rome, as Your Imperial

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Majesty will learn by Mai's despatches. I am, however, afraid that the Pope's decision has been so much delayed that before the brief of inhibition reaches London the king will have proceeded to some scandalous act. It is certainly not the ambassador's fault, for he has done all he could in this affair. I have spoken to His Holiness, and warmly represented to him that this matter of the divorce concerns him personally as much as Your Imperial Majesty, not only on behalf of every Christian nation and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, but likewise on account of the Lutherans and others, who will no doubt seize this opportunity of slandering him and attacking his Papal dignity and prerogative.

A courier has lately been arrested, who had, among other letters, one from the English ambassador residing here to Jean Jockin (Giovan Gioachimo) at Venice, in which he describes his master's position of affairs in this city as quite desperate. We have shown it to His Holiness, aud enclose it* for Your Majesty's perusal.

Nothing has yet been done in the Crusade affair, except that Sancti Quatuor has promised carefully to attend to it, and have it prepared for the Pope's signature, with all and every one of the clauses contained in those granted by his predecessors. Respecting the "Quarta," or fourth of all ecclesiastical revenues, some difficulty has been offered as to the time fixed, both the Pope and Sancti Quatuor being of opinion that three years is too much. We have not, however, lost all hope of succeeding. I dare say the reduction of Florence, if achieved, will accomplish it.

"Indulto Quadragesimal" in Spain and Flanders—Utrecht, &c.

The permission for the knights of Alcantara and Calatrava to marry, as well as the administration of the masterships of the four military orders by the Empress, will I am confident soon be granted. The only difficulty I foresee is the amount of money to be paid for the expedition of the bulls. Your Majesty's brother, the king of Hungary, is likewise to obtain the grants of the Crusade, &c. he has asked for, as Miçer Mai has no doubt reported. The whole matter is in the hands of Sancti Quatuor, who proceeds very briskly about it. As to the "Indulto" for Flanders, I fancy that it will not be granted as full and comprehensive as Your Imperial Majesty wishes it to be. Nothing, however, shall be left undone either by Mai or myself to get it as complete as possible.

I have written both to the king [of Hungary] and to Madame Margaret informing them of my arrival in Rome. The latter has been duly informed of Your Majesty's commands respecting these Italian affairs, as well as of your wish that all negociations with Florence and Ferrara be conducted in the presence of Our Holy Father. Caracciolo, who is still at Mantua, has likewise been acquainted with the Imperial wish.

* Not in the bundle.

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Letters have been received here from Cambray, of the 17th inst., stating that hopes were entertained of a peace with France being soon concluded. May it be so, for the more I mix with politics and consider the various parties into which Italy is at present divided, the more I see the great obstacles intervening in the way of its tranquillity and peace for many years to come. I should consider Your Majesty very lucky if through your visit, which must not be delayed on any account, the affairs of this country could be so well settled that peace could be ensured, and a defensive and offensive league formed, which Your Majesty of course would join as king of Naples, each power contributing a proportionate sum of money towards the expenses of the war, if any, and the defence of the country. The league once made Your Imperial Majesty might enter into the politics of this country not as principal, as before, but as the Catholic King [Ferdinand] did in his time.

My private opinion of the Holy Father is that we ought not to put too much trust in him. As to getting assistance in money for Your Majesty's wants, as I often heard courtiers and councillors say whilst at Barcelona, I fancy that it is entirely out of the question unless it be by having Florence restored to him, and increasing in some measure his Papal authority and reputation, which, as Your Majesty well knows, are not very high just now. Jacopo Salviati and Secretary Sanga are continually at his side and conduct his political business. As far as I can judge, neither of them is capable of doing much. I have seen better statesmen in my life. The Pope is timid by character, and as the two individuals above-named are wanting both in courage and experience, and perhaps are not so devoted to His Holiness as they profess to be, they frequently represent danger as existing where there is none, that being undoubtedly the reason why His Holiness is so irresolute. Had I found the Archbishop of Capua here on my arrival he might have been of use for general as well as ecclesiastic affairs. We do, however, our best and show confidence in Salviati and Sanga, and get on well with them. It would not be amiss to say something to them in acknowledgment of their services which might be shown to them.

I forgot to mention that His Holiness has chosen three cardinals, Farnese, Santa Croce, and Medici to go and meet Your Imperial Majesty at Genoa. They are to leave on Monday next. The former has hitherto been rather unfriendly to Your Majesty, but now shows affection. Your Majesty ought to dissemble with him he is ambitious and wishes for honour and has not lost all hope of being elected to the pontificate in case of a vacancy. As to Santa Croce, Your Majesty knows him; he has no great credit at this Court. I cannot say whether it is that he feels discontented at my not having revealed to him the whole of my commis-

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sion, or what else may be the cause, but the fact is that he has not been over friendly to me. He is very poor, and yet keeps a very good house at Rome.

This afternoon news has been received that the Turk was on the 8th inst. at Belgrade, where the Vayvod of Transylvania and he were concocting plans for a future campaign; and yet as the news comes directly from Venice, and has not been confirmed, that I know of, from other quarters, many, and I among others, disbelieve it. I make, however, as if I attached faith to the report, as I consider it a good excuse to spur on the Pope and make him grant the Crusade and "Quarta" more easily.

News has also been received of the agreement lately made between the seven Lutheran cantons of the Switzers and the five that still remain Christian, though the advantage and majority being in favour of the former, the intelligence is by no means agreeable.

Respecting Your Majesty's visit to this city, or the Pope's journey to Genoa or Bologna for the purpose of the announced coronation, not a word has yet been said. Nor is His Holiness' health good enough just now to think of this matter. I have hitherto avoided making any allusions to this subject, but will not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty as soon as His Holiness announces his intention.—Rome, 30th July 1529.

P.S.—After the above was written the Prince of Orange arrived, on Saturday last. On Sunday the peace was sworn to and ratified with great pomp and solemnity, the Pope appearing in full pontificals and taking more share in the ceremony than the state of his health would perhaps justify. On the two following days (Monday and Tuesday) Miçer Mai, the Prince, and I waited upon him to discuss the best means of carrying out the undertaking against Florence, which the further we advance the more fitting and advantageous we find for Your Majesty's interests in Italy. True enough, we are in great want of funds, and the Prince declares that, even supposing, which is not very probable, that Florence makes her submission, there will not be enough money left in the Imperial treasury to take his forces into Lombardy, since, notwithstanding the ruinous bargains he has been obliged to make at Naples, he has been unable to obtain a sufficient supply; besides which the Pope, though ardently desiring the restoration of his family at Florence, is, or professes to be, so poor that he cannot possibly help the enterprize with money or credit. We expect that to-morrow without fail some sort of agreement will be made; if so Captain Rodrigo de Ripalda shall be dispatched to Your Majesty with the intelligence.

On his arrival at Rome the first thing the Prince inquired about was how much money Your Imperial Majesty was bringing to Italy. My answer was that he could learn from

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Ripalda. He replied that his information was that Your Majesty would bring from five to six hundred thousand cr., and he (the Prince) added that he considered that sum insufficient to defray such undertakings as Your Majesty had upon his hands. His forces consist of about 12,000 infantry Germans and Italians, whose monthly pay amounts to nearly 55,000 ducats, exclusive of the men-at-arms or the light horse. I have told him that Your Majesty intends bringing so numerous a force that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to support them all. The Prince, on the other hand, observed that he could not go into Lombardy with a smaller force than the one he had now, and that it was for Your Majesty to decide whether he was or was not to take that route. According to his calculations, on Your Majesty's arrival in Italy, and after the German auxiliaries have joined, there will be, with the Spaniards in Naples and those of Milan under Leyva, upwards of 9,000 men. Almost all the Spanish infantry under Guasto (Vasto), and part of the Italian, mustering altogether about 8,000 men, are now in Puglia and other provinces of Naples. Should the Prince achieve the reduction of Florence soon, he might perhaps be able to dismiss all his Italians, although he considers, as we all do, that the measure would be an imprudent one under present circumstances, for they might go over to the enemy as all mercenary soldiers generally do. Your Majesty will no doubt transmit his orders to the Prince. He has spoken to me about certain disorders in the administration to which Your Majesty alludes in one of his letters. He has taken pains to inquire into the truth of the affair. He esteems and regards Morone, whom he considers a man of talent and wit, much attached to Your Majesty and always ready to do his duty, though he has owned to me that he had once had some suspicion of his being rather inclined to peculation. He has, however, sent some one to Naples to inquire secretly into his conduct, as also into that of Bernardino Martirano, his secretary, though I perceive that this last functionary has completely won his heart and possesses his unlimited confidence. He told me besides that he will take care soon after Your Majesty's landing at Genoa to produce an account of all the monies raised in the kingdom of Naples and spent on the army, so that every one may see what has become of it. My answer to the Prince on these points has been such as to convince him that Your Imperial Majesty in advising him of the above things has shown him the greatest confidence, and certainly the affection he has for Your Majesty and zeal for the service are exceedingly great.

This evening news has come from the king of Hungary announcing the actual arrival of the Turk at Belgrade, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed note of his ambassador at this Court. We* are all daily requesting His Holiness to do

* That is Burgo, Mai, and the writer.

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all he can in the present emergency, and provide means for arresting the progress of the Infidel.

I beg Your Majesty's pardon for not having sooner sent off this lengthy despatch, begun many days ago; the multifarious affairs of this embassy have been the cause of the delay. His Holiness and all of us are anxiously expecting news of Your Majesty, for, according to our account, the landing at Genoa must have been effected by this time.

Some days ago I spoke to the Pope about the cardinals' hats for the High Chancellor and the Bishop of Mauriana. He gave me a very courteous answer and promised to think of them both at his next creation. It would not be amiss to speak to the Nuncio now with Your Majesty, that he may, when opportunity occurs, remind His Holiness of his promise. —Rome, 3rd August 1529.

The present courier not having left until to-day, I have deemed it necessary to add two short paragraphs to the present despatch. The first to announce that no definitive agreement has yet been made as to the Florentine expedition, the Pope still insisting on his extreme poverty and his inability to procure ready money towards it, whilst the Prince declares that he himself has none, nor does he expect any from the kingdom of Naples, which being, as it is, nearly destroyed by the last war, must be defended against the Venetians, who are still in Puglia and get reinforcements every day. Indeed, I consider that should the Prince march into Lombardy without reducing Florence first, that kingdom would be in danger.

The second paragraph relates to the Pope's behaviour in this affair. I know as a fact that His Holiness is putting off the concession of the Crusade and "Quarta," or fourth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, until he is sure that the undertaking against Florence will commence at his bidding, and that the greater our success the more liberal he will be about it.

On the other hand, letters from Cambray of the 14th July have been received to-day. At that date the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) had arrived, and Madame Margaret said that she entertained hopes of a speedy settlement of the peace. To-day letters of the 25th from France have come, stating that it had been concluded, but the terms are said to be such that the whole must be a lie.—5th August 1529, begun on the 30th of July.

Signed: "Loys de Praët."

French. Original. pp. 12.

1 Aug. **88.** Cardinal Santa Croce to the High Commander of Leon [Francisco de los Covos].

S. E. L. 848, f. 124–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 1.

Has received an answer to the letter sent by Francisco de Leon. Thanks him for the care he takes of his affairs, and begs him to persevere. What he (the Cardinal) asks for is intended solely for the better service of God, and is quite indispensable in the present state of things.

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Respecting the Emperor's reported journey we are all in suspense, and undecided as to whether it will be profitable to his interests or not. His (the Cardinal's) opinion and that of many others is that if it is to take place it should at any rate be as soon as possible, for the delay might cause inconvenience.

Whilst writing the above news has come of the treaty of friendship and alliance between the Emperor and the Pope having been concluded and signed [at Barcelona]. Immediately after applied for an audience and waited upon His Holiness. In the conversation that ensued respecting certain matters of his own profession, and touching also upon his conscience and that of the Emperor, he (Santa Croce) happened to remind him of certain promises made at Sanct Angelo respecting his very humble person, promises which being afterwards repeated to the Emperor at Madrid he seemed to hear with pleasure.

(*Cipher:*) His (the Cardinal's) words were as follows: "Since death is certain, and cannot be very far from us, I beg leave to remind Your Holiness of the words he said to me [at Sanct Angelo] respecting Florence: 'God forbid, Your Holiness said, that I should ever load my conscience with such a sin as to impose upon the Florentines the tyranny of the house of Medici, merely for the benefit of my family. True it is that they have offended me, and that I smart under the insult. I should therefore be glad to let them feel that it is in my power to take my revenge, with the Emperor's co-operation and assistance, not indeed to restore the former tyrannical government, or preserve the present, which is not good either, but to establish a new one.'"

The Pope owned that this was perfectly true, and that such were still his intentions. After which he added: "As you have been designated to be one of the three cardinals going to the Emperor, I shall have further occasion to inform you of my plans respecting Florence."

Thus the Pope spoke to me; whether he will fulfil his promise or not remains to be seen. All I can say is that for the discharge of his own conscience, as well as for the honour and reputation of our lord, the Emperor, his arrival in this country must bring freedom to Italy, as we, the Imperialists, continually proclaim, not rivet her chains, as our enemies prophesy.*

His Holiness is determined to receive the Emperor with the greatest solemnity ever displayed. Instead of two legates, as is the general custom, he intends sending three, one of each order, so as to represent the whole College of Cardinals: one bishop, who will be Farnese, though it is not customary to send bishops on such errands; one presbyter, myself, and one deacon, his own nephew, Ippolito de' Medici. He also

* "Porque á su venida conviene [el] nombre de libertar á Italia como sus servidores publicamos, y no de tiranizarla como los contrarios dizen."

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told me that he intended sending the Duke [Alessandro] post haste to the reception.

(*Cipher :*) The Pope is ten days well and eight ill. People generally believe that he will hardly live till September, for, they say, he has drunk the Papal potion,* which generally takes effect after the first summer's heat.

(*Common writing :*) The Señor de Prato† has just this moment arrived with two pieces of good news, namely, the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and alliance, and the Emperor's speedy arrival.

The two legates and myself will leave to-morrow for Genoa, where I expect to see your Lordship.—Rome, 1st August 1529.

Signed : "F. Car^{lis} S. +."

Addressed : "To the most magnificent Señor Francisco de los Covos, Secretary and Councillor to His Majesty, &c."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

1 Aug. **89.** CARDINAL SANTA CROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 126.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 3.

The ambassador's report will inform the Emperor, how, in in the space of a few days, matters have been settled to our complete satisfaction, so that with God's assistance most of the obstacles are now removed, which made us doubt the probable success of this journey.

The divorce case has been advoked to Rome, but although in the powers of attorney sent by the Queen I was named conjointly with the Imperial ambassador, Miçer Mai, it was agreed between us that the affair should be treated by him in public, and by myself in private, which has been done. There is only one danger to be apprehended, namely, that this may precipitate matters in England, and induce the two legates to act according to their unjust mandate (*negra comision*). To guard, if possible, against this, he (Praët) has appealed to the Pope's conscience, reminding him of the promise he made to Your Majesty through me, and begging him not to be the cause through his dilatory conduct of such a mishap.—Rome, 1st August 1529.

Signed ; "F. Car^{lis} S. +."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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* "Por que se tiene por cierto que ha recebido *medicina papal* la qual suele hazer su operacion pasados los calores."

† As it has been remarked elsewhere, Italians and Spaniards residing at Rome called Praët, *i.e.*, Louis de Flandre, Sieur de Praët, &c., Prato, which was the italianized name of *Antoine du Prat*. Hence the frequent mistakes which occur in this correspondence.

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1 Aug. **90.** Cardinal Palmieri to the Same.

B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 366.

Kisses the Emperor's hands a thousand times for all the favours shown him.—Rome, 1st August 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

2 Aug. **91.** Cardinal Santa Croce to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 3.

Has nothing to advise. As regards general affairs refers entirely to Mai's despatches. His Holiness has at last granted the advocation of the Queen's case, and the proceedings have already commenced, much to the disgust of the English ambassadors, who at times beg and implore, and at others threaten.—Rome, 1st August 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

2 Aug. **92.** Cardinal of Ravenna to the Same.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 367.

Thanks for the intelligence communicated to him by Louis de Praët. Has always been his devoted servant; will hereafter be his most obedient slave.—Rome, 2nd August 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

3 Aug. **93.** Pope Clement to the Same.

S. E. L. 848, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 10.

In credence of Cardinal Medici, his nephew, whom he sends to reside close to the Emperor's person until he himself is able to visit him. Has received through his ambassador, Praët, "del quale resto contentissimo," his letter containing the happy news of the peace concluded between them, and which is sure to turn out well for themselves and Christendom at large.—Rome, 3rd August 1529.

Italian. Holograph on vellum.

3 Aug. **94.** Cardinal Santa Croce to the Same.

S. E. L. 848, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 11.

The Pope has ordered three different processions to be made this week, as thanksgivings for the peace; Friday at Saint John of Letran, Saturday at La Minerva, Sunday at St. Peter's. This last will be attended by all the cardinals. I have charge of the mass. Please God to give us so desirable a peace, and bring Your Majesty [to Italy] speedily and well. To these things my intention shall be directed in the mass, and such is also the Pope's wish.*

Signed: "F. Car^{lis} de S^{ta} +."

Spanish. Original. p. ½.

* "Y tales son tambien los deseos de su Santidad."

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4 Aug. **95.** ANTONIO CARDINAL SAN SEVERINO to the EMPEROR.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 368.

Louis de Praët tells him that he (the Emperor) is favourably disposed towards him. Begs for pensions and a bishopric.—Rome, 4th August 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

4 Aug. **96.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 52, B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 12.

Wrote by Martin, the courier, and afterwards by way of Genoa, on the 13th ult°.

On St. Peter's day the "white steed" was duly delivered according to custom. The ceremony went off very well, as it happened to be on the anniversary of the day when St. Pol's* defeat was known in Rome. Did not give the 7,000 ducats at the time, but promised to keep them in readiness for the day of settlement of our mutual accounts.

After the victory of our arms over St. Pol, the French ambassador, who resides here, went up to the Pope and solicited him to declare again for the League, in which case (he said) Ravenna and Cervia should be immediately given back to him. No sooner did I hear of this than I called upon His Holiness, who, being a wise politician, took no notice whatever of what the Frenchman told him on the occasion. I hear that the ambassador has since proposed a convention with the Florentines, and so importuned the Pope about joining the League that His Holiness could not help saying to him at last: "Pray, leave me alone; this League has already caused my ruin and that of the whole world." (*Cipher:*) At the express commands of the Prince of Orange I and my colleague have done all that was in our power to reconcile (*concertar*) the conflicting views of these Italian potentates. The undertaking was not an easy one. We spoke about it to the Pope, who personally sounded the ambassadors, and told us he had some hopes of the Duke Francesco, but none of the Venetians. Seeing this and imagining that what the confederates wanted was to unite in order to get better terms, we let the affair drop, and there was no more said about it. Since then the Duke Francesco has sent me [Mai] a secret message through a friar, the son of a Milanese gentleman, with whom I was once very intimate, declaring that he has no other wish than that of being useful to Your Highness. But the Duke is so restless (*revoltosillo*) a man that no reliance can be placed in his words.

(*Common writing:*) Told the Pope that the Viceroy of Naples (Philibert de Chalon) was on the point of starting; at which he gave signs of great joy, and ordered that apartments should be prepared for him in the Belvedere. We ourselves expect him with impatience, and cease not reminding him how very profitable it would be for his own reputation and that of the Imperial army under his orders, if he were now to quit Naples, already more than half destroyed—come to Rome, make the Pope

* St. Pol's defeat and capture at Landriano happened on the 21st June 1529.

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declare himself, and snatch Florence from the hands of the enemy. This last would be an important acquisition for us, considering the situation of that city and the opulence of its inhabitants. (*Cipher :*) All politicians agree in our opinion, namely, that Your Majesty ought to conclude peace as soon as possible, for in the state in which Germany and Rome are at present no time should be lost. The Lutherans and Anabaptists, encouraged by certain princes and by those of the electors who withdrew from the last Diet, are a calamity sufficient of itself to put an end to the whole world. These are matters that cannot be settled except by reputation, and reputation cannot be obtained by other means than peace. I have written so to Madame Margaret, and also to tell her that I had seen and read letters from England, where King Henry is described as trying to prolong the negociations as much as possible. In proof of which he is reported to have said: "If the king of France thinks that he can make peace without me he is very much mistaken, for I can and will make mine before him, and I hear that the powers to that effect have already reached Flanders."

The Venetians, on the other hand, from fear of their being excluded from the peace of Cambray, still threaten to bring the Turk [into Europe]. They are now doing all they can to prevent the ratification (*desviar las paces*), promising to help the king of France with larger sums than those stipulated in the former league, if he will only stand by them in Italy. (*Common writing :*) The Turk (Solyman) has lately increased his sea forces by 40 galleys. It is calculated that the war will last no less than three years, and that stores of provisions and contracts with merchants have been made upon that calculation. I am told (moreover) that Solyman has asked the Signory to let him establish his stores (*magazeno*) of wheat in Venice. Cannot say what the Signory has answered, but there can be no doubt that a son of the present Doge, Luigi Gritti by name, is now the leader and guide of his army. I have even heard with reference to the Doge himself, through a most confidential person, that with the Turk's favour he (the Doge) is thinking of doing away with the Republic and assuming the supreme power.*

Letters from Venice of the 7th ult° state that Solyman was already at Sophia, half-way between Constantinople and Hungary, and that the Vayvod of Transylvania (Zapolski) was to marry one of his daughters. If credit be given to a letter from the king of Poland (Sigismond), the Turk's idea would be to leave part of the invading army in Hungary, and with the greater bulk attack Italy.

The Duke of Savoy (Carlo) has also written and sent his ambassadors here to complain of the Swiss Lutherans, who (he says) are invading his territory, and converting his vassals to the new sect. He has sent to implore the help of the Holy

* "Y aun del mesmo duque he entendido por parte muy secreta que con el favor de ellos tiene pensamiento a alçarse con la señoria de Venecia."

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See, and is more afraid than ever of his neighbours who, since the last agreement (*concordia*) have become much more formidable than before. To give Your Majesty an idea of the mischief these people can cause, I shall mention only two articles of their late covenant, which are strong enough of themselves. One is that the five cantons that still remain Christian* renounce all help the Suabian League in Germany can afford them; and the other that all Switzers may believe whatever they like in matters of Faith. And I need scarcely add that if such ideas penetrate into Italy it will be impossible to stop them, for the Romans are immoderately fond of new opinions.

About 20 days ago, as the Archbishop of Çaragoça of Sicily (Syracosa) arrived here, the Pope had him immediately arrested and sent to Sant Angelo. He well deserves this and worse treatment even, for he has certainly done very wicked things. As I happened to be a reporter (*relator*) in various cases of infidelity I sent for the prosecuting officer (*fiscal*), and told him to have him interrogated concerning them. He has written to Sicily, but it would not be amiss to consult Queen Germaine [de Foix], and also Don Juan Manuel, who know something of the crimes and deeds of that prelate, who, I hear, has been quite mad for several years back. The papers I had relating to the bishop I left in the hands of the first regent of the Council of Aragon, Phelippe de Ferreras, from whom they may be had at any time.

(*Cipher:*) The Imperial troops begin to arrive; but, alas, they are so accustomed to their old habits of plunder, that one company alone of Italians, under Pier Luigi Farnese, has completely sacked two or three villages. It is a great pity that one thousand men should march in the way they do, followed by a train of no less than three thousand mouths to feed, counting women and beasts of burden (*acemilas*). I have written to Naples about it, and represented to the Prince how indecorous it is that soldiers should march in this way against all the rules of military discipline, at a time, too, when Italians of all parties expect to enjoy in full the blessings of peace.

The Pope has appointed three legates to go and receive Your Majesty. Farnese was long considered as of the French party, but for several days past he professes to be our friend. As to Cardinal Santa Croce, who is another of those appointed, he is well known at Court. I must say of him that some time ago he discontinued those practices of which I wrote to Your Majesty, and that ever since he has served well and zealously. Medici and the Duke [Alessandro] are very young (*moços*), and to hear them, they adore Your Majesty's very name.

(*Common writing:*) The Sienese have amicably settled their differences with Count Pitigliano. This latter, who was formerly in the pay of Venice, has given me to understand that he has altogether left the service of that Signory, and wishes to be

* "El uno es que los cinco cantones, que son Christianos, han renunciado a valerse de la liga que tienen en Alemania."

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employed by Your Majesty. As he is one of the most influential among the Orsini, and has large estates in Tuscany, he may be useful hereafter.

Landing at Genoa of Mons. de Praët, and subsequent arrival in Rome.

The Pope, since his return, has been ill and very suffering for four or five days, but since it has been found that his disease is gravel and stone in the bladder, and that there is no danger of his having taken poison (*yervas*), as most people thought at first, there is no longer the same anxiety for his life. Besides which, Your Majesty's conduct towards him is enough to revive a corpse (*resucitar un muerto*).

Cardinal Cesarino and the abbacy of Montearagon, &c.

Sant Severino and the archbishopric of Taranto, &c.

Yesterday letters came from the king of Hungary to Andrea del Burgo and to me. Their contents shall be duly communicated to Mons. de Praët.—Rome, 4th August 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 14.

4 Aug. **97.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 54–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 20.

As in June last it was announced that there would be "signatura" on the 19th, I waited on His Holiness and begged him to advoke the divorce case. His answer was that he would look into it, as it might possibly interrupt the negociations for the peace of Cambray, where the affair could perhaps be settled. Told him that I was of a different opinion, as the king of England, perceiving that the case must needs be tried by competent judges, and despairing of being able to obtain his wish through favour or bribery, might probably be induced to relinquish his ideas on the subject. It seemed to me that by advoking the cause His Holiness would strike a mighty blow in favour of the peace which he had so much at heart. Such was my argument in the paper (*informe*) which I then sent to the Pope's referendaries; but nothing was done at the time, because two days after, on the 21st, the Pope had a relapse, and of course no "signatura" was held.

The king of England, on the other hand, has sent as his ambassador a lawyer (I cannot say whether a member of his Privy Council or not) whom the other [two] formerly at this court treat with great respect. I am told by the Pope that he is a consummate canonist and lawyer, and comes especially for the divorce case. No sooner did I hear of his arrival than I went to the Pope and petitioned him to have the case advoked to his court, promising that whatever the efficiency and good parts of the learned English doctor might be, the convenience of the measure would be clearly

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demonstrated, since justice was entirely on our side. Along with the English lawyer comes one Silvester Dario, lately appointed auditor to the Rotta, and I am told that the Bishop of Tarbes* (Gabriel de Grammont) is also coming from France. He (the Pope) had been requested by them to issue a new "decretal," to the detriment, as may be imagined, of the poor Queen. I told him that he might thereby calculate how far those parties were from the paths of justice, since they had recourse to such unusual measures (*estrañezas*).

On the 5th ult° I received by a courier sent by Madame (Margaret), the powers of attorney, which the Queen herself sends me to represent her here, and apply for the advocation. Don Iñigo writes to say that they have been obtained with the greatest difficulty, but once at Rome, and in my possession, we must proceed to work and plain speaking.

According to Don Iñigo the King had lately given out that His Holiness had very recently again entrusted to the two legates the cognizance of this affair, and told the Queen to prepare her defence and choose her counsel, because he wished at once to bring on the action. Many other heart-rending particulars does Don Iñigo relate in his letter about the manner in which the poor lady is treated, and the seclusion (*estrechez*) in which she lives.

With this letter of Don Iñigo's in my hand I went to Cardinals Sancti Quatuor (Pucci) and Ancona (Accolti), who are commonly fathers of the "signatura" (*padres de la signatura*) read it aloud, and told them plainly what I thought of such behaviour. Went next to the Pope, shewed him Don Iñigo's letter, and complained that whilst he kept promising us that the case should be advoked to Rome, and all proceedings in England suspended, the trial was going on in London just as before. He had only had one "signatura" since my arrival in Rome, of which I had given due notice to Your Imperial Majesty. My belief was that his reason for not having more "signaturas" was that he wished to delay as much as possible the advocation of the divorce case, and keep Your Imperial Majesty in suspense, in order to obtain better terms at the future peace. This behaviour (I said) I could no longer tolerate; he ought to know that Your Majesty wished to behave towards him as a friend and a dutiful son, out of your own inclination and not moved by any other consideration or thought (*respetos ni cautelas*); and that he was very much mistaken if he thought that a behaviour of this sort would serve him with Your Majesty.

To these reproaches of mine the Pope made no other reply than to excuse himself on account of his bad health, which, he said, was the only cause of his not having "signaturas" and attending to business; protesting all the time that his intentions were good, &c. Very luckily for me, Jacopo Salviati, who,

* Written *Torba* in the copy; the original had, no doubt, Tarba, for Tarbes, on the Adour (Hautes Pyrenées). The bishop was Gabriel de Grammont, often mentioned in these despatches.

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though a great rogue, has not wit enough to conceal his tricks, foolishly shewed me the minute of the letter they had written to Campeggio. I declare that I never saw in all the days of my life a more stupid and knavish (*bellaca*) letter, such as might have been concocted in Hell,* because Campeggio was therein instructed never to reveal to any one that he had received positive orders not to give sentence, but go on gaining time—which, by the way, is exactly what these people consider a great favour—because were he (Campeggio) to say that he would make no declaration in the affair, it stands to reason that the Eboracense (Archbishop of York) would act by himself, since the Pope's mandate was originally addressed to the two legates coinjointly, or to one individually. The letter, the minute of which I saw with my own eyes, went on to say that if he (Campeggio) could not achieve this, he was to carry on proceedings until the final sentence, but not deliver the same without first consulting Rome. If possible, he was to keep this part of his instructions secret for fear the King should be displeased.

So grave, indeed, were the contents of the minute shown to me by Jacopo Salviati that I lost all patience, and next day Miçer Andrea del Burgo and I went to the Pope and told him: "We have seen the instructions sent to Cardinal Campeggio; they are of such a nature that were we to inform the Emperor of their contents, he would undoubtedly resent the manner in which he is treated here. We will not do this for fear of preventing so great a boon as the peace now being negociated between Your Holiness and him. And yet we cannot refrain from speaking our mind plainly. Let Your Holiness hear us with patience."

"This letter to Campeggio (I continued) is a breach of the faith so often pledged by Your Holiness to the Emperor, first through Cardinal Santa Croce, afterwards through Muxetula and myself, and lastly through the Papal Nuncio (Selade), now at Barcelona, that the divorce suit should be advocated to Rome. The breach of such a promise, and the writing to Campeggio to go on with the proceedings, is in my opinion a greater insult and offence to the Emperor than the commision given to that cardinal in the first instance. It is a wonder to me how lightly Your Holiness holds promises made in accordance with justice and reason, because the advocation of the case is only an act of justice at which no one can take offence, whereas the non-advocation is a decided injury to Your Majesty, &c."

"An offence of this kind (I remarked) bears so much on the honour and reputation of the Emperor, of the kings of Hungary and Portugal, and of all the princes of the Imperial family, and even on Your Holiness, that it cannot be expected His Imperial Majesty will put up with it. It is a rule of canonical and civil law (*los derechos*) that whenever judges are suspected of partiality either in trying or sentencing a

* "Y vi la mas necia y bellaca carta que se pudiera hacer en el Infierno."

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case, they can be challenged by the parties. The present suit is highly injurious (*perjudicial*) to the Queen, because at some stage of the proceedings, such as the calling in of witnesses, &c., the poor lady might faint and abandon her defence, or not prosecute it in a suitable manner. Besides which the want of security of the notaries, proctors, and witnesses employed in the suit is a circumstance equally open to suspicion (*por ser el lugar sospechoso*), as regards not only the proceedings, but the judgment (*judicatura*) itself. There was still another difficulty (*inconveniente*): were the trial to be conducted and sentenced in England according to the King's wishes, it was enough for him to request Campeggio once or twice, and ask him whether he wished or not to give sentence in the cause, and in case of refusal the duty would then devolve entirely upon the other legate (Wolsey)."*

Concluded my address by earnestly requesting His Holiness to advoke the case, lest in England they should proceed *de facto* and by "contumacia," for although it is not likely that they will act so in a case of this sort, yet anything may be apprehended from people so outrageously mad upon this point that they are only looking for an excuse to catch at (*asidero*). His Holiness should be careful not to add fuel to the fire now raging among Christians.

In this last part of my argument I (Mai) was so strongly supported by my colleague (Andrea del Burgo) that the Pope could not help making his excuses, and deliberately said to me: "What I have hitherto done in this matter was intended for the best, to facilitate general peace among Christians, and keep on good terms with all; but since they (the English) are so mad (*locos*), and you have the Queen's powers to act for her, let a petition be presented in her name, and justice shall be done."

After this, on the 10th of the same month (July), the copy of a letter dated London, the 21st of June, came into my hands through a very respectable channel. It stated that the suit had actually commenced, three acts had been passed, the Queen's appeal had been rejected, and the judges declared competent,† notwithstanding the suspicions alleged. The Queen had been declared contumacious, and the case tried as such. Called on His Holiness, in company with Miçer Andrea; told him the indignity practised against the Queen, and Campeyo's (Campeggio's) bad behaviour. I entreated him not to delay the advocation any longer, but appoint a day for the "signatura" and decide at once, as otherwise it might be too late. This time the Pope was touched, and seemed to take more interest in the affair; he ordered a "signatura" to be announced, and notwithstanding the opposition of the English orators and their adherents, who did all they could to

* "Que a ser hecho el processo allá, si le evocasen, si queria [n] juzgar en él no era menester mas de requerir al Campeyo una vez ó dos si queria juzgar ó no, y constituyendose en mora podria juzgar el [Eboracense] solo."

† "Y declaradose por jueces competentes."

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prevent it "en hecho y derecho," on the 13th inst. the Pope had "signatura," and the advocation was actually decreed, with this circumstance, that the Pope's decretal contains a clause to the effect that everything done after this date is to be considered null and void.

The Pope, however, for greater security and the better to discharge his conscience, wished this decision to pass through a consistory of cardinals. Three more days were thus lost during which the English orators bethought them to petition that these acts should not be intimated in Spain or Flanders but sent to the Queen in England. As they have been so lucky hitherto in all their follies respecting the divorce, the orators found means (*hallaron aparejo de ser creidos*) of persuading the Pope that their demand was just. They were on the point of obtaining what they wanted, when having heard of it I waited upon His Holiness and said: "That cannot be; it is only a device of the English ambassadors who know very well that the Queen will never dare present the inhibition brief. Your Holiness ought to have it affixed here and in Flanders first, as customary in such cases, after which it may be sent to the Queen and delivered into her hands, if possible."

On the eve of the day appointed for the consistory the Pope had another attack, and we (Burgo and I) were told by Cardinal Sancti Quatuor (Pucci) that the consistory could not take place. It was (he said) for us to consider whether the inhibition was to be sent to the Queen just as it was, and without passing through consistory, or whether we preferred waiting until one could be held. I confess that when I heard this I again lost patience, and made to Sancti Quatuor many angry remarks, which I omit for brevity's sake. I then proposed one of three things, viz.: 1. Either to give me at once the decree of advocation without its actually going through the consistory of cardinals, for me to use, as is just and customary in such cases, instead of handing it over to the English ambassadors whose bad purpose (*cautela*) was visible in the matter. 2. Or for His Holiness to hold a consistory for that express purpose, since however unwell, it was his (the Pope's) duty to have it immediately assembled, and if unfit to attend it, to call together a congregation, as they call the meetings whereat His Holiness is not present. 3. If neither of these expedients was adopted to let us (Burgo and myself) know immediately; we would then drop the subject altogether and never again bring it before His Holiness, sure as we were, that if justice were absolutely denied to the Queen, her nephew, the Emperor, could and would find other means for her protection. Concluded by begging Sancti Quatuor's pardon for the warmth (*aspereza*) of my speech. He went up to the Pope, reported my conversation, and the result was that a congregation was summoned for the next day, and that the cardinals [of our party] having been spoken to beforehand, the matter was fully discussed, some of the members present going so far as to speak warmly of the disgraceful character and injustice of

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the whole thing. The motion, therefore, passed without much opposition, and it was resolved that the advocation should be communicated to the Rotta, there to be formally declared after having been propounded in consistory.

Thus the cause, thanks to God, is for the present safe enough (*al seguro*) because, as I said before, all that has been hitherto done will be revoked here in three different ways: firstly, by reason of the "litis pendentia" alleged by the Queen; secondly, by her own appeal against the unwarrantable proceedings of the opposite party (*por via de atentado*); and thirdly, by the clause of the decree (*del decreto irritante*) which has been committed to the Dean of the auditors (*decano de los auditores*), Miçer Paulo Capisucci, who is sure to do his duty in this affair, since before his appointment to that charge I made sure of him through Cardinal Cesarini and others.

In spite of all this the English ambassadors have since been trying hard to have the summons (*citacion*) sent straight to the Queen, for what purpose I need not repeat. One of them came especially to see me, and I undeceived him, as well as the Pope, who spoke to me on the subject, till at last His Holiness told me I might do what I liked in this respect.

Six copies of the acts have, therefore, been made to be affixed at six different places. One for Rome to be affixed on the 23rd inst. Two more for Flanders to be affixed at Bruges and Dunkerk. The remainder to be sent by different routes to Her Highness Madame [of the Low Countries], for her to forward to Her most Serene Majesty the Queen of England, or to whomsoever may be thought best. I must add that there came in Mr. Praët's suite a gentleman of the Queen's household, who landed with him at Genoa. He brought me letters from Your Majesty, as well as copies of the proceedings enacted [in England], that I might apply legally for the advocation. This having been accomplished, the gentleman left yesterday for Germany. He takes with him one of the above-mentioned copies, and if necessary will take some more. Others shall be forwarded through the Pope to the Capuan (Schomberg) to give or forward to the most illustrious Princess, the Lady Margaret [of Flanders].

I hear that the Pope has written to Campeggio, who, however, as I said before, has behaved very badly in all this affair, if I am to judge from his letters which the Pope himself gave me to read.

I have told the Pope and the Cardinal of Ancona, as well as the English orator here, that a papal brief ought to be addressed to King Henry, exhorting him to live with his wife, the Queen, this new brief supplying any deficiencies there might be in the dispensation [of Julius], and praising him (the King) for his efforts to ascertain the truth for the satisfaction of his own conscience. As the cause must needs come out of the kingdom, and excite the passions of the people, this last expedient appears to be the best, for the King may by

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these means not only purge his past sins, but also gain the reputation of an honest and conscientious man.* I cannot say whether such a brief has been made out and sent. I fancy it has, because every one here, the English ambassador included, applauds the idea, though I believe the affair will be kept a secret for the sake of the parties concerned.

The news from England is that this business of the divorce is being pressed more than ever it was, either for the sake of the Eboracense (Wolsey) who wishes afterwards to go to Cambray, or perhaps for fear of this advocation, which has at last been obtained. The latter conjecture seems the most probable, for the same letters announce the nomination of the Bishop of London [Tunstall] to the post of ambassador at Cambray. The letters mention also the fact of the Bishop Roffense (Fisher), a most learned and virtuous prelate, having on the 25th of June ult° made a public speech (*orado publicamente*), in which he said that he had for many years past carefully studied the divorce case, and that he was bound to declare, for the discharge of his conscience, that the matrimony of King Henry and Katharine was perfectly valid, and so legitimate that it could only be dissolved by God. Many in England began to share the bishop's opinion, and it was to be hoped, with God's mercy, that the King himself would be arrested in his career and the sentence delayed, although, if I am to judge by what Campeggio writes about him, there is very little chance of his ever repenting what he has done.

I am now trying to procure the writings of a doctor and member of this Rotta called Staphileo, who was the real originator of all this madness (*autor desta locura*), in order to see on what ground his opinion rested, and, if necessary, be prepared against his arguments; also in examining certain papers the Pope has lately received from England. Expenses incurred in procuring the advocation, &c.—Rome, 4th August 1529.

P.S.—I have at last ascertained the reason why the English orators opposed as long as they could the affixing of the edicts in England. Not only was it to gain time, as I imagined at first, but because the people of that country, being sincerely attached to their Queen, might be discontented at it, and form too great an idea of Your Majesty's power if such things were obtained at Rome through your influence. As a proof of this, Praët, who has just arrived, tells me that among a quantity of letters intercepted the other day by one of the Imperial captains on the road to Venice, there was one from these English ambassadors to the Signory begging them to guard the frontier passes well so as to prevent the summons and inhibition from reaching their destination. However this may be, knowing the character of these English orators, and the danger of the edicts

* "Y alabandole de lo que hasta agora habia querido trabajar en saber la verdad por seguridad de su conciencia; pero pues la causa ha de salir del Reyno y crecer pasiones, que es mejor esto, y á todos les parece bien, que no solo purgará con esto la sospecha de lo pasado mal hecho pero ganará nombre de justo y de hombre concienzudo."

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being intercepted, I have, as I said before, given one copy to the Queen's gentleman who left the other day; another has gone by way of the Marquis of Mus.* I am now sending a third to Figueroa at Genoa, and a fourth to the Capuan (Schomberg) at Cambray. This last under cover of the Pope's letter to his Nuncio, and in the most secret manner possible for him to put it into the hands of the Lady Margaret.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. Cæs. Cath. R. Mti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 15.

4 Aug. **98.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 29.

His letter of the same date will inform His Imperial Majesty of what has been accomplished in favour of the Queen. The present will refer exclusively to State affairs. —The Traietto business, &c.

Enclosed is the brief for the Empress Isabella to administer during the Emperor's absence the masterships of the four military orders in the kingdoms of Castille. (*Cipher:*) Finding that the people here assert that the concession of Pope Adrian was snatched from him on his death bed, shortly before he breathed his last, he (Mai) has applied to Sancti Quatuor for a confirmation of the bull of the incorporation of those masterships to the Crown. That cardinal has promised it, and it may go with this.

(*Common writing:*) Respecting the duplicate of the dispensation brief for Your Majesty's marriage issued in Sessa's time, notwithstanding all the research made we can find no traces of it in the register books of this embassy, most of which, as Your Imperial Majesty knows, have been lost. Two attested copies† have therefore been made from the one Your Majesty sent us.

With regard to the permission to marry asked by the knights commanders of the orders of Calatrava and Alcantara the negociation continues. The Pope is willing to grant such permission to the future knights themselves, and to those who have not yet professed, but not to the commanders (*comendadores*). However, as Francisco de Vibero, the solicitor for the Military Orders, informs him (Mai) there is some hope that His Holiness will ultimately accede to this request. That granted to the knights has already cost 12,000, which the Pope says are destined for the king of Hungary to carry on war against the Turk.

Crusade, &c.—Rome, 4th August 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord and Master."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5½.

* Gian Giacopo de' Medici, Marquis of Mus, and afterwards of Marignano.

† "Una despachada por *breve*, otra por *plomo*."

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5 Aug. **99.** News from Hungary extracted from letters received by Andrea del Burgo and the Imperial Ambassadors.

S. E. L. 848, f. 76. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 32.

The Turk is boldly advancing upon Hungary. Three things have hitherto impeded his march. 1st. Great floods and inundations. 2nd. The plague which has broken out in his camp. 3rd. The dread of our Emperor and of his armies. This, notwithstanding, he has already passed Belgrade, and is making forays as far as Buda.

The King's army is not yet ready to meet the enemy, and, therefore, the whole of the kingdom is in danger.—Lintz, 5th August 1529.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

5 Aug. **100.** Miçer Mai, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle.

S. E. L. 848, f. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 28.

Relates all that has occurred in the advocation of the divorce case, and how he has caused the Papal decree to be affixed in various parts of Rome, and forwarded [to the Low Countries and to England] in three different ways.*

That he has requested the Pope and his cardinals to write to the king of England exhorting him to live with his wife. That they have approved the measure, and he (Mai) believes they have done so.

The law costs amount already to 50 ducats or thereabouts. Has informed the Queen of England of it, that she may provide the funds, and in the meantime the money will be advanced from the Imperial treasury.

One of the Imperial captains has stopped on the road to Venice a courier carrying letters for that Signory, the whole of which have been put into the hands of Mr. de Praët. Among them was one [from the English ambassador residing here at Rome] requesting the Venetians to place a good guard on their frontiers so as to prevent the inhibition from reaching England.

Indorsed: "Summary of letters from Miçer Mai of the 4th and 5th of August."

6 Aug. **101.** Pope Clement to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 33.

His brief absolving all those who were present at, or consented to, the sack of Rome.—Rome, 6th August 1529.

Countersigned: "Evangelista."

Latin. Original on vellum.

* On the margin is a note in Granvelle's handwriting thus worded: "Está muy bien," after which follows, on the same sheet, an abstract of Santa Croce's despatch of the 1st concerning the Queen's case.

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6 Aug. **102.** News from Cambray, sent by Hieronymo Francho.

S. E. L. 496, f. 70.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 36.

On the 5th the Bishop of Cambray said mass, after which the two ladies,* attended by the Papal Legate, Salviati, by the ambassadors of King Ferdinand and of the king of England, swore to the treaty with great solemnity. Then the Dean of Cambray announced in a loud voice that peace had been concluded between the Pope, the Emperor Charles, Francis, king of France; Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary; and Henry, king of England. After which a separate peace between King Henry and Madame Margaret [of the Low Countries] was proclaimed.

The confederates were not mentioned in this solemnity. Before leaving the ambassadors were called to a conference, where the article relating to the Signory was shown to the Venetians, who had not seen it before. They feel most aggrieved by it, &c.

Indorsed: "News from Cambray of the 6th August, sent by Miçer Hieronymo Francho."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

7 Aug. **103.** News from France.

S. E. L. 496, f. 69.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 37.

A letter from St. Quentin, in France, addressed to Pomponio Triulzio, at Lyons, says that on Thursday morning [5th Aug^{t}.]† the peace between the Pope, the Emperor, the kings of France, England and Scotland, was published with all solemnity, mass said, money thrown to the crowd, theatricals performed, and various other entertainments, &c.

Italian. Contemporary. p. 1.

8 Aug. **104.** Cardinal of Siena to the Emperor.

B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 369.

Begs to acknowledge receipt of the letter brought by Signor Praët, and thankfully places himself under the Emperor's orders.—Rome, 8th August 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

11 Aug. **105.** Louis de Praët and Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 49.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 38.

Have heard by letters from Genoa of the Emperor's safe arrival at the island of Eras (d'Yéres). As by this time His Majesty must already be in Italy and at Genoa to restore peace and tranquillity to the whole of Christendom; as, moreover, His Holiness is about to dispatch the Abbot of Nero,‡ and the Prince to send to-morrow Captain Rodrigo de Ripalda,

* That is to say Louise de Savoie and Margaret.

† According to Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvi., the meeting at Cambray took place on the 5th of July, the conferences began on the 7th, and were closed one month after, on the 5th of August.

‡ Erasmus Doria, a nephew of Andrea, employed by him on various missions. He it was who on the 10th of August 1528 signed at Madrid the terms of the agreement and contract by which that celebrated sea captain bound himself to the Emperor. See Part 2, p. 526.

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they (Praët and Mai) will end by wishing their lord and master a most happy welcome.—Rome, 11th August 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët. Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 Aug. **106.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848. f. 49.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 39.

Wrote on the 5th inst. of general events, and principally of the expedition against Florence, with regard to which, though they pressed the Pope to fix the conditions, nothing definitive could be achieved for some time,* as the Pope invariably excused himself on account of his extreme poverty. At last he agreed to give the Prince [of Orange] 80,000 ducats at various dates, and promised besides that, on the surrender of that city and the restoration of the Medici there, the Florentines should be compelled to pay 150,000 more, from which the 50,000 are to be deducted. A new league to be concluded between himself, the Emperor, and the Florentines, and in case of war the latter to pay 15,000 ducats monthly towards the expenses of the Imperial army. Such is the agreement proposed; the terms will be settled this very night.

As the Prince and all these captains wish very much to see the Emperor [in Italy], it has been agreed that the expedition must not be delayed. The reduction of that important city cannot fail to be beneficial to the Pope, and to the kingdom of Naples also, for the Venetians have lately taken Molfetta and Jovenazzo, and their fleet is threatening the coast of Puglia. The Prince, whilst attacking Florence, can easily relieve Naples if assailed by the enemy, and wait until, by making peace, or punishing the Florentines, the Emperor sets matters right. These considerations have led us to hasten the conclusion of the agreement, inasmuch as Florence is a very important city from its situation and the money it can furnish in time of war.

There is a rumour that the Florentines are about to send an embassy to the Emperor. If so, they should not be allowed to treat except with the Pope's previous sanction.

Letters from Siena state that some days ago a council of "notables" was held at Florence, respecting His Imperial Majesty's expected arrival, and that out of 80 members, 68 had voted against his being treated as an enemy. It is possible that now that the agreement with the Pope is fairly concluded, and the expedition against that city decided upon, the majority may change their minds. However this may be, the undertaking, if properly conducted, is sure to facilitate also the reduction of Venice and Ferrara.

* "En la qual havemos ydo [tratando] con el papa desde entonces hasta agora."

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It was suspected at first that the Duke Alfonso [d' Este] might and would oppose the undertaking; but he made no signs of it, and the suspicion vanished away. Nor is it likely he will dare now take up arms after the Emperor's landing in Italy, though it is generally reported that he goes on making levies of men for fear of Modena and Reggio being snatched from him.

The same suspicions were entertained about the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovero). It was even reported that the Venetians were about to send 3,000 men to his help. The Duchess, however, has sent two or three messages to the Pope by one named Lirovera (*sic*), assuring him that not one of the Duke's vassals shall stir. Nevertheless the Pope and the Prince [of Orange] are thinking of sending thither some soldiers of fortune (*aventureros*), to ascertain if what the Duchess says is true or not.

Malatesta, who was the main cause of all these troubles, has written to the Prince, and offered to enter the Imperial service. The Pope and all of us think that his offer should be entertained, and that even should his proposals be inadmissible, he should be left undisturbed at Perugia until Florence is completely reduced.

The Duke Francesco Sforza has likewise sent a messenger to Moron, and the latter one to the Prince, to the effect that he (the Duke) is very desirous of obtaining the Emperor's pardon and grace. We have been very cautious not to move in this affair until the Emperor should send us instructions; in the mean time we will take care, according to orders received, that no agreement be made without His Holiness' cognizance.

The Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) we heard, was about to raise 1,000 men for the service of the Florentines; and in fact some of our men captured the other day on the road to that city a secretary of his with 3,000 ducats, &c. Next day the Abbot himself sallied forth, and took Cardinal Santa Croce prisoner. He now sends word that if we send back his secretary he will set Santa Croce at liberty.

Cardinal Cornaro, &c.

French Ambassador and his intrigues.

The orders of Calatrava and Alcantara.

A post has arrived from England with the duplicate of the powers granted by the Queen, and also a copy of the proceedings in the divorce case. He says that the sentence is prorogued till the 1st of October, which is a very lucky move, for in the meanwhile the inhibition and advocation of the cause, which have been forwarded by six different ways, will arrive in England.

All the faithful servants of His Majesty are of opinion that after the Emperor's landing on the coast of Genoa the fleet should be sent to Puglia, to prevent the Venetians doing more harm on that coast.

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The Florentines are in the habit of intercepting and opening all letters that pass through their territory. It would therefore, be advisable that all correspondence should come to Rome by way of Piacenza (where the Pope has established relays of horses), or else go by sea to Piombino.

The affair of Traietto-Bauri (Waury) gone to be married to a daughter of the late Marco Antonio Colonna. Sanct Severino [the cardinal] is not to be trusted, and for this reason the Council of Naples delays as much as possible to give him possession of the archbishopric of Tarento.

The Pope's brief to the Grand Master of Rhodes about Santa Eufemia.—Rome, 12th August 1529.

Signed: "Praët. Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

12 Aug. **107.** The Archbishop of Capua to the King of France.

S. E. L. 496, f. 71.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 44.

Advises him to ratify as soon as possible the treaty concluded at Cambray* between himself, the Pope, the Emperor, and the kings of Hungary and England, as otherwise a rupture might be the consequence.

Headed: "Summary of the letter of the Archbishop of Capua to the king of France."—Lyons, 12th.

Italian. p. 1.

12 Aug. **108.** News of the Turk†.

S. E. L. 848, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 45.

The Turks are marching on Hungary. Our master, the King, is doing his utmost to go out against them, but his resources are scanty. Unless powerful assistance comes soon from the Christian princes there is no knowing what will become of us.

Transylvania, as I said in my last, has been mostly occupied by the Moldaves, though we still possess a few castles in it. —Lintz, 12th August 1529.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

— **109.** News from Genoa.

S. E. L. 496, f. 72.

The Emperor's forces amount to 13,000 Spaniards, counting the 9,000 Leyva has under him. As to the lansquenets, who are coming down from Germany, nobody knows their number, although there has been, as I am informed, the greatest possible difficulty in recruiting them. It is said that the Emperor intends going to the Mantuan to meet them. I do not believe,

* Nicolas Schomberg, who about this time was sent by the Pope to reside at Cambray. See above No. 35, p. 69.

† Probably from the bishop of Trent to Andrea del Burgo.

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however, that he will cross the Po, on account of the expense of constructing bridges for his troops to pass over; besides, he may not wish to abandon the route to Rome (*la strada Romea*), in order either to make peace or else attack the Duke of Ferrara.

I hear that the Emperor has solemnly promised His Holiness not to take his crowns until Modena, Reggio, Cervia, and Ravenna have been restored to him; but I should say, that being so powerful, he can easily oblige the Pope to do his will, considering he has neither a place to take refuge in, nor galleys in which to go away.

The Emperor has not much money with him; all his trust is in that which he is to get from the king of France.

The command of the Imperial forces has been given to Antonio de Leyva, which shows that the Emperor intends disposing of the duchy of Milan at his pleasure, or perhaps keeping it for himself. Meanwhile the Duke of Bari has gone to Alessandria, which he has strongly fortified. He also intends strengthening Pavia, whither he has sent six pieces of ordnance; all of which would show that he intends to reject the Emperor's terms; but it seems to me that whatever his efforts he can only meet with loss and shame.

A courier has arrived dispatched by M^me^ Margarita, announcing that the Turk had already taken possession of the whole of Hungary, and was marching upon Vienna, and entreating the Emperor to hasten to the assistance of his brother [Ferdinand] who, he says, is unprovided with the means of defence.—August 1529.

Italian. Copy.

14 Aug. **110.** The Emperor to Praët and Mai, his ambassadors at Rome.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 113.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 45.

The King.—Mr. de Praët, our chamberlain and Privy councillor, and Miçer [Miguel] Mai, our ambassadors in Rome.

From the island of Yères first, and from Savona afterwards, We wrote to you (Praët) and Mai announcing our arrival there, and telling you that We would write again soon more fully. After staying at Savona three or four days, that the infantry might land, We came here [to Genoa] on Thursday the 12th inst., and were received with affection and joy by this Republic, which had previously sent us her ambassadors to the former place.

We intend stopping here some days (*algun dia*), in order to receive letters from you, as well as from the Prince of Orange, and learn the present state of affairs; also for the purpose of affording rest to the men, who have been long at sea. We also expect letters from our aunt of Flanders, to know for certain if peace has been made or not; for letters from Cambray of the 30th ult^o^ state that it was then on the point of being signed. Until We receive authentic information from various parts We do not intend to move from this place, nor have We decided yet which road We shall take. Should We

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go through Piacenza, you will assure His Holiness that every precaution shall be taken to prevent the men from doing injury to the country people.

The Florentines sent to us, to Savona, one person with letters of credence, to say that they were glad to see us in Italy, and to request that We would give audience to four ambassadors more,* whom the community intended sending us in order to treat of certain matters, and, if necessary, to offer their excuses for the past. They wished us in the meantime to send orders to the Prince not to invade their territory, since they they desired to act uprightly (*pues se querian poner en razon*). We, of course, delayed an answer to this request until the credentials of the Florentine ambassador were properly examined, which being done, and the whole affair communicated to the Papal Nuncio, We caused the following reply to be made in our name: "The ambassadors of the Community may come to us whenever they please in all security," nothing more. The Florentine, however, insisted that orders should be transmitted to the Prince [of Orange] to stop his march, and finally said: "The four ambassadors will make all possible haste; but since our request is not granted the Community, if attacked in the meantime shall be defended," and he went away. The Papal Nuncio has already written home about this, and has likewise been informed of the designs of Florence by certain letters just intercepted in which mention is made of Puglia and the Venetians, as well as of levies being made for the relief of their city.

We have had letters from our brother, the king of Hungary, of the 28th ult°, advising that the Turk had advanced as far as Belgrade, with the intention of not stopping in Hungary but passing on to Austria, and taking up winter quarters on Christian territory. You will inform His Holiness and the College of Cardinals of this news, and do your best for the assistance of our brother.

Affair of Utrecht.—Memorandum of Lachaulx and Granvelle, respecting the hospital of Sancti Spiritus at Besançon.—Genoa, 14th August 1529.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5½.

15 Aug. **111.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71.

The Emperor is sending a special messenger to announce his safe arrival on this coast, as well as the receipt of His Highness' letter of the 28th June, containing the very sad news of the invasion of Germany by the Turk. No resolu-

* These were, according to Sandoval (lib. xviii., p. 67), Niccolò Capponi, Tommasso Soderini, Matteo Strozzi, and Raffaele Girolamo, whom that historian calls *Geronymo*. The account agrees with that of Bernardo Segni, *Storie Florentine colla vita di Niccolo Capponi*, Augusta 1722, fol. The "sotto ambassiadore" sent to Savona was Luigi Alamanni, as appears from Varchi, *Storia Florentina*, lib. ix., p. 227.

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tion, however, has yet been taken in this last particular, owing to the Emperor's waiting to see how the conferences at Cambray will end, and what answer the Pope will make to the Emperor's letter, as his wish is to be completely disengaged before he goes to the assistance of his brother.

The Marquis of Mantua (Frederigo) is expected here [at Genoa], and likewise some cardinals whom the Pope sends to congratulate the Emperor. The Imperial troops that landed at Genoa have marched towards Monferrato, there to join Antonio de Leyva.—Genoa, 15th August 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

15 Aug. **112.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. C. 71, f. 217 v°.

The King's letters of the 27th ult° and 12th inst. have been duly received. Should have liked to have announced by that time the conclusion of the peace, but nothing certain was then known about it. Official news, however, has since been received, on the 26th ult° from Rome and from other places, and on the 27th the usual rejoicings commenced. Before the Emperor's landing at Genoa a galley was sent, having on board several officers of the Imperial household (*aposentadores*), with orders to prepare suitable lodgings for the Emperor and his suite; besides which, the ambassador who resides here [Lope de Soria] has dispatched a special messenger to the Pope. Without waiting for further information, the Duke [Alessandro de' Medici], the Pope's nephew, who, it is said, will soon marry the Emperor's daughter [Marguerite], arrived here and was well received. Then came the Marquis Mantua (Frederigo Gonzaga) without much pomp (*triunfo*). He spent a few days at Court, and went away, whether contented or discontented he (Salinas) cannot say, for certainly his claims (*partidos*) seem to be rather exorbitant. Florentine ambassadors came next under safe-conduct. They threw themselves at the Emperor's feet and implored his mercy, but protested at the same time against being subjected to the Pope's rule. Cannot say what will be the upshot of this affair, nor to what determination the Emperor will come.

The Prince of Orange had left Rome, and is coming through the territory of Florence, by which means we shall soon ascertain whether the intentions of that Community be peaceful or otherwise.

Three cardinals—Frenesi (Farnese), Santa Croce, and Medici, came last as Papal legates, and were kindly received by the Emperor. With them came also some Roman nobles.

The Emperor has sent to France Mons. de Laxao (Lachaulx) to be present at the swearing of the peace.

Count Noguerol has arrived with His Highness' despatches. He (Salinas) has seen some of the Privy Council and can

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positively assure His Highness that this business of the Turk will be attended to before any other.

As soon as the Venetians, who seem very anxious for peace, have made their submission, the Emperor will devote himself exclusively to the Turkish war.—Piacenza, 6th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

18 Aug. **113.** INSTRUCTIONS to LEONARD, COUNT OF NOGUEROL.

S. E. L. 635, f. 52. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 59.

You are to go to Genoa, or wherever the Emperor, our brother, may be, offer our congratulations for his safe arrival in Italy, and tell him how much We regret that the state of affairs in Germany prevents us from going personally to visit him.

To say that Sultan Solyman, with a most formidable army, double the number of that which he brought three years ago, when King Louis was slain [at Mohatz], is advancing fast. He has already taken and destroyed Cinco Iglesias Funfkirchen, in Hungary, putting to the sword every one of its inhabitants, and intends, according to all accounts, to march on Vienna.

You will tell him that the resources placed at our disposal by the Imperial Diet, and what few are left in our own paternal dominions are insufficient to arrest the progress of the Infidel, and that if it be true, as reported, that a peace with France has been concluded, this is the time for the whole or part of his Italian army to come to our assistance. Should this not be possible His Imperial Majesty might at least succour us with 3,000 Spanish hackbutiers, of whom we stand more in need than of any other force.

You will beg the Emperor in our name to have a strong fleet fitted out at Naples and Genoa, with which to attack or threaten Verona, sure as We feel that any warlike demonstration in that quarter will cause the enemy to retreat to his own dominions, besides which, any maritime armament of the kind is sure to inspire courage to our men. Should the Emperor hesitate for want of funds or for some other cause to grant us this succour, you will still request him to provide us with reinforcements out and on account of the sums he owes us.

As the Venetians are not included in the treaty with France, and possibly His Imperial Majesty may be obliged to carry on war against them, it is opportune to observe that they (the Venetians) are generally considered to be the promoters and instigators of all these Turkish armaments, and therefore the sooner war is declared against them the better. In our opinion the head of the serpent should be crushed first, and this can be done better and cheaper by sea. If so, let the Emperor know, that in case of an attack by water there is at present here (at Lintz) a very learned person (*persona muy docta*), and of great experience in these matters, who can conduct the undertaking.

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For the best means of carrying out these our instructions you will consult Martin de Salinas, if he should already be at Genoa with the Emperor.—Linze (Lintz), 18th August 1529. *pp.* 2.

— **114.** Report of Secretary Idiaquez on a letter of King Ferdinand to the Emperor, his brother.

S. E. L. 635.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 59 v°.

The King gives as an excuse for the non-arrival of the German recruits that they have been kept long on the road, by want of means, and by having also to wait for the cavalry, which, being unpaid, does not advance.

Intelligence has been received that the Engrave (*landgraf*), assisted by the Lutherans, is actually collecting troops to replace the Duke of Viertenberge (Wurtemberg) in possession of his patrimonial estates, that he may annoy the King now that he seems in difficulties and has his hands quite full.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

18 Aug. **115.** Louis Praët and Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 62–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 48.

Wrote by Captain Ripalti (*sic*), informing him (the Emperor) that the cardinals appointed by the Pope to look into the Traietto business had met to deliberate. Have learned since that two ways of settling the difference are proposed: either to grant that duchy [to the Emperor] in payment of the costs which he sustained there, or as a simple fief. Neither proposition, however, seems acceptable, inasmuch as the mortgagees (*creditiuos*) of such estates do not generally obtain the same obedience from their vassals as the real lords do, and as the Emperor's wish is that people in Italy should live in peace and security, the object could not be attained by such means.

The Pope upon being advised of the Emperor's landing at Savona, has inquired which route His Majesty intends taking. He has been told that nothing has yet been decided.

(*Cipher:*) Hear that the Pope has again spoken to the Venetian ambassador and asked what the Signory's decision is. The ambassador's answer is that until the articles of the treaty of Cambray are made known the Signory cannot decide. Upon being asked what they intended doing in case of their not being comprised in the treaty of peace, the ambassador replied that the Signory would wait to see what course the Emperor would pursue in Italy; and the Pope having observed that from the experience of the past they might anticipate that it could not be otherwise than one advantageous to the country, the Venetian ambassador replied: "In that case the Signory is sure to listen to reason and act for the peace of Italy, consistently with their own security. Should it be otherwise, the Republic is determined to arm and defend its frontiers."

It appears that the Pope suggested also to the ambassador that in case of Venice rejecting the terms of the peace

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the Emperor might send his fleet to the Gulf and cause them some uneasiness. Somewhat startled at this last observation the ambassador rejoined: "If such be the Emperor's intentions, I may tell Your Holiness at once that the Signory will arm 50 galleys for the defence of the Gulf." "The principal difficulty in this matter (he added) is to know what is to become of Milan and to whom it will be given." In this opinion of the ambassador the Pope himself appears to concur, for the other day, knowing that he had given audience to one of Sforza's secretaries, Mai and he (Praët) asked him what were his ideas on the subject, and he (the Pope) answered: "The Milan question is indeed more important than the rest. I will consider it attentively, and if asked to give my opinion upon it will state it sincerely, though such is the Emperor's wisdom that he hardly requires my advice."

Of the insult offered by the ex-Abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) to Cardinal Santa Croce His Majesty has already been informed. Since then we learn by letters from Florence, which have been intercepted, that he (the Abbot) intends enlisting certain forces at Bracciano to overrun the Campania of Rome. It is clear from other letters, also intercepted, addressed by him to his captains, that he perseveres in that intention, and is enlisting under his banners all the soldiers he can. As besides the indignity of his conduct towards that cardinal, it is very probable that after the Imperialists have quitted the Roman territory and gone to Florence the Pope himself may not be secure from the Orsini; an offer has been made in the Emperor's name to assist him with money and troops raised in the lands of the Colonnese, or anything else he may want.

(*Common writing:*) One of the six duplicates of the inhibition of the English business has reached Trent, so at least we hear by letters from Mantua of the 4th inst.

From Naples the news is that the Venetian fleet had suddenly disappeared from the coast of Puglia. Some of the galleys had sailed for the high seas in the direction of Sclavonia, 12 more threatened the Abruzzi and the estates of the Marquis del Vasto.

Colonna and Alarcon seem to dissent on matters of government. Neither are the Marquis del Gasto (Vasto) and Ferrante Gonzaga on very good terms. It is reported that the latter would not acknowledge the Marquis as his superior, and that the light horse under his command are almost in a state of mutiny for want of pay. The same is said respecting the men-at-arms, although it has been reported since that somehow or other they had been lately disbanded. As to the Italians under Fabrizio Marramao (Marramaldo), the report is that they are in a state of complete mutiny, though hopes are confidently entertained that by distributing to them four months' pay the mutiny will subside.

Compensation for Naples.

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Have thanked the Pope for the promotion of Chancellor Gattinara to the cardinalate, and at the same time petitioned for the bishopric of Moriana in favour of (Bartholomeo?). The answer was that the Emperor's pleasure should be done in all things.

Bishopric of Barcelona, and pension on it for the Bishop of Arras (Granvelle). Domenico Pastorelli presented for the bishopric of Alguer.

Bishopric of Huesca. Hopes to get the bulls, though Knight Commander Urries has applied for and obtained a provision of supererogation in favour of his brother, the bishop. This was obtained through Sancti Quatuor, but the Pope has promised to have it revoked.

The Prince intends leaving Rome to-morrow.—Rome, 15th August 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët. Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred and Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 4.

18 Aug. **116.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 60–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 54.

Yesterday, the 17th, the Prince left for Foligno, whence he can threaten Perugia, and see whether he can take it by a *coup de main*. Should he be unsuccessful he will leave it and proceed to Florence. He will stop at Foligno five or six days, to give time for the Italian infantry under Fabricio Marramao, as well as the artillery coming from Siena, to join him. We trust to God that without further pressure Florence will surrender or capitulate. Two nights before the Prince's departure a soldier attempted to break into a shop; he was arrested, tried by court-martial, and hung from a tree before his own lodgings.

Crusade, Quarta, &c.

(*Cipher:*) This English case, like the fan-palm (*palmito*), puts forth every day new shoots. Yesterday the English orators had more than two hours' audience from the Pope, and to-day again a pretty long one. It appears that they now ask that the advocation be not made in the customary form, but that the trial itself be committed to the Pope personally, not to any one else. Our answer has been, that His Imperial Majesty will not object to anything not interfering immediately with the Queen's rights, provided it leads to the King's abandonment of his error. Yet we intend calling to-morrow on Cardinal Ancona, to whom the Pope has entrusted the affair, and will do our best to discover what the King's real intentions are, for at first sight there seems to be something at the bottom of this new move. Of the three English ambassadors two have now left; one only remains, the lawyer (*letrado*), about whom we wrote the other day. This might be a sign that they intend going on with the suit.

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Miçer Andrea del Burgo has been dangerously ill. He is better now, and has applied for leave of absence to go home; the King [of Hungary], however, has refused it on the plea that his presence is much required at Rome just now. The news he (Burgo) has from Hungary is that up to the 19th ult°. the Turk had not yet reached Belgrade.

Were told by the Pope this very morning that he had received intelligence of the peace having been concluded at Cambray, and also that there were two different treaties (*capitulaciones*): one public the other secret. The former comprising all the Italian potentates as confederates and allies of France, provided they made an application within four calendar months. The secret one leaving everything as it were at his (the Pope's) choice. "This grant of so long a term as four months (observed the Pope) might deceive the confederates, who seeing that time was given them to deliberate, might possibly think that they were wanted for the conclusion and settlement of the peace." We told His Holiness that if the confederates thought so they were very much mistaken, and begged him accordingly to send for the Venetian ambassador and undeceive him. He promised he would, though the matter is so public now that the Venetians themselves and the Pope know very well how things stand, besides which the real difficulty is the Milan question, which will perhaps prevent them and the rest from accepting peace. Accordingly we again requested His Holiness to tell us what he thought of that affair, that we might write home. His answer was: "I really cannot say, unless the Emperor's plans and wishes are first known to me: whether he wants the Duchy for himself, or to bestow it on some other prince." "To speak freely (he added) my opinion about the Duke Francesco Sforza and the Duchy is, that if he is not really guilty of the charge brought against him in the first instance, it would be wise and re-assuring to leave him in possession under certain conditions." Our reply was thus worded: "It was never the Emperor's intention to keep the Duchy for himself, but if he is to bestow it on another prince he will naturally prefer his own brother, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, provided the plan meets with Your Holiness' approbation, and ensures the peace of Italy. Your Holiness is aware that many are of opinion that the Duchy ought to be sub-divided." "Never," replied the Pope, "that will not suit the Emperor, inasmuch as Venice would undoubtedly benefit by it, and become in the end mistress of the whole." The Pope then observed that the Duke was in bad health; he had lost the use of his hands and feet, and was not expected to live long. The conference ended by the Pope recommending us to wait until we heard Your Majesty's pleasure, and that in the meantime he would ponder and reflect. On another occasion he told us that he did not approve of the Emperor lowering himself so much as to march personally against the Duke of

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Urbino, or any other captain of the Venetians, and that in case of dividing his army the Emperor ought to make two camps against Venice for the speedier reduction of that city. "At any rate (he added) Verona ought to be attacked, for it is not so strong a place as they (the Venetians) declare. It would be a very important position for the passage to Burgundy."

The ex-Abbot of Farfa is about to join the Florentines. The Pope says that he will try to steal from him (*hurtar*), or take by force of arms his stronghold of Bracciano, whence he is known to make continual incursions to the very gates of this city.—Rome, 18th August 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët. Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 4.

20 Aug. **117.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 225, No. 13.

Wrote last from Monego (Monaco). Has seen the Duke of Savoy and been at Genesve (Geneva). Has also called on the Duchess of Lorraine at Nancy, and delivered the Emperor's message. On the 11th he arrived at Namur. Went thence to Envers (Antwerp) to visit Mons. de Bourgues (D. Iñigo de Mendoza, bishop of Burgos), who had landed there from England some time before. Held a long conference with him respecting the affairs of that country, and on the 16th departed for Valenciennes. At Malines (Mechlin), he (Chapuys) heard that the ambassador [Mendoza] had gone to Brussels. Intends going thither this evening in hopes of finding him. Hears that there is no longer a question of recalling Dr. Lee; that the king of England, on the contrary, wishes his ambassador to remain as long as possible at the Emperor's court, and him (Chapuys) to go as soon as he can to reside at his court. Has here received the Emperor's letter, dated Barcelona, the 22nd of July.—Mons, 20th August 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

21 Aug. **118.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.* c. 225, No. 15.

The Emperor's letter, dated Barcelona, the 23rd of July, has come to hand through the channel of Madame the Princess de la Roche. Hears that letters of credence for the King, the Cardinal, and other personages across the Channel are being drawn up, and, therefore, hopes shortly to start for England. Yet he should very much like to have a conference with Madame before he starts on his mission, for certain doubts have arisen about his general instructions, a copy of which was forwarded by him to Madame. But, occupied as she

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now must be with the business of the Congress [of Cambray], there is very little chance of her being able to attend to this. Perceiving that Don Iñigo did not come to Mons as promised, and that the time for his own departure for England approached, he (Chapuys) decided to set out for Brussels, which he did, but found he (Don Iñigo) had departed the day before, leaving behind him a letter of excuse, and begging him (Chapuys) to put aside all scruples about the recall of Dr. Lee, as both the king of England and the legate wished for nothing short of having an Imperial ambassador at the English court, were it for no other purpose than the reputation to be gained by it at this present juncture.

Before his departure from Brussels the Bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) received a despatch from Rome, announcing the advocation thither of the Queen's case by the Pope. He also has had letters from that country which enable him to certify to Madame that the Pope has issued orders for the inhibition and execution to be made forthwith and at the same time. If, therefore, the whole was done before his arrival in England, it would seem as if nothing could be more opportune than the delay that has occurred. For his commission being entirely one of "douceur et amyteé," it stands to reason that it is far preferable the harm, if any, should be done before his arrival, and he (Chapuys) be freed from the suspicion of having brought it about, which might in a great measure have lessened the graciousness of his charge. Yet should he (Chapuys) find upon his arrival in England that the execution has been accomplished, every effort shall be made on his part to promote the successful issue of this affair, though in so secret a manner, and with such reserve, that these people will not suspect his being mixed up with it. There is plenty of time, since, until next October, the Roman cardinals will not attend to business of any sort.*—20th August.

If the French are as exact in the fulfilment of their promises as they have been careful in recovering from the English the Imperial obligations (*obligaciones*), it will be a proof that they intend henceforwards playing a better game than they have done hitherto.—Bruscelles, 20–1st August 1529.†

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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* Qu' eust grandement decoulouré et amoindré la grace de ma dite charge. Si toutesfoy, lon treuve quel' on ayt exploetté en la ditte execution, j'y donerey tel ordre quel appartient en esforçant le faire si secretement quil ne se puyssent apperçeuoyr que m'en soye mesle, ne que pense ce pourroit conduyre, puys que l'on a temps assez, c'est a sçavoir jusques a Octobre dans le quel les cardinaux no peuvent proceder a nulz actes.

† Under No. 14, in the same bundle, is a private and confidential letter of Chapuys to Nicolas Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle, dated Mons, 20th August, giving an account of his journey from Savoy to Belgium.

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20 Aug. **119.** Loys de Praët and Miguel Mai.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 79-80.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 68.

(*Cipher :*) Wrote on the 5th by a courier, by Ripalta on the 12th, and again on the 18th by Guillaume, the messenger. Are anxiously expecting an answer and instructions.

Four or five days ago the French ambassador entreated the Pope not to bind himself too much to his Imperial Majesty, or take engagements from which he could not afterwards disengage himself. It was a matter of history that popes and emperors were seldom on good terms with each other. He had better make a fresh league with Venice, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, &c. The Pope himself told the ambassadors, and though the Frenchman is not a man of much authority, we deem it advisable to inform Your Majesty.

The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) is coming. We shall soon hear to what purpose, for he is sure to let it out speedily (*se descubrirá presto*). As he intended coming through Siena without any plausible reason, on his application to us for a safe-conduct we answered that it should be granted if the Pope wished it, but that we much preferred his journey to be through any other territory than that of the Sienese.

A man has lately come from Florence to attend, as he says, to his own private affairs, but in reality to spy out what the Prince's plan of campaign against Florence may be. The man himself believes that there will be no effusion of blood, provided His Imperial Majesty should clearly signify to the ambassadors now going to Genoa that his wishes are to re-establish there the rule of the Medici.

The bishopric of Traietto, &c.

The Venetian cardinals and those of the French party, five in all, have voted against our ten. It now remains to be seen whether the Pope will grant the fief or not. Cardinal Ravenna is doing good service in this affair, and says he can count upon his uncle, Ancona.

The Duchess of Urbino has again sent a message to the Pope, saying that not a soul shall stir in her estate to help the Florentines or oppose the Prince in his march. She is willing to receive at her court an agent from the Pope or from the Prince to report on her doings. Of her husband, the Duke, we hear that he has protested against Francesco Sforza and the Venetians, making them responsible for all the misfortunes that may fall upon them, for he says he has not the means of making war or helping them in any way.

A merchant from Siena, Christoval de Villena by name, has shown us to-day a letter from Florence, dated the 13th inst., in which it is advised that in Transylvania the royal army had defeated the Turks under Abraham Basha (Ibrahim Pasha) and the Vayvod. May the news prove true!

Barnaba (*sic*) Adorno, who went by the Prince's command to solicit the speedy arrival of the Germans, writes under date of the 13th inst. from Trent, that the German infantry and

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cavalry, as well as the levies from Flanders, were hastening their movements, and would be in Italy before the end of this month.

It is reported that the Marquis del Gasto (Vasto) with 2,000 Spaniards, and Fernando Gonzaga with most of the light cavalry wish to come from Naples to help the Prince in this Florence expedition. We have accordingly written offering him the services of those captains, but, in our opinion, the kingdom ought not to remain entirely without troops at a time when the Venetians are arming 20 more galleys.

The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) should be allowed to return [from Cambray], for certainly he can be of much use to us here.—Rome, 20th August 1529.

Signed: "Praët.—Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

— July. **120.** The EMPEROR to the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. Fasc.* No. 15.

Madame and aunt. According to the promise lately made by me to the ambassadors of my good brother and uncle, the king of England, your husband, and to those who delivered your verbal message at Saragossa, I now send to England as ambassador Miçer Eustace Chapuys, officer of Genesve (Geneva) of my Privy Council, that he may in my name try and persuade the King, my good brother, to ease his conscience and cast off any scruples and doubts he may have about the legitimacy of his marriage with you. This he can easily do if he will but duly weigh the many reasons and considerations which I then submitted to his ambassadors, and have now charged M. Eustace Chapuys, present bearer, to repeat. I confidently hope that the King's great virtue and magnanimity will prompt him to do that which I consider to be his duty and which must relieve his conscience.

As the said Eustace [Chapuys] is now going to reside in England as my ambassador, I earnestly beg and entreat you, Madame, to bestow favour on him, and assist him in anything he may want for the fulfilment of his charge.—Our Lord, &c., Barcelona [— July 1529].

25 Aug. **121.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 30. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 187.

[*Cipher*:] Wrote on the 5th inst.* reporting on late events, and principally on the Florence expedition, which both he (Mai) and the Cardinal (Santa Croce) have all this time strongly recommended to the Pope. As he invariably excused himself on the ground of his extreme poverty (*se defendia con su pobreza*), nothing could be done. At last it has been agreed that the Pope will give the Prince [of Orange], in various instalments, 9,000 more ducats, and that Florence being recovered and reduced under the Medicean rule, as it was formerly, 150,000 crs. shall be paid into the Imperial treasury, after deducting

* Not in the bundle, which contains few letters before the end of August.

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from that sum all the money he (the Pope) may have given in advance. A new league to be concluded between His Holiness, Florence, and His Imperial Majesty. We are trying to add an article whereby, in case of war, Florence and the Pope shall be bound to contribute 15,000 ducats monthly. If we succeed in the negociation we shall not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty.

As the Pope and all these Imperial servants wish very much to see Your Majesty, it has been considered that this expedition to Florence was most urgent under present circumstances; first of all, to give confidence (*asegurar*) to the Pope, and secondly, the better to protect the kingdom of Naples from aggression.

The Venetians have taken Molfeta and Jovenazzo, and are still on the coast with their galleys; but should the Pope undertake Florence, as announced, the kingdom of Naples will be protected on that side until Your Majesty obtain the desired aim, by concluding a peace with your enemies, or punishing them for their offences.* On the other hand, Florence is a most important acquisition, not only on account of her position, but also on account of the sums with which she can, and must, contribute towards the expenses of the present war. All these considerations have moved us (Santa Croce, Burgo, and Mai) to detach Florence from the enemy, and try and win her over to Your Majesty's side.

It is rumoured that the Florentines are thinking of dispatching an embassy to Your Imperial Majesty. We should much like to be instructed as to what is to be done in this respect, previous to the Pope's consent; he certainly is doing all he can for conciliation, telling them that the Emperor's will must need be complied with according to the clauses of the treaty signed at Barcelona.

The other day news came by way of Siena that they (the Florentines) had made their calculations respecting the Emperor's arrival in Italy, and that the majority had voted for treating us as enemies, although a few entertained a different opinion, and that is why it was considered prudent not to postpone the expedition to Florence, as the reduction of that city would most likely be followed by the submission of Venice and Ferrara.†

We were afraid at first of the Duke of Ferrara opposing the undertaking, but we were mistaken; he has made no stir at all, nor is he likely to make it now that Your Imperial Majesty is in Italy, and yet he is said to be actually raising troops for fear of an attack on Modena and Reggio.

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* "Y parece que haziendo esta empresa el Papa, está todavia á las espaldas del Reyno."

† "Por via de Sena se supo este otro dia como havian hecho en Florencia sus cuentas, que dizen ellos, sobre la bienaventurada venida de V. Mt. y que los senadores y otros havian dado las havas del voto que tractassen á V.Mt. como enemigo."

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The same suspicions were entertained about the Duke of Urbino, to whose assistance, as reported, the Venetians were about to send 3,000 infantry, but the Duchess, his wife [Eleonora], has lately sent the Pope two or three messages by Antonio de la Rovera (della Rovere), to say that on no account shall any of her vassals take up arms [against the Emperor]. The same assurance has been conveyed to us [the ambassadors]; but both the Pope and the Prince [of Orange] are nevertheless thinking of sending people to report on the real state of affairs in the estate of Urbino.

Malatesta [Baglione], the chief cause of all this mischief, has himself lately been treating with the Prince, and offers now to take service under the Emperor. The Pope thinks that his proposals should not be disregarded; the ambassadors entertain the same opinion, provided Your Imperial Majesty lose no reputation thereby. However this may be, whether Malatesta makes his submission or not, the Imperial commanders have decided not to lose time at Perugia, but march straight on to Florence, for that city once reduced, all the rest will naturally fall.

The Pope a few days ago touched on the subject of the Duke Sforza's much talked of submission, but in the hope of His Majesty's speedy arrival in these parts the ambassadors are waiting to hear what will be his pleasure. The Duke [Francesco] has sent one of his most trusty servants to Morone, and this latter has dispatched a messenger to the Prince [of Orange] thereupon. Nothing will, however, be done without the Pope's intervention in this affair, or before fuller instructions are received by the ambassadors.

(*Common writing:*) As it was known by intercepted letters that the ex-Abbot of Farfa had offered to raise 1,000 men for Florence, a body of troops was sent to scour the roads. Having fallen in with one of the Abbot's secretaries, they took from him 3,000 ducats, which he was carrying to pay his master's men. At the Pope's express desire the commission was entrusted to one of the Prince's officers, to make it appear as if the arrest of the secretary and seizure of the money were ordered by the Prince and Pope conjointly, not by the Pope alone. In consequence of this arrest the ex-Abbot the other day secured the person of the most Revd. Cardinal Santa Croce, who was going to Your Imperial Majesty as one of the three Papal legates, and although he himself had expressly written two or three days before to say that the Cardinal had nothing to fear from him, or his men, and might proceed on his journey unmolested, yet he was stopped on the road and he and his suite robbed of whatever money they carried. The ex-Abbot has been written to, but he declares that he will not set the Cardinal at liberty as long as his own secretary remains a prisoner. (*Cipher:*) This is no doubt a grave affair, and one at which the Pope himself, the Prince [of Orange], and all the Imperialists of this city have been greatly shocked, so much

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so that the cardinals met yesterday to consider the case, and see what is to be done about it. Were it not for the loss of time which an undertaking of this sort is likely to cause, the Prince [of Orange] himself would willingly have started in pursuit of the marauder at the head of some of his forces, for the Cardinal's detention took place only four or five days' march from this place; but the Pope has given strict orders that the other two legates should proceed on their mission, leaving for another opportunity the chastizement of the ex-Abbot, who certainly richly deserves it for his insolence, and the many atrocities he has committed at other times.

(*Cipher :*) Cardinal Cornaro, who, as His Imperial Majesty must have heard by a former despatch, has lately thrown out hopes of a settlement with Venice, has just informed the ambassadors that he is expecting an answer from the Signory on Thursday next. The Pope is helping as much as he can in the negociation, for it is in his interest, and he sincerely wishes for it. Prothonotary Caracciolo, who is now negociating at Mantua to the same purpose, has been told to hasten as much as he can his business in that quarter. Having asked His Holiness' advice as to what the Emperor had better do when he landed [in Italy], his answer was: "Let him bring with him a substantial peace, and treat all the Italian princes with mildness; that will be the surest way to do God service, and the best antidote against Turkish invasion, and the spreading of the Lutheran heresy over Germany."

(*Common writing :*) The French ambassador having the other day complained that this alliance [with the Pope] was the real cause of Your Imperial Majesty coming [to Italy], the Pope replied very wisely: "I have done my duty both to God and man. As far as the Emperor is concerned, I have always observed that with good management and fortune his affairs invariably prospered and turned out to his advantage." Next day the French ambassador warned the Pope not to bind himself so closely to Your Majesty that he should not afterwards be able to separate from him. Experience (he said) had shown that popes and emperors were not always in the best harmony possible. The Pope's answer on this occasion was that he feared nothing of the sort. He has since laughed at the ambassador's simplicity in saying such things, though if the truth be told the ambassador does not seem much qualified for the post, and sometimes is several days without getting a letter from his king.

Bulls for the Crusade and "Quarta."

Military orders of Calatrava and Alcantara.

Payment of the census or fee of Naples to be prorogued until the 1st of October.

Brief of absolution to the parties concerned in the trial and execution of Bishop Acuña.

The galleys of the order of St. John were on the coast of Sardinia on the 20th of July, bound for Malta.

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A courier has arrived from England in nine days, bringing the duplicate of the powers of attorney granted by Her most Serene Highness the Queen of England, as well as a copy of the proceedings instituted hitherto. It is said that the sentence has been prorogued until the 1st of October, which is highly advantageous, for in the meantime the inhibition and the advocation of the cause [to Rome], which have been dispatched by six different routes, cannot fail to arrive.

It would be advisable to send some galleys to the coast of Puglia to prevent the Venetian fleet, in case of the present negociations with the Signory failing, doing more harm in those parts.

News has come from France by two successive couriers, intimating that a peace had been concluded [at Cambray] between Your Majesty and the kings of France, England, and Hungary. But as no one seems to know here whether the confederated Italian powers are comprised in it or not, and if they are, in what capacity, the whole of Italy is anxiously expecting information on that score. We ourselves ought to be informed as soon as possible, because the Pope himself wishes to know the particulars, and is continually asking us about them.

At Florence all letters are opened and read. Therefore, though Your Majesty's visit to Italy is likely to put a stop to such practices, yet it would be advisable to have them addressed to Piacenza, or by sea to Plumbin (Piombino), whence they may safely come to Rome.

Yesterday was the day fixed for the meeting of Sancti Quatuor and Cesarino at the palace of Cardinal Ancona, for the purpose of discussing the Traietto affair; but as on the same day and hour a congregation of cardinals was announced to take into consideration the misdeeds of the ex-Abbot of Farfa it could not take place.

Bauri went away three or four days ago to be married to a daughter of the late Marco Antonio Colonna.

Cardinal San Severino, as Your Majesty has already been informed, has laid himself much open to suspicion (*sospechoso*) in the affairs [of Naples.]—Rome, 25th August* 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 19.

28 Aug. **122.** Lous de Praët and Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 69. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 91.

Have informed the Emperor in a former despatch that the English ambassadors had petitioned the Pope to have the summons and inhibition lately gained in the matrimonial suit

* By a mistake of the clerks this despatch was dated April the 25th instead of August.

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of the king of England modified, and mentioned the answer made by them (Praët and Mai) on that occasion. Accordingly yesterday, the 27th, they waited on the Pope and told him that if he wished to suspend the trial for one month or two, so as to give the king of England time to consider and find out, as he said, on which side justice was, they (the Imperial ambassadors) would be glad of it. The suspension, however, was not to be so long as to send us to sleep (*adormentarnos*), and then take us unawares in their usual manner by renewing the suit whenever they (the English) found a fit opportunity.* The Emperor and the Queen of England herself had no other wish than to put an end to this affair, if possible, by fair means. Should these prove unavailable, they wished to have it tried by law rather than remain in a state of perplexity and doubt.

As, moreover, the English ambassadors wished the Pope to advoke the cause to his court, we requested him not to do so; without, however, showing any mistrust or suspicion, as he might otherwise receive much annoyance on opposing such touchy and delicate people as these seem to be. Since the affair had been committed to the Rotta, and was to be referred afterwards to a consistory of cardinals, we suggested that His Holiness was not bound to take more trouble than he had already done about it.

The real truth is that although my colleague and myself show no mistrust of the Pope, we do not at all approve of his taking up the affair, for he may die, and be succeeded by another Pope whose circumstances may vary, and the English ambassadors be thereby encouraged to ask for new decrees, as they have done hitherto, and thus recover the influence they once had and still have at this court.† For the truth is that they (the English) are great favourites here; whether it be in consequence of the Pope's good faith and kind disposition towards them, or because they purchase favour from some of his ministers, we cannot say; but the fact is that they bribe right and left, and are known to spend large sums of money in this affair.

To the third article in their petition, which was that certain words which might throw discredit upon their king, should be suppressed in the warrant (*commission*), our answer was, that if they would only point out those they objected to we would do everything to have them modified or suppressed.‡

We have, however, agreed with the Pope to wait until the treaty of peace recently concluded at Cambray is ratified and made public, as the English king may then modify his opinions respecting the commission issued on the 26th of July, at a time

* "Quando tuviessen otra ocasion á su modo."

† "O quando cesare otro mal seria dar esperanza á los Ingleses que cada dia querrian nuevas decretales, como han pedido hasta agora ó otros regalos, porque en verdad ellos estan muy regalados. No sabemos la causa si es por sola la buena fe del Papa, ó si la compran de alguno de los ministros."

‡ "Que no faltariamos en lo que buenamente se pueda afloxar."

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when he himself was very far from thinking that a general peace should be made.—Rome, 28th August 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

30 Aug. S. E. L. 26, ff. 192-3. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 98.

123. Memorandum of Francisco de los Covos, the Emperor's First Secretary.*

Owing to the news lately received of the armaments made by the Turk, the Emperor is absolutely determined to put an end to his business in Italy, in order to march to the assistance of his brother, the king of Hungary.

The Emperor and His Holiness the Pope are to meet at Rome, to consider the most efficacious means of arresting the progress of the Infidel. The ambassadors of France, England, and all the Christian powers to meet also there for the same purpose.

Subsidies in money to be immediately procured from the Emperor's various kingdoms in Spain.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

29 Aug. S. E. L. 849, f. 5.

124. The Emperor to the Pope.†

On his arrival at Genoa lost no time in writing to His Holiness. Has since received his letters brought by "nuo genero et figliulo," Alessandro de' Medici, as well as by Abbate Negro (del Nero?) and others. Is glad to hear that His Holiness is pleased with his coming, for as he (the Emperor) has already written and assured him many a time, it is only intended for his complete happiness and the benefit of Christianity. Having, moreover, understood from the said Alessandro, as well as from the cardinals, his legates, who came afterwards, and from his Nuncio (the Bishop of Vaison), that His Holiness wished to see him as soon as possible, he had decided, with the advice of the said Nuncio, to take the road to Piacenza, and thence send forward his army—both the Spaniards who have come with him and the reinforcements he is daily expecting from Germany, Flanders, and Burgundy—that he might, with greater security, oppose his enemies or make peace with them.

* According to a note on the dorse of this memorandum, circular letters were to be addressed to the President [Tavera] and to the Council of Castille; to the Bishop of Zamora; to the Council of Finances; the Archbishop of Toledo; the Count of Miranda [D. Francisco de Zuñigay Avellaneda]; Don Juan Manuel; [D. Alonso de] Fonseca; Diego Hurtado; the accountants of the Crusade; the Treasurer Alonso Gutierrez, clerk in the Finances, &c., and to all those who had anything to do with Salina's commission, which was to collect as soon as possible the service in money voted by the Cortes of 1528, and take it out of Spain; no easy operation, as may be seen by Salina's subsequent despatches.

† This letter, which the Emperor wrote in his own hand, was published by Ziletti, *Lettere di Principi*, Venetia 1581, vol. ii. p. 185. If the date of the draft at Simancas is correctly given it must have been signed by the Emperor on the eve of his leaving Genoa, for, according to the Vandeness' Itinerary, he left that city on the 30th.

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Whilst things were in this state, and he was making preparations to carry out the above design, a messenger arrived dispatched by his aunt, Margaret, with the news of the peace of Cambray. Will, nevertheless, prosecute his journey to Piacenza, and decide there when and where he is to have an interview with His Holiness.—Genoa, 29th August 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

30 Aug. **125.** J. DE BALBI to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. *Corresp. d. Karl. V.*, Vol. I., p. 329.

Arrived at Aleppo on the 16th inst. Was obliged to stop in that city, being unable to proceed on his journey to Persia on account of the frontiers swarming with Turks, ready to attack the Sophi, who by this time has invaded the dominions of the Turk and taken several of his towns. Will do all he can to continue his journey towards Persia. Part of Syria has revolted against Sultan Solyman; but as his recent successes [in Hungary] have been celebrated, both here and elsewhere, with bonfires and rejoicings, Cairo and Damascus have not joined in the movement, and remain faithful. Has written from Dalzanto (the island of Zante), advising the arrival at Modon of about 50 galleys of the Venetians, and 15 more of the Turk, the crews of which were expecting news of His Majesty being soon in Italy and taking up arms against the Turk, in which case they will all revolt, inasmuch as all the Turkish forces in Syria are, as above stated, in front of the Sophi.

Has only 10 days to march before he reaches his destination.—Aleppo, 30th August 1529.

Signed: "J. de Balby."

Indorsed: "Received at Bologna on the last day of December."

French. pp. 2.

30 Aug. **126.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS ISABELLA.

S. A. G. *Guerra*, L. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 93.

Wrote on the 22nd by Luis Sarmiento. Since then three cardinals have arrived, sent by the Pope, also four Florentine ambassadors, who have offered their submission. Wishing, however, to fulfil strictly his obligations to the Pope, has sent orders to the Prince [of Orange] to leave Rome with the army and lay siege to Florence. A Ferrarese ambassador has likewise come, who will be treated in the same way as the Florentines.

Intends going to Piacenza as soon as his army has been got together. Hopes to meet the Pope there.

With respect to the Dauphin and to the Duke of Orleans, his wish is that they be strictly watched and not allowed to speak to any one except in the presence of the Constable of Castille or of his brother, the Marquis de Berlanga. They

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are, moreover, to have 4,000 ducats a year for their common expenses.—Genoa, 30th of August 1529.

P.S.—Wednesday the 25th, at night. Guillaume de la Barch,* his secretary, arrived with the news of the peace concluded at Cambray. Bregilles, Madame's High Equerry, took a similar message to Spain. The ratification only is wanting, which he (the Emperor) will be glad to sign as soon as possible. Has written by this post to the viceroys of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Navarra, to have the peace proclaimed everywhere and lay the frontiers open.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Addressed: "To the most high and mighty Empress and Queen, our dear and beloved wife."

Indorsed: "From His Imperial Majesty to the Empress Isabella. Brought by Luis Sarmiento."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 7½.

— Aug. S. E. L. 852, ff. 29–30. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 390.

127. Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon (Covos).

Has had a conversation with the Pope respecting Ferrara, and Fornari's debt to the Capuan. His Holiness promised to look into both these affairs, and also to grant the Archbishop of Santiago [Tavera] the "Indulto quadragesimal" for six years.

With regard to the pension on Toledo the affair has been put into the hands of three cardinals to report upon. They are to meet soon, and he (Mai) is to be present at the deliberations.

Respecting the English business, the Pope says that he has heard that the father of the lady, and the rest are very sorry (*arrepentidos*) that they ever offered to state their reasons in writing. His [the Pope's] opinion is that the trial must go on, for he believes the English will ultimately yield [*blanderean*]. The Emperor ought to speak fair words to them, as he has been always in the habit of doing.

With regard to the Crusade, and the new application for it, he (Mai) has been referred to Cardinal Sancti Quatuor.

According to Mugettola (*sic*) three years are owing of the new "censo" (feudal rent) for Naples. One in the Duke's time,† another in his [Muxetula's], and a third since he [Mai] has been at Rome. On St. Peter's day next‡ there will be four, making altogether 28,000 ducats. Benevento has only been pledged for 19,000, so that next month 9,000 ducats will be required

* Thus written in the draft, but evidently a mistake, for his name was Guillaume des Barres, about whom see part 2, p. 373. As to Bregilles, his Christian name was *Jean*. He had formerly been employed by Margaret of Austria. See Vol. III., part 1, p. 107.

† The Duke here mentioned must be Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba *Duke of Sessa*, Imperial ambassador in Rome from 1523 until his death, in 1526. Muscetula (here called Mugettola) filled a similar post at Orbietto and Viterbo, till the arrival of Mai in 1527. See vol. III., part 2, pp. 849–51.

‡ The 29th of June 1530. (?)

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for the payment of the said feudal rent, besides 1,000 more for the trappings, &c. of the white steed (*hacanea*)* to be presented on the occasion.†

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

— **128.*** The SUMS of MONEY claimed by the KING of HUNGARY.

S. E. L. 635, f. 145.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 62.

Ferdinand, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, claims the following sums from his brother, the Emperor Charles.

	Florins.
1st. For the debt to George, Duke of Hesse - - - -	213,330
2nd. Paid to the regents (*Regimiento*) of the Empire, on the Emperor's account‡	79,277
3rd. Paid to the Count Palatine, on account of what the Emperor owes him.§ -	17,000
4th. Paid to Count Horne - -	3,000
5th. Paid to the Duke of Brunswick, as part of the 20,000 gold florins which he claims as arrears - - -	10,000
Making altogether - -	322,607
The King has received from the Emperor, his brother, 200,000 ducats in three different instalments, without including 200,000 more lately received, and which amount in full to the sum of gold florins	270,000
Which leaves a balance of gold florins 52,607 in favour of His Highness, the King - - - -	52,607
To the above total sum owing to the King by his brother, the Emperor, must be added 140,417, being the debt of Naples with interest.	
Six thousand florins, however, to be deducted from the Palatine's account, bring down the Emperor's debt to - -	6,000 / 46,607

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

* Hacanea (in *Fr.* haqueneé, *It.* chinea) was the hackney or white steed which the kings of Naples had to present every year to the Pope in sign of vassalage.

† As the letter is not dated, it is difficult to fix the precise day and month in which it was written. This must have been after the Emperor's landing at Villafranca di Nizza on the 5th of August, and subsequent journey to Savona on the 9th, where he is known to have made a stay of three days. He then went to Genoa, where he remained till the end of the month. I have therefore placed it between the 12th of August, the date of the Emperor's landing at Genoa, and the 30th, when according to the Itinerary, the Emperor left for Piacenza. All this time Francisco de los Cobos, or Covos, High Commander of Leon, to whom Mai's letter is addressed, was Charles' principal secretary.

‡ On the margin of this paper are notes in Gattinara's handwriting like the following : "Let the vouchers be produced."

§ The Palatine's receipt in full must also be exhibited.

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— **129.** OPINION on the above MEMORANDUM of DEBTS owing by the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 635, f. 146.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 63.

With regard to the king of Hungary's claim on the treasury of Naples, amounting to 140,417 florins, its justice is at once acknowledged; but as the finances of that kingdom are so exhausted, it will be impossible to pay immediately so large a sum. An arrangement might, however, be made for the King to receive at Naples a proportionate quota every year, with interest, until the final extinction of the debt.

As to other claims, amounting together to 200,000 ducats, my opinion is, that if to the last remittance of 100,000 we add 10,000 more paid for discount, besides 50,000 remitted on former occasions, the Emperor's debt to the King, his brother, will be considerably reduced thereby, and the balance can easily be paid out of the service money to be demanded from the Lutheran princes and towns. And if the sums obtained from such sources, either by voluntary gifts, or by way of fines imposed as punishment for past offences, &c., be considerable, as is to be expected, the remainder, after paying the Emperor's debt to his brother, might be applied to settle the claims of the other princes; and then the 300,000 ducats, which the Emperor is to give shortly, could be devoted exclusively to the expenses of Ferdinand's election as king of the Romans, and also to the Hungarian war. This, however, cannot be thought of for the present, as our calculations might turn out incorrect.

With respect to the further sum of 200,000 crs., which the Emperor has promised to bestow on his brother, the King, there is no difficulty. Salinas may at once be sent to Spain to collect the money and bring it with him, for certainly 10,000 wisely spent now in the election will be more profitable than 20,000 at a future period.

At any rate, if the Emperor's debt to his brother could not now be paid in full a proportionate sum might be taken out of the aforesaid 200,000 crs. and exclusively destined for that purpose.

In my opinion the expenses of the election ought to be attended to first; those of the Hungarian war next. Should, however, the King think that both undertakings can be conducted at once, let it be so, though with this understanding, that the election is by far the more important of the two, inasmuch as there has been already some talk against it.

The election to be dealt with in this manner: The sum of money to be spent therein, and which ought, of course, to be as small as possible, to be taken, as above stated, out of the 200,000 crs.; for, after all, it is but just that the Empire, for which His Imperial Majesty has made so many sacrifices and exposed himself to so many dangers, and the King's own patrimonial estates should divide the expenses equally. On the other hand, Ferrer's proposal* deserves consideration. The

* A treasurer of this name was about this time in Italy, having sailed from Barcelona with the Emperor. His Christian name was Bartholomé. See vol. III., part 2, pp. 611 and 757.

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claims of the princes ought to be placed exclusively to the King's account. If he cannot pay let the Emperor lend him the money, and deduct it from his intended gift. But the Palatine's demands are, in my opinion, so exorbitant that the greatest caution must be used in examining them, lest by granting them in this case we should encourage other princes to make similar applications.

Spanish. Original draft in Gattinara's hand. pp. 3.

2 Sept. **130.** The EMPEROR to the GRAND CHANCELLOR GATTINARA.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 507. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 6.

The Florentine ambassadors have sent one of their number to treat with us, the very same who came to Savona. His name is Lalamant.* Having asked him whether he had powers to treat also with the Pope, he said no; he and his colleagues had only power to treat with us, as the Community of Florence did not intend treating with the Pope. Upon which We declared to him, as We have done at other times, that We could in nowise enter into negociations with the Community unless they were conducted at the same time through the Papal Nuncio. The ambassadors then sent to Florence for instructions. Should they receive full powers to treat in the manner above specified, We have promised to treat with them as good princes.

We have letters from Antonio de Leyva, announcing that according to advices received from Count Felix [de Werdenberg], on the 28th inst., the Flemish and Burgundian troops would begin to march together.—Gavy,† 2nd September 1529.

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "Perrenot."

Addressed: "A Monsieur le Gran Chancellier, le comte de Gattinara."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

* Luigi Alamanni, a celebrated poet of these days, son of Piero and nephew (?) of Jacopo, who was beheaded at Florence in 1528. Bernardo Segni in his *Storie Florentine*, pp. 51–3, speaks of him at full length, and so does Benedetto Varchi in his *Storia Fiorentina*, pp. 107, 111, 114. Neither of those writers, however, mentions the fact of Alamanni having presented himself to Charles on his first landing at Savona (9-12 of August), though both agree that he was a great friend of Andrea Doria, had accompanied him to Barcelona when that captain went thither with his fleet, and had on his return to Genoa written to the gonfaloniere (Niccolo Capponi) and to the Dieci that it was advisable to cast off the French alliance and make terms with the Emperor.

† This minute is dated the 2nd of *August*, but as will be shown hereafter there must be an error. According to the Itinerary published by Mr. Bradford (p. 494), the Emperor left Genoa on the 30th of August, passed by Monastero and Borgo de' Fornari, and was on the 1st of September at Gavio (Gavi) which he left for Castell San Giovanni next day. On the 6th he arrived at Piacenza, where he stayed till the 24th, &c. In a more recent, and I must say more careful publication of the same Itinerary by Mr. Gachard, in the original French text of Vandenesse, (*Voyages des Princes de la maison d'Autriche*, Brussels, 1859, vol. I., p. 84), the fact of the Emperor's having left Gavi on the 2nd September is fully confirmed, and therefore I consider myself justified in changing the date as I have done.

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[1] Sept. **131.** ALARCON* to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,005, f. 84. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 105.

Has found the army in such a state of insubordination that it is almost impossible, without extreme severity, both as regards the men and the captains themselves, to reduce them to obedience. The Marquis del Guasto (Vasto) and Hernando Gonzaga have allowed too much liberty to their men, and the consequence is that the captains of infantry and cavalry fancy themselves independent, and consider the people and their property as absolutely belonging to them, or even worse, for they would not willingly destroy and ruin their own property. Begs permission and authority to take energetic measures against them.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

1 Sept. **132.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 16.

On my arrival at this city (London) I found that the King had already gone to a place upwards of 60 miles distant, where he generally spends his time in hunting. As no one could inform me as to the precise time and spot whereat I could meet him, I, by the advice and recommendation of the Queen and other well-disposed persons, friends to Your Imperial Majesty, and following also the example of other ambassadors who have to negociate, sent one of my secretaries to inquire when and at what place it would be the King's pleasure that I should wait upon him. I expect an answer every hour, and when received will lose no time in presenting my credentials, and acquainting Your Majesty with the result of the first interview.

Meanwhile, I cannot pass over in silence certain information I have obtained since my landing. (*Cipher :*) It is generally and almost publicly stated that the affairs of the Cardinal are getting worse and worse every day. For some time past the King has forbidden any applications for audience to be made to him by foreign ambassadors, those of France not excepted, who have at all times found refuge in him. So much so that M. de Langes (Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeay), who arrived from France a fortnight ago, was here in London full eight days waiting for an answer to his application, and although the Cardinal was not far from this city, and the French secretary had nothing to do but to go backwards and forwards with the ambassador's message to the Cardinal's residence, I am informed that the meeting did not ultimately take place, and that they held no communication whatever, which is so strange that there must be some substantial cause for it.

(*Cipher :*) The cause of this misunderstanding between the King and the Cardinal can be no other than the utter failure of the measures taken in order to bring about the divorce, on which failure those parties, who for a long time have been watching their opportunity to revenge old injuries, and take

* Hernando de Alarcon, who at this time commanded the Spaniards in Naples.

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the power out of the Cardinal's hands, have founded their attacks to undermine his influence with the King, and get the administration of affairs in their own hands.

The people who have thus sworn the Cardinal's ruin I shall name in my next despatch, when I have obtained more credible information on this point. The object of M. de Langeais'* late mission was, if I am rightly informed, to recover what still remained of the rings [and jewels of Maximilian] in this country, and also to ask for some help in money towards the sum stipulated by the peace of Cambray, as payment of the ransom. And I was told this very morning by M. de Bayonne, the brother of De Langes, who came to call at my lodgings, that this request of the King, their master, was readily granted, and that he is sure to get as much money as he wants for that particular purpose.

There has been lately a question of sending ambassadors to the Emperor. Besides those whose names I gave in a former despatch, there is now much talk about the Admiral of England and Mr. de Montjoye (Lord Mountjoy), the Queen's Chamberlain; but, after all, I presume that they will appoint the Master of the Horse (Sir Nicholas Carew) and Dr. Sampson, and perhaps a third. The first two named will not make a long stay; the other will remain as resident ambassador at the Imperial Court. There is likewise a rumour that George Boleyn, a brother of the Lady Anne, is to form part of a new embassy to France. Who the others are to be I cannot tell yet.—London, 1st September 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

French. Original. pp. 2.

1 Sept. **133.** PRAËT and MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 88. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 106.

Since their despatch of the 28th ult°.,† which Albornoz took to Genoa, no news has been received from Venice; nor has there been an answer to the letter which Cardinal Cornaro wrote to the Signory nine days ago. This, however, cannot be long delayed, for the Pope assured the Venetian ambassador the other day that he had heard the Duke Francesco Sforza had actually come to terms with the Emperor. As the Venetians besides know that the Imperial fleet is fast getting ready, and that more reinforcements are expected from Germany, it is probable that they will ere long sue for peace. We know, moreover, that they have written to Florence and Leghorn, begging to be kept "au courant" of events in those parts.

The Marquis del Guasto (Vasto) arrived here on Sunday last, and was very well received by the Pope, who ordered

* Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeais, which title is variously written *Lange*, *Langé*, *Langey*, according to the various mode of pronunciation; the editor of his Memoirs writes Du Bellai-Langei.

† No. 122.

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rooms to be prepared for him at the Palace. He (the Marquis) told us this morning that 2,000 Spanish infantry are to arrive to-morrow, and that he himself will leave Rome at night, in order to avoid any meeting with the ex-Abbot of Farfa, as he has only brought 50 or 60 light horse for his escort. In two or three days he (the Marquis) will join the Prince of Orange, of whom we have no news save those contained in our letter of the 28th, by Albornoz, namely, that he was at Foligno, and meditated the enterprize of Espelli,* and that Juan de Urbina had received an arquebuse shot in the calf of his leg, though the wound was reported at first not very dangerous.

The Pope has had letters from Florence, in which they hold out hopes of reconciliation.

The bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) arrived here two days ago, as ambassador from the king of France. He comes last from Venice and Florence. He had yesterday an audience from the Pope. Did not positively speak against peace, but assured His Holiness that neither the Florentines nor the Venetians would move one step in the negociations without the consent and advice of the King, his master. In short, the bishop pretends, as it appears, to set the world to rights with his own hand (*asentar el Mundo de su mano*).

(*Cipher :*) The chief object of this despatch is to report proceedings in the divorce trial. As stated in their joint letter of the 28th ult°, an attempt was made by the English ambassadors in general, and by one of them in particular, strongly backed by His Holiness the Pope, to make us give way in a few things, and consent to a suspension of the proceedings. This (they alleged) might be the means of bringing their master, the King, to reason ; but although peace has been concluded and signed, no signs of giving way on their part are visible, and they are still petitioning the Pope for three things, namely: 1st. For the suit to be removed from the Rotta, and placed entirely in His Holiness' hands. 2nd. For a suspension of the judicial proceedings at the Pope's pleasure (*beneplacito*). 3rd. For the revocation of all censures fulminated against the King personally.

Our answer to these proposals, which, as above stated, have been and are still strongly backed by His Holiness, has been in general terms that, however inclined we, the Imperial ambassadors, might feel to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, we dared not and could not stir in the matter without first consulting Your Majesty.† The affair was too

* Also called *Spello* and *Hispelli* in Umbria, between Foligno and Perugia.

† A note in Gattinara's handwriting has the following: "If the suspension, 'a beneplacito,' is really recommended by the Pope there can be no objection to it, provided the evocation (*evocacion*) take effect, and the inhibition to the judges remain firm and valid. It would, therefore, be advisable to please His Holiness in this as well as in other matters, and do at the same time a kindness to the English King, who might be induced to grant without dispute that which we ask of

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important for us to assume so great a responsibility. We told the Pope, &c.

(Repeat word by word the statements made in their despatch of the 28th August, and then continue):

(*Common writing:*) Cardinal Doria's presentation to the bishopric of Elna* cannot take place until Lic^te^. Valdes,† who has been promoted to the see of Orense, takes out his bulls. This is naturally delayed until the latter remits money or bills of exchange to defray the expense, for these Roman gentlemen never accept a bishop without ascertaining first what his credit may be at his banker's.

Cardinal Campeggio and the bishopric of Huesca.—The son of Felipe Cervellon presented for the abbacy of Villa Beltran.

Beg that the Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) be recalled to Rome as soon as possible. He can be of much use here. The Pope is of a vacillating temper (*hasto dubio*), and his ministers are mostly of a different mode of thinking (*de otro designo*) to himself.

Your Imperial Majesty knows no doubt that the Venetians have lately overrun the whole coast of Otranto, taking possession of Brindisi, though most of the Emperor's servants had time to take refuge in the castle. This might become a very serious affair should the Venetians be driven to despair and deliver that town into the hands of the Turk, as there has been already some talk of doing.

Enclose summary of letters from Hungary to Miçer Andrea del Burgo and to Count Leonardo Nogarolo.—Rome, 1st September 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

3–4 Sept. **134.** PRAËT and MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 87.
B. M. *Add.* 8,579, f. III.

Wrote the day before yesterday by Captain Juan Baptista Gastaldo and also on the 28th ult^o^. Since then Hispello (Spello) has surrendered at discretion, a most important acquisition, as the castle is very strong and was defended by no less than 500 foreign adventurers. The Pope and all his friends are delighted at the news, as the reduction of such a fortress is considered a good beginning towards the enterprize of Perugia and Florence.

Respecting these cities the last news is rather good, for the Prince has sent to the former place one Giovanni Pietro Cafarello, a Roman gentleman, considered to be a good

him, and abandon his purpose in time and without humiliation. Since the Imperial ambassadors seem to consult over the case, and ask for instructions, they may at once give a satisfactory answer in this affair, both to His Holiness and to the English ambassadors, and grant the request of the latter, provided the Queen's interests do not suffer through it, and the suspension may be the means of her being better treated in the meantime."

* Elne in the Roussillon, the see of a bishopric afterwards transferred to Perpignan.

† Don Fernando Valdés, who in 1546 became archbishop of Seville.

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Imperialist, and who is besides a brother-in-law of Malatesta. As he did lately make proposals here for the reduction of Perugia to the Papal sway it is confidently expected that he will bring back a favourable answer. With regard to Florence, the Pope has had letters which he has shown to us, stating that his partisans had begun to speak in his favour freely and fearlessly, and that immediately after Your Majesty's answer to the Florentine ambassadors was known they would send an embassy to the Pope to treat for the surrender. We learn besides through intercepted letters from that city that the Florentines had lately dismissed Ercole d' Este, the son of the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso), who used to be the commander-in-chief of all their forces.

The ex-Abbot of Farfa, with the money taken from one of his secretaries, and which we were obliged to refund to him in order to obtain the liberty of Cardinal Santa Croce, whom he took prisoner, has lately been enlisting more men, with whom he overruns the Campagna to the very gates of Rome. Almost every day he is to be seen on the roads leading to this capital committing depredations, stopping passengers, &c. Last week he detained an Imperial courier coming to us with despatches, whether from the Prince of Orange or from Antonio de Leyva we cannot precisely say. The Pope does not consider himself secure, and every night a strong detachment is sent outside Rome, and sentries are posted in various places from fear of a surprise. We have often requested His Holiness to put an end to this man's outrages, and offered to assist him with the Imperial forces, but his excuse is that he has no money, and besides that he knows through his spies that the ex-Abbot is soon to go to Florence. When he does (he tells us), every effort shall be made to get possession of his stronghold, the castle of Bracciano. Meanwhile this palace of the Embassy where Mai and myself (Praët) reside has been well provided with artillery and men, so that should the ex-Abbot attempt a "coup de main" he will be well received. Your Imperial Majesty has been duly informed of various conferences which the French ambassador is said to have held with the Pope, with a view no doubt to make him desert the Imperial cause and join the Italian League. Wishing to know more about this, we adroitly inquired from the Pope whether the Bishop [of Tarbes] had really mentioned the names of the supposed confederates. He told us he had not, and moreover that he showed discontent with the Venetians, though he said that neither the Florentines nor Malatesta, the lord of Perugia, would do anything without consulting the King, his master. There may be some truth in this, for the other day a secretary of that captain, who was returning from France with money, which he said was the amount of Malatesta's pay whilst in the service of Francis, was arrested on the road by the Pope's men and brought here, and when the Bishop knew of it he claimed both the prisoner and the money as belonging to his master, upon which the Pope answered that the prisoner was not a

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Frenchman but a servant of Malatesta, and that the money belonged to the latter, not to the King. The Bishop then insisted upon the man being allowed to go his way, promising that Malatesta would take the service into account, but the Pope refused, saying: "Let Malatesta do first what he is bound to do, and we shall not fail in our duty towards him."

Respecting the new league proposed by the French ambassador, no doubt to the Emperor's detriment, the Pope answered him in categorical terms: "That he had made an alliance with Your Imperial Majesty, and wished to be at peace with all the world. He could not go against the letter of the treaty of Barcelona; he was an honest man and wished to be held as such. He had agreed with Your Imperial Majesty not to treat with any prince whomsoever without his consent, and therefore would not listen to any other proposals." The Bishop's answer was that his allusion did not refer to the present times but to the future. Alliances between princes did not last long, especially between emperors and popes. He must be aware that the Emperor's Grand Chancellor (Gattinara), whom he had lately created cardinal, aimed at the Pontificate, and he wondered much that he (the Pope) should have conferred such ecclesiastical dignity upon him, &c. The King, his master, would also consider this a most strange and inconsiderate act. The Pope replied: "Do you not think it still more strange that I should have given a cardinal's hat to your chancellor ?*"

No great attention, however, is to be paid to the words of the French ambassador, at least such is the Pope's belief.

The Bishop of Tarbes (he says) talks too much and without proper consideration, as the light-headed man that he is. We are of the same opinion, and firmly believe that no reliance is to be placed on the assertions of the French ambassador. He left France in June, when the league between Your Majesty and the Pope was not yet made or the peace with France concluded, and he is still acting upon instructions received before his departure.

Nevertheless, we have not failed to thank the Pope for this intelligence, at the same time assuring him that should the French attempt new follies Your Imperial Majesty was now in a better position than ever to defeat their plans.

Canal of Aragon and the Emperor's petition about it.—The whole affair is in the hands of Cardinal Sancti Quatuor, who has refused his emoluments on this occasion, as well as the 400 crs. a year by way of fee (*propina*). Cardinals Ancona and Cesarino, who acted as reporter (*relator*) and commissary for the Traietto affair, have likewise renounced their honorarium.

The Pope has received letters from Cardinal Campeggio saying that neither by fair means nor by foul (*ni á buenas ni á*

* Antoine du Prat, first president of the Parliament of Paris since 1507, Chancellor of France in 1515, bishop of Sens 1525, and cardinal in 1527, in the same promotion as Mercurino Gattinara.

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malas) have the English been able to convert (*subvertir*) him to their views. When pressed to pronounce sentence he had said resolutely: "So I will; I vote at once in favour of the legitimacy of the marriage, and of the Queen of England. If my colleague, the Legate of England, is of the same opinion, well and good; if not, no sentence can possibly be given, since I and Cardinal Wolsey must first agree on all points." In consequence of which (the letter adds) those who induced the King to this measure are mightily ashamed (*quedan muy corridos*), and some of them in order to recover their lost honour wish now for the suit to be advoked to Rome. Nevertheless (says the writer), all passes are secured and measures taken to prevent the summons and inhibition from reaching England. As, however, Campeggio is soon to return to Rome, and the Archbishop of York (Wolsey) will therefore remain alone in his commission, we are now trying to have a certain brief of the Pope reformed, so as to guard against any possible disaster.

Alarcon writes from Naples, and so does the Prince, that the Spaniards are deserting him to come this way, and that the light horse are doing the same, so that they will soon be left without forces to march against the enemy.*—Rome, 3rd September 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

4 Sept. **135.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 16.

As I informed Your Imperial Majesty in my despatch of the 1st inst., the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and Milord Rochefort,† the father of the Lady Anne Boleyn,‡ are the King's most favourite courtiers, and the nearest to his person. Now that the Cardinal is absent from Court it is they who transact all state business. It is entirely in their power, as people generally say, to remain in office, and if the said Lady Anne chooses, the Cardinal will be soon dismissed, and his affair settled; for she happens to be the person in all this kingdom who hates him most, and has spoken and acted the most openly against him. (*Cipher:*) I cannot say what will be the upshot of all this, certain it is that from this moment the affairs of the said Cardinal are beginning to take a very bad turn. Formerly no one dared say a word against him, but now the tables are turned, and his name is in everybody's mouth, and what is still worse for him, libellous writings, I am told, are being circulated about him.§

Parliament is to meet at the end of this month, some say to hear certain complaints against the administrators of justice,

* Renzo da Ceri still held for the French Barletta and other towns in the kingdom of Naples, whilst the Venetians occupied several places on the coast.

† Written in the original "Suffort, Nolphoc, and Millort Richafort."

‡ Anne de *Bolougnie*, and lower down de *Boulang*.

§ "Et qui pis est à ce que l' ondit, yl s' en compousent escripteaux."

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and of the finances of the kingdom, in which they say much abuse and defalcation have prevailed in former times. The whole of this, as I am given to understand, is for the purpose of taking away the seals from the Cardinal, which could not well be done, according to the use and custom of this country without Parliament or the Estates General of this kingdom assembling to sanction the measure. However this may be, the day for the meeting is not far distant. I will not fail to inform Your Majesty of whatever happens in this respect; but as to myself, until I see the effect I will not believe in any such demonstrations of popular feeling against any given minister, knowing very well by experience that people very often speak lightly of men and things, and then suddenly change their opinion. When at Court I will make inquiries and ascertain what truth there is in the general report, in order to shape my conduct accordingly.

The Queen's business, which is the first and principal in my instructions, is now at a standstill, and since the departure of Don Iñigo de Mendoça for Flanders nothing has been done one way or the other. They were waiting for the 2nd of October, which was the day fixed for the opening of the trial, but Cardinal Campeggio having heard of the advocation of the affair to Rome, and being besides greatly annoyed at his long stay in England, has ever since been importuning the King to allow him to go away. Four days ago he went to visit the Cardinal at a country house of his, 20 miles from London, intending afterwards to wait on the King at a place in the neighbourhood, and ask for his congè. He is still staying with Cardinal Wolsey, who wishes to take him to the King. But, if I am rightly informed, the King has not yet granted permission for his Cardinal to go where he is, and as to the other (Campeggio), he is, as I said before, by no means pleased with his recall to Rome.

(*Cipher :*) The King's affection for La Bolaing (Boleyn) increases daily. It is so great just now that it can hardly be greater; such is the intimacy and familiarity in which they live at present. May God remedy it all!

The Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber [Ghinucci], who was to have come here from Spain, has not yet passed Lyons. Some days ago he sent here his nephew, who has since returned to him with despatches, and with an order from this King to remain at Rome, as he was before, and represent this King, in case Sir Gregory da Casale and another Englishman now residing as ambassadors at the Papal Court should be recalled, as is presumed will be the case. There will be no great loss for the Queen in the change, for I am informed that the said English ambassadors have done all the harm they could to the Queen's cause, and I believe more even than was expected of them. There is now a talk of sending to Italy Dr. Sanson,* once accredited to Your Majesty at Toledo; he is to be accompanied by

* Dr. Richard Sampson, archdeacon of Cornwall and dean of Windsor. He was sent as ambassador to Charles as early as 1525. See Part. 1, pp. 12, 46, 207.

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the Bishop of this city (Tunstall); but whether he is to go to the Pope or to Your Majesty I have not yet been able to ascertain.

The greatest rejoicings have been made here on account of this peace, the proclamation of which took place the other day with the greatest possible solemnity. It is, however, remarkable that no mention whatever was made during the act either of the Pope or of the other contracting parties, but merely of Your Imperial Majesty and of the king of England. Venice, Ferrara, and the Duke Francesco Sforza,* have still their ambassadors here, who are but unfavourably looked upon, a treatment which they, however, return with interest.—London, 4th September 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

French. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

4 Sept. **136.** The Same to the Lady Margaret.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 17.

Duplicate of his two despatches to the Emperor of the 1st and 4th, with some additions of small importance.

French. Original. pp. 5.

5 Sept. **137.** The Emperor to His Grand Chancellor Gattinara.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 506. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 120.

The legates have requested him in the name of His Holiness the Pope, and of the College of Cardinals, to take an oath concerning Parma and Piacenza. The difficulty is that he (the Emperor) does not know whether in so doing he does not prejudice the rights of the Holy Empire, &c. Has written to his ambassadors at Rome inquiring how, where, and in what form such an oath is to be sworn, &c.—Castel San Giovanni, Sunday, 5th September 1529.

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "Perrenot."

Addressed: "A Mons. le Grand Chancellier, comte de Gattinare."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

6 Sept. **138.** The King of Hungary to Count Bernardo Nogarolo.

S. E. L. 635, f. 50. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 121.

After his letter of the 12th of August a messenger arrived with the news that the Turk had twice attacked Buda. The garrison did all they could to defend the town, but were at last compelled to yield to the greatly superior numbers of the enemy, and retire to the castle. The city was indeed too large to be successfully defended by a handful of men.

* "Les Veneciens, le Duc de Ferrare et le Duc Sforce ont tousjours leurs ambassadeurs icy a lui l' on fayt maigre mine, et yl la font encoures pire."

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The Emperor tarries in sending the promised reinforcements; besides which, some doubt prevails as to whether the auxiliary forces when sent are to advance further [than the frontiers of the Empire]. Such doubts are very detrimental to his cause.

Has no news of the Archbishop of Strigonia except that he has gone over to the Turk. This last intelligence may easily be believed, after his refusing to admit into his castle some companies of infantry sent to its relief, in consequence of which the Turkish nasadites* have advanced as far as Strigonia without opposition.

Is to relate all this to the Emperor and entreat him to send as soon as possible as great a succour as he can.—Lintz, 6th September 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

7 Sept. **139.** The Emperor to his Ambassadors at Rome.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 127.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, 131.

After dispatching Albornoz, the cardinal legates asked us to swear the oath, a copy of which is annexed, adding that We were bound to do it as Emperor. Said We could not without consulting our High Chancellor thereupon. Dispatched a courier to him, but as the courier did not return, next day another messenger was sent to the place where the legates and Granvelle were staying, bidding the latter to arrange matters between themselves. Objected principally to the final words of the oath, but the cardinals said it was unimportant whether We left them out or swore to them. We yielded. Went accordingly to the church of Sant Antonio, and swore the oath. Orders them to inform the Pope thereof.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand-writing of Covos.

7 Sept. **140.** Praët and Mai to the Emperor.

S. Guerra. *Mar y Tierra*, L. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 122.

Wrote last on the 4th inst. about the Pope's fears of a separate negociation being commenced there [at Genoa].

Gave him Your Majesty's holograph letter, after reading which he repeated to us the same words as on previous occasions. He was (he said) very glad to hear that the peace concluded at Cambray had been ratified, and he thanked Your Imperial Majesty for the trouble taken in communicating the intelligence by a letter in your own hand. With regard to the proclamation of the peace in the estates of the Church, His Holiness not only assented gladly, but said he was about to order fireworks and other rejoicings, to which he was about to invite also the ambassadors of France and England, that the people at large might witness the alacrity and goodwill of all parties on the occasion. He would, moreover, order a most solemn mass to be said in the chapel of St. Peter. He accordingly took upon himself to speak to the said ambassadors, and it was agreed that as the peace was to

* "Los Nasadistas del Turco" in the original.

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be sworn to on the 15th, the rejoicings would take place on that very day.

The Pope has since spoken to the French ambassadors. The one who was here first has answered that peace has not yet been officially announced to him. The Bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), who came after, said the same, but added that the day for the rejoicings might be fixed at once, as he was expecting letters from France by way of the Switzers. This answer of the two French ambassadors, and particularly that of the Bishop, who came last, leads us to two most important conjectures. If what they say be true, it would show that the King, their master, does not communicate with them direct, and also that Francis' chamberlain, who has gone to the Imperial Court [at Genoa], has brought no despatches for them. As to the English ambassador, we do not know yet whether he has arrived or not, or what his answer has been.

With regard to the Venetians, no advance has been made. The other night a courier arrived with letters from Cardinal Cornaro. The Signory wished for peace, and thanked the Pope for his kind exertions. They prayed God to preserve his life until his object was attained. Andrea Doria had made them certain overtures to which they had listened, and they were about to treat with him when the meeting of the ladies at Cambray put a stop to the negociations. They had now instructed Francesco Grimaldo to wait upon His Holiness and ascertain what the Emperor's intentions were respecting them. They ended by saying that they wished the Pope would do the same, as their ambassadors would not fail to inform him. Now as the Venetian ambassador has not called upon the Pope, on the plea that he is unwell and cannot leave his room, there is ground for thinking that Venice wants only to gain time and protract the negociations (*y descubrir mundo*). Are told that the Pope has answered Cornaro's letter warmly (*caldamente*) and as befits his own interest and Your Majesty's service.

On the other hand, private letters from Venice assert that it is generally believed there that Your Imperial Majesty is about to send thither an ambassador to treat of the peace, and that Prothonotary Caracciolo has been appointed. It is also reported that at one of their last "*pregadi*" there was much opposition shown to the motion of sending an embassy to Your Majesty. The opinion of the majority being that were they to do so they might give offence to the Turk.

The Venetian proveditor now in Puglia has, they say, written to the Signory that they can easily get possession of the castle (*rocca*) of Brindisi by offering its governor a bribe of 10,000 crs. Though this can hardly be believed of an Imperial captain, yet, as there might be treason in the way, we have informed Cardinal Colonna and Alarcon of the rumour that they may take due measures, &c.

It is also reported that they (the Venetians) have taken into their pay the son of Renzo da Ceri with 100 horse and

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500 crs. salary (*provision*), that he may enlist under his banners all the men who served under his father at Naples, besides those who now compose the garrison of Barletta, in the event of that city being surrendered as stipulated by the treaty of Cambray.

Further rumours are afloat that the same Bishop [of Tarbes] told the Pope the other day he knew for certain that the Signory had been in treaty with the Switzers to raise some thousands of men among them.

The news from Naples is that Alarcon was about to march in the direction of Puglia, and that he had at last been able to raise some money to pay the men under his command.

Besides these symptoms of war, the Venetians are known to be now fortifying their frontier towns, and collecting provisions. Ravenna, whither they have lately sent one of their proveditors, has been so carefully strengthened that the Pope begins to think it will never be restored to him, except by force of arms. He (the Pope) has also heard that the Duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) is increasing the defences of his principal fortresses, and has recalled the troops he had at Florence.

In short all accounts agree in one thing, namely, that Venice is prepared to defend herself against all invaders, even if she were left by herself. Such at least is the information contained in a letter from the Papal legate in that city, to Micer Federico, the secretary of the nuncio (Girolamo),* who was once with Your Imperial Majesty [at Barcelona]. Nevertheless Cardinal Pisani, who is now at Venice, writes to one of his secretaries here [at Rome] that the Signory feels disposed to accept peace, provided the terms be discussed here. Were the Pope to consent to this, and appoint him to negociate as Cornaro's senior, he (Pisani) had no doubt that the Signory would at once commence negociations.

With regard to Francesco Sforza, what we know is this: He is completely ruined (*perdido*), and reduced to the walls of Cremona, beset besides by plague in the immediate neighbourhood, which he fears even more than war. As it was lately rumoured that he was about to dispatch an embassy to Your Imperial Majesty, and the letter of the legate, at Venice, stated on the contrary that he had been warned by the Signory not to do so; as, moreover, the Duke has now two agents here, one who arrived last winter, and another, the physician, who came under cover of attending the Pope in his illness, we requested the Pope to make due inquiries, and let us know for certain what the Duke intended doing, whether he thought of standing his trial by a court of law, or throwing himself upon Your Majesty's mercy (*asi en camino de la justicia como de gracia y perdon*).

The Duke's agents have answered that "although their master could successfully defend himself before his judges, he

* Girolamo or Gerome Selade, bishop of Vaison.

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much preferred throwing himself at the Emperor's feet and begging his pardon. To that end he (the Duke) had sent his ambassadors to Genoa to learn the Emperor's pleasure." This answer being reported to us, we lost no time in informing the Milanese agents, that in the event of Your Majesty granting his pardon, three conditions were in our opinion required: first, to know the way and manner in which that pardon was to be asked; secondly, which part of the Duchy he was prepared to give up, and which he wished to retain; and thirdly, what securities he could offer. The Pope has promised to follow up this affair and dispatch immediately, post haste, the secretary who is here with a message to the Duke.

The Prince [of Orange] writes from Canaya (Cannara) eight miles from Perugia, in date of the 4th inst. He has applied for cannon balls, and pioneers (*gastadores*) to prosecute his march on Florence; for although (he says) some overtures have been made by Malatesta, his terms are not acceptable, and the Prince has consequently decided to go on.

Juan de Urbina was at that date on the verge of death, not indeed from his wound, but from disease in consequence of certain powders prescribed by a quack doctor, which he had swallowed much against the advice of his physicians.

The Florentines have asked the Venetians for help, but the latter have refused. As they gave Ercole d' Este a wife, and got rid of him that way, they have now appointed Stefano Colonna, the lord of Prenestina, to be their captain-general.* Some of the Pope's friends seem to think that the Florentines will soon give in, and accept the Emperor's terms; others assert that they are, on the contrary, very spirited and carefully fortifying their city for defence. In case of Your Imperial Majesty deciding to follow the Pope's lead in this affair, we deem it advisable to intimate, as if it came from us, that you never intended attacking Florence except at the Pope's instigation, and for his sake, because should the undertaking turn out unsuccessful, we (the Imperialists) would not be made responsible for it, as some people begin already to surmise, by applying to us that proverb, so common in this country, viz., "that we have spoilt their game." Although the Pope in his modesty does not tell us any of this, yet we know that he feels it and is not in such good humour as he formerly was.

Respecting the coronation, the Pope says that he has no particular choice; it may take place where and whenever Your Imperial Majesty decides. He thinks, however, that Rome would be the most fit place for it, as it would impart greater authority and splendor to the ceremony.

(*Cipher:*) The English matrimonial suit has been suspended

* "Y han conducido porque casaron (*sic*) a don Hercules de Este, al señor de Prenestina que es estafano Colunna por su capitan-general." The verb *conducido* is here used in the sense of giving one the command of a condotta.

† "Y digan que les gastamos un bel juego.

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until Easter (*Pasqua de Natividad*)*, as well as the brief establishing the penalties (*penas*) against the King's person, in case of resistance; but fearing lest the inhibitions had not arrived at their destination, or else that if they arrived after the suspension, they would be of little or no use—as the judges in England might not consider themselves inhibited—we have contrived that the "motu propio," which had already been put into the hands of the English orator, and presented at the Rota, should be taken up to the Pope. This has been shaped in such a manner that the suspension is nowise to be understood with reference to the inhibition sent to the judges. Another modification has been introduced, which is that although all censures relating to the King's person are carefully suppressed, those relating to the judges and others, who should disregard the inhibition, still hold good. These last have been carefully preserved, because should the King in the meantime attempt anything new, or actually marry another woman, this second matrimony be null, under the "litis pendentia" and express inhibition. We humbly beg Your Majesty to approve and sanction (*darse por servido*) what has been done in the affair, for such was the pressure put on us by His Holiness and by the English orators themselves, that we could not do less. Thus, should the King not acknowledge the courtesy from this time to the end of the year, Your Majesty will be at liberty to proceed in the affair as best suits your reputation.

The ex-Abbot of Farfa is going to Florence. They say that he is much put out (*muy confuso*), and afraid of Your Majesty once at Rome chastizing him for his many misdemeanours and crimes. The Prince and the Duke of Malfa (Piccolomini), have been directed to set spies upon him, and if he should pass through Siena or any other town allied to the Emperor lay their hands on him and secure his person.

The Pope is reported to have said two or three times to the Austrian ambassador (Andrea del Burgo) that were the king of France to come over [to Italy] with his court, and without an army, he might peaceably meet the Emperor and his brother, the king of Hungary, and all together plan and arrange the expedition against the Turk. But the report is not correct, for in the first place the Pope has never told us (Burgo or me) anything of the sort; and secondly, there is no indication of the French King having ever meditated such a move. Nor do we know how to account for such a report;

* "En lo de la causa matrimonial de Ynglaterra todavia se ha suspendido hasta Pasqua de Natividad, y quien de las censuras y penas quanto á la persona del Rey; pero porque temiamos que las ynibiciones no sean llegadas, y si llegan despues de la suspension harian poco al caso, y aquellos jueces no ynibidos, procuramos que el motu proprio, que era ya dado al orator angles y presentado en Rota viniese en mano del Papa y adobose de manera que la suspension no se entiende quanto á la ynibicion de los jueces." Thus in the original, but there must be some omission in the deciphering, for the sense of the first part of the paragraph is by no means complete.

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whether to attribute it to the levity (*ligereza*) of that blockhead the Bishop of Tarbes (Grammont), or to the restless humour of the French, who perhaps wish to see Your Imperial Majesty out of Italy as soon as possible. We mention the report merely by way of warning.—Rome, 7th September 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 18.

8 Sept. **141.** The KING of HUNGARY to SALINAS.

S. E. L. 635, f. 51.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 132.

His letter of the 15th ult° has come to hand together with one from the Emperor. Has sent Count Nogarolo to congratulate his brother on the occasion of his happy arrival in Italy.

Has written since the 27th of July four or five letters at least, but has had no answer.

The danger is increasing from hour to hour, "*llegando como dizen el agua á la boca.*" On the 1st Louis de Taxis left with despatches and instructions which he (Salinas) has probably seen already. Hopes the Emperor takes the affairs of Germany seriously to heart, and has already made arrangements to succour him. The Turk is advancing and his forces increase daily. It is not his fault but the Emperor's that so much time has been lost. Without the help of the Emperor he (Ferdinand) cannot successfully cope with the Infidel. Even if that help arrives in time it will be difficult to resist the enemy, for the Turks are very numerous and have great power. They have already advanced as far as Tabarino (Rab), only 16 miles distant from Vienna. Strigonia (Gran), the strongest fortress of the whole kingdom, the defence of which had been confided to the Archbishop, has fallen into their hands. The danger is indeed imminent and so great that no words can give an adequate idea of it.

He (Salinas) is to do all he can to induce the Emperor to send him succour as soon as possible.—Lintz, 8th September 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 Sept. **142.** PRAËT and MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 77.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 133.

Having alluded in a former despatch to the negociations which the Pope himself was carrying on with the ambassadors of the Duke Francesco Sforza, we now consider it our duty to give a full account of them. (*Cipher:*) Sanga brought the other day the draft of a memorandum of what had been proposed by the Milanese ambassadors in their various conferences with the Pope. It contained several articles and among them the following: "Though their master has full means to clear himself from the charges brought against him, yet he prefers not having recourse to justice but throwing himself at once upon the Emperor's mercy."

Upon inquiry whether the memorandum came direct from the Pope or from the Duke's ambassadors, and whether these

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last had been really empowered to treat in their master's name, we were told that they had no real powers from the Duke, but had been told that anything the Pope did in the matter he (Sforza) would at once sanction and approve.

We then remarked that as one of the stipulations was that a sum of money should be paid by the Duke partly for the investiture, and partly for the costs and damages of the late war, it was our opinion that the amount of this second and most important portion should be fixed at once, as well as the dates of payment, that Your Imperial Majesty might decide in view of the offers made.

The Pope approved the idea, and next day Jacopo Salviati came to ask us whether 700,000 ducats did not seem a sufficient sum, namely, 600,000 for the investiture and 100,000 for the war indemnity. Our answer was that we considered the indemnity insufficient, and yet we did not insist at the time upon its increase, for in reality if the truth be told (*como esto se puede asegurar*) in articles of greater importance to us the Milanese themselves seemed to make no difficulty.

All our efforts therefore have been directed towards securing the proposed marriage and other matters. The Pope thought that the Duke ought to give in pledge the castles of Milan and Cremona until the stipulated sums had been paid, or else that he should deliver into Your Majesty's hands as many fortresses and towns as would be a competent security for the payment. The draft brought by Sanga proposed that the castle of Cremona or the city of Como should be placed in the hands of trusty persons such as the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) or Prothonotary Caracciolo, under most solemn oath that upon the money being paid they should be restituted.

Our reply was that it would not look well that such persons as those named or any others should be appointed. What might be right between equals did not seem well between lord and vassal. They had better leave it in the hands of Your Majesty, for, after all, it came to the same thing, as you would willingly swear to restore the towns as soon as the money was paid. The Pope approved the idea.

We also objected to the places named. We considered Cremona or Como too small a security for the proposed object. The Pope offered to consult upon the matter with the Duke's secretary. The answer he got from him was that were his master to deliver up those two places his subjects would lose all respect for him, and he would not be in a situation to raise the money. He proposed hostages instead of towns, but we refused, and said that unless the proposals were in our opinion admissible we did not choose to trouble the Emperor with them.

One feature, however, is important. In the course of conversation, and whilst we maintained that Como was no sufficient guarantee, the Duke's secretary inquired whether we would not accept Alessandria, of which he began at once to sing the praises. Not to show too strong a wish on our part of be-

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coming possessed of their territory. we feigned to be pleased, but the truth is that with Cremona and Como, and their respective territories in our hands they cannot laugh at us.

(*Common writing :*) The Pope is very much pleased with Your Majesty's answer to the Florentines. He hopes that as soon as the Imperial army enters their territory they will change their minds and return to their allegiance. But it appears that the party of resistance has lately gained spirit, owing to the Prince's delay, who, they say, does not advance fast enough for want of sufficient forces, and because they believe that those of the Emperor are not so considerable as they anticipated.

Letters from France received by the Pope mention two facts at which he shows great contentment. One is that the King has given orders for the fitting out of the galleys he is bound to send according to stipulation. The other is that the Venetian ambassador at the court of France having solicited certain affairs of the Signory, the King answered in very bad humour : " I will soon send to them the Marshal [Montmorency] or Brion, and we shall then see what they have to say," meaning, no doubt, that he has some plan against them. This intelligence makes the Pope think that the French King is in earnest now, at least until he has recovered his sons.

The mass, oration, and rejoicings for the peace have been prorogued till the Sunday after next, that the show may be more brilliant and effective. The Pope says that the Bishop of Tarbes has promised to attend, and has received express orders from his master commanding him, in case he is not obliged to be at Rome, to proceed to Genoa and join the embassy which is going thither.

Enclose a letter received from Cardinal Colonna at Naples with excellent news from Brindisi.—Rome, 11th September 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

12 Sept. **143.** The Earl of Desmond to the Emperor.

Arch. d. R^me^. de Belg. *Neg. d'Angl.* vol. I., f. 18. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 145.

Has from his earliest youth successfully defended himself against all the Irish lords, and many others of various nations and countries who have made incessant war upon him. The English, especially through their deputy lieutenants in Ireland, and at the request of his own enemies and "emuli," have always done him all the harm they possibly could. Among other injuries sustained at their hands they have lately robbed him of 100,000*l.*, the produce of wine and other merchandize remitted to various traders in his dominions.* Begs for a prompt remedy to his many losses and that wine and other articles, and indeed all sorts of goods be sent to him by the subjects of the Emperor, at his own expense, in armed

* "Ac inter cætera alia summam centum M. librarum de meis bonis, cum quibusdam pro vino et aliis mercanciis per me transmissis, nequiter et de facto receperunt, et in eorum usum convertere non postposuerunt."

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vessels with which and with their crews he may wage war on all the Emperor's enemies, and especially on the French, a thing which he cannot well accomplish without help.* Indeed he begs to inform the Emperor that should the assistance he asks for be granted, he considers himself strong enough, with God's favour, to drive off the French from all the Irish ports.

In case of the Emperor making his peace with England, he (the Earl) begs to be strongly recommended that he may have back the property taken from him in the ports of the coast of Ireland from Dunllynd (Dunkeld) down to Waterford, where, as he (the Emperor) has no doubt heard from his subjects trading to these parts, he is supreme lord.

Ex manerio meo de Insula, XII. die Septembris. Vester fidelis subditus Jacobus, comes Desmondie, Dominus Deciè et Ogonyll ac libertatis Kerrigie.

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

12 Sept. **144.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL POMPEO COLONNA.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 66.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 144.

In view of the reports which he (Colonna) has made about Girolamo Morone, he (the Emperor) orders him with all possible secrecy to try and induce him to go to the Viceroy (Chalon). Has given his instructions to that effect. Should the said Morone, whilst on the road, try to escape, or take a suspicious route, such as that of Venice, then in that case he is to be arrested and sent as prisoner to the Viceroy [of Naples]. Recommends the greatest diligence and secrecy, as the affair is very important.—Piacenza, 12th September 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

12 Sept. **145.** The EMPEROR to his AMBASSADORS at Rome.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 125.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 138.

Our answer to your joint despatch of the 7th inst. was taken by Albornoz, the courier, as likewise our letter of the 7th, explaining the matter of the oath and its form. Since then, on the 8th, your own despatches of the 3rd and 4th, as well as the duplicate of the one of the 1st, sent by Captain Joan Baptista Castaldo, have come to hand.

(*Cipher:*) With regard to the Venetians and the efforts made by His Holiness and by you to bring them to terms, We fully approve everything that has been done hitherto. We have informed the Marquis of Mantua of it through his ambassador at this our Court, but We firmly believe that they will not send powers there or here unless compelled to it by sheer necessity or by a sense of their personal danger. They shall be threatened both by land and sea, so as to oblige them to declare [their intentions], and at

* "Vina videlicet mihi et mercancias alias in meis expensis (*sic*) cum vestris mercatoribus mihi remittendo, nec non et armigeros cum navibus ad me, ut vestris inimicis, videlicet franciginis, cum [sine] hujusmodi vestro subsidio malefacere possim."

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the same time convince them (*darles sospechas*) of the probability of a separate agreement being soon made with Francesco Sforza, whose ambassador is actually here [at Piacenza], invested with full powers to treat with us. What they (the Venetians) say about Andrea Doria is wholly without foundation; if any overtures were ever made to them they were extra-official, and came from private persons. As to Prothonotary Caracciolo, though the matter was once discussed, it was never executed, and the thing dropped.

We were glad to hear of the taking of Hispelo,* &c.

Respecting the Florentine ambassadors His Holiness must entertain no fears, as We wrote to you from Voguera. Whatever has hitherto been done in the affair has been done with the full sanction of the Papal Nuncio. Besides, as they were not empowered to treat, nothing could be settled.

The Bishop of Tarbes is not a sufficiently grave and serious a person (*asentado*) for his words to deserve much credit. His Holiness, therefore, must not be shocked at his sayings. As you wisely conjecture, his instructions must have been framed before the peace was finally concluded at Cambray. There is, therefore, no reason to fear that as long as the sons of France remain in our keeping the king of that country will disregard the articles of the treaty. Your answers concerning Malatesta and the most Reverend Cardinal [Gattinara], our Grand Chancellor, were likewise very opportune. The Bishop being one of those men always apt to judge of others by themselves.

The discontent, which you say the Italians in general feel at the manner in which they have been treated by France on this occasion, will be the cause of their acknowledging their error, and looking out for the best means of ensuring tranquillity and peace.

All that has hitherto been done in behalf of our dear aunt, the Queen of England, has met with our full approbation. Yet if, as you say, His Holiness is in favour of the suspension, "a beneplacito," and really wishes for it, We see no reason why We should not give him and the English satisfaction in that respect, provided, however, the advocation be accomplished, and the inhibition to the judges remain in full vigour. The King might then relinquish his suit, come to a good understanding with us, and entirely forget the "litis pendentia" in which he has voluntarily engaged; he might, moreover, dissemble so as not to suffer humiliation or receive injury in his reputation in case of the suit being decided in a court of law. And since you wish to know what our orders are in this particular, We tell you at once that your answer to His Holiness and to the English ambassadors must be as satisfactory as possible, and so shaped that, without injury to the Queen's cause, it may be the means of her being better treated in the meanwhile. For this very reason it is

* Spello or Hispello. See above, p. 191.

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urgent that His Holiness send as soon as possible the promised brief exhorting the King to continue to live with the Queen as his wife.

With regard to the Abbot of Farfa and his excesses, it is quite clear to us that the Pope is bound to put a stop to them while it is yet time.

Licence for the sale of Church lands in Germany—bishopric of Huesca in Aragon—Erasmus Doria and his presentation to the see of Elna in Rousillon—the son of Felipe Cerbellon and the abbacy of Castel Beltran.

The Archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) has sailed from Genoa in the galleys of Sicily. He must be at Rome by this time. Our fleet must also be under weigh for the coast of Naples. With this and the forces which Hernando de Alarcon has under his command We trust that the affairs of that kingdom will very much improve, and as the Venetians will soon be pressed (*apretados*) on that side, they will be obliged henceforward to attend to their own defence rather than attack others.

The Imperial canal (*acequia*) of Aragon, &c.

Don Sigismundo de Luna, eldest son of Don Jayme, Count of Calathabellota in Sicily, and his father have both been guilty of a most atrocious crime, as you will see by the enclosed memorandum. As it is presumed that the said Sigismundo and his father have absented themselves from that island, together with other of their accomplices, and gone to Rome, you will immediately make secret inquiries on the spot, and if it should turn out that Sigismundo or any of his accomplices be in that capital you will earnestly request the Pope to have him or them arrested, and delivered into the hands of our Viceroy [Pignatello], there to be tried and sentenced as the case requires.

We arrived here at Piacenza last Monday. Antonio de Leyva came also, and after discussing affairs with him it was agreed that the forces under the Prince should be exclusively employed in reducing Florence and Ferrara, for although an agent of the Duke [Alfonso d' Este] has lately come here to treat with us and with the Papal Nuncio, nothing shall be done without his (the Pope's) concurrence and approval.

The German army, already in the Mantuan, is to proceed by forced marches against Venice, whilst Leyva with his Spanish infantry joins the army under our own immediate command. We are not yet decided as to the destination of these forces, whether they are to march against the fortresses and towns still occupied by Francesco Sforza or against Venice itself, for the Duke [of Milan], as you know, has sent us ambassadors. These latter maintain that their master, as far as the first charge brought against him is concerned, does not sue for pardon but for full justice, because he believes himself innocent. In what happened afterwards he acknowledges his error, alleging as an excuse that what he has done since has been only in self-defence. For this last misdeed he certainly

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implores our mercy and promises meantime to prepare provisions and quarters for our army [of Lombardy]. Our answer to these proposals of the Duke Sforza has been, that whatever his agents may have stipulated with His Holiness shall be most strictly observed by us, and full justice done unto him. Yet for the security of our armies in Lombardy, whilst his case is being tried, he (the Duke) is to surrender Pavia and Alessandria, keeping only Cremona, Lodi, and the rest of the Duchy now in his hands. We, on the other hand, pledge our most solemn word that the present undertaking at an end, We will restore those cities to him as We received them; and, moreover, that his case being tried, and he coming out innocent, as We sincerely hope he will, We will give back to him the whole of his duchy. In the event, however, of the Duke being found guilty and sentenced to lose his estate, We shall behave towards him in such a manner that he will have cause to praise our magnanimity, as We will bestow upon him as a fief, and with such title as he may choose, Cremona, Lodi, and the whole of the Giaradada to be held by him and his successors *in perpetuum;* or if he should prefer entering the Church, We will request His Holiness to give him a cardinal's hat, and will also provide for him a competent revenue from the lands of the Church.

With this his ambassador went away, and has since returned with the enclosed answer, upon which our Council met and has come to the following decision: That there is no legitimate cause or reason why We should be satisfied with the securities he (the Duke) offers us, and that it is more just that he should trust his fief Lord than that We should trust him, being, as he is still, the friend and ally of our enemies. To-day the Milanese ambassador is to receive an answer to this effect. He will be told that his master's offers are not acceptable, and that unless he makes more satisfactory ones We shall give the orders most suitable for our interests, as We cannot possibly wait any longer.

You will inform His Holiness of this, and assure him that, as much on this point of Milan as on other points of Italian politics, We still persist in our intention of fulfilling to the letter the treaty of Barcelona. And you will also earnestly request him in our name that since the press of business attending this and other affairs is so great as to prevent us from going to Rome, as was our duty, he be pleased to confer upon us the favour of coming as far as Bologna, where We will meet him on the day he pleases to appoint.—Piacenza, 12th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft mostly in cipher. pp. 12.

13 Sept. **146.** The Emperor to Lope de Soria.

S. E. *Princ. d. Ital.* L. 1,454–75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 146.

Appoints him commissary general "in curia atque aula nostra Cesarea, et in exercitu nostro quem in præsentia in Insubria habemus, et deinceps habitare sumus," for all affairs

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concerning the provisioning of the army and necessaries of war, such as gunpowder, vessels, bridges, pioneers (*gastadores*), artillery, transports. All local authorities to obey him, &c.—Piacenza, 13th September 1529.*

13 Sept. **147.** The MARQUIS of MANTUA to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. Correspondez, &c., vol. I., p. 330.

Has heard from Mr. de Pelux (Peloux) what the Emperor's wishes are. Is ready to execute his orders implicitly, as he is, and will ever be, His Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant. As Mr. de Peloux, who is now returning to the Emperor, will soon be the interpreter of his sentiments, he (the Marquis) need not say any more than to beg full credence for him.—Mantua, 14th September 1529.

Signed: "Federico di Mantua."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

14 Sept. **148.** The EMPEROR to LOUIS DE PRAËT and MIGUEL MAI.

1,555, f. 128.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 148.

Since our letter of yesterday the Duke Francesco Sforza has sent in new proposals, which being no more advantageous than the former, We have considered fit to reject. Nevertheless, that His Holiness and all the world may appreciate our moderation, and our extreme desire of restoring peace to Italy and devoting ourselves exclusively to the war against the Turk, We now send Don Garcia de Padilla, High Commander of the order of Calatrava and member of our Council, Prothonotary Caracciolo, and with them Pero Garcia, our secretary, to inform the Duke of the particulars contained in the enclosed sheet.

The Sienese on our first landing at Genoa sent to offer their services. As We wish to bestow favour upon them, you will consider them as our friends and allies, and forward any affairs they may have at that Court.—Piacenza, 14th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

14 Sept. **149.** The POPE to the EMPEROR.

S. *Pat. Re. Bulas. Sueltas*, L. 1, f. 135.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 150.

Sends Braccio de Martellis, his chamberlain, with the "pileum rubrum cum annulo, plena cardinalatus insignia" for the High Chancellor, Mercurino de Gattinara.—Rome, 14th September 1529.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

* This is followed in the volume by a brevet also in Latin, headed "capitania de Gastadores" pro conservandis hominibus qui *Gastatores* vocantur, though the name of the person to be appointed is left blank. *Add.* 28,579, f. 147.

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15 Sept. **150.** LOUIS DE PRAËT and MIGUEL MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 89–90. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 151.

Wrote on Sunday, the 12th inst.,* advising the retreat of the Venetians from Brindisi as related by private letters. Since then we have heard from the Prince [of Orange] that Perugia has capitulated. The terms are here enclosed. The Pope was very glad of it, and immediately ordered the briefs to be made out in approval of the capitulation. Muscetola (*sic*) tells us that he has had letters from a kinsman of Malatesta saying that he wishes to make his peace with the Emperor. But however desirable, it is to be feared that it will not take place before the enterprize of Florence is fairly carried through; for Malatesta, they say, is a man of honour (*hombre de bien*), and wishes to stand by the Florentines to the very last.

According to the same advices the plan of defence adopted by the latter consists chiefly in gaining time until the approach of winter, when they fancy the Imperial army will not be able to undertake anything serious against them. That appears also to be the secret of Malatesta's negociation, and the present hope of the Florentines, who talk of sending a new embassy to the Emperor, and another to the Prince, although this last is said to be rather for the purpose of ascertaining the number and quality of the forces under him than for any other. The Prince, therefore, has been advised by us to pass his forces, which are daily increasing, under muster, so that when the Florentine ambassadors call on him they may be impressed with the necessity of coming to terms.

Both the Duke of Malfa (Piccolomini), who commands at Siena in the Emperor's name, and Francisco de Tovar, whom the Prince sent thither also, have written to say that everything is ready for them to join with artillery, ammunition, &c. Hardly a soul (they say) remained in the city capable of bearing arms, as all were most desirous of seeing their old enemy put down, and sacking Florence, which is said to contain great riches. It will be a miracle if the city, when taken, is not completely destroyed.

The other day, as the Emperor has no doubt been informed, great excesses were committed by our soldiers at the taking of Espelli.† Wrote to him advising that some of the ringleaders should be arrested and punished, as it will not do when the Emperor comes as a peace-maker to Italy to have such injuries inflicted upon the inhabitants. His answer has been: All the men under my command deserve punishment, but this is no time to deprive the Emperor of their services. The other day the 2,000 Spanish infantry, now marching [to Piacenza] sacked a town of the Pope called Todo (Todi), and the Pope has mentioned the fact to us feelingly, though with his usual

* See No. 142, p. 203, which is dated the 11th not the 12th.

† Spelle; the governor's name was Lione Baglione, a brother of Malatesta. He capitulated on condition of the garrison being allowed to "uscir con le spade sole salve le persone e le robe che potessero portare addosso." But no sooner were he and his men out of the town than they were all "svaligiati," and the town itself sacked.

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modesty. The Marquis, however, has written to say that on his arrival there he had two of them hanged.

Yesterday there was a rumour here that the Florentines had appointed two ambassadors: one to the Pope and another to the Prince; and also that the Duke of Bari [Francesco Sforza] had sent another to the Emperor.

The Abbot of Farfa has sent all his force, consisting of about 500 men, to Florence. They have already operated their junction with Malatesta and the garrison that capitulated at Perugia. By this time they are probably at Arezzo. The Abbot, however, has not moved, and is still at Bracciano with 100 hackbutiers and 30 light horse.

Mass will be said next Sunday, followed by a sermon (*oracion*), after which the usual rejoicings will commence. In order to avoid any questions of precedence arising between the English ambassadors and that of the king of Hungary (Ferdinand), it has been decided that Andrea del Burgo do not attend the ceremony.

Antonio della Rubiera, the agent of the Duchess of Urbino (Leonora Ippolita di Gonzaga), came two days ago to say that she had given passage through her estates and provisions to the Imperial troops, and was entirely at the Emperor's service. That the Duke, her husband, had always wished to do so, and that as soon as the time of his "condotta" under the Venetians was up he would solicit the favour of serving the Empire. Ascanio [Colonna], as it would appear, was actually suing for the estate of Urbino, apparently with some right, for he assumed that the mother* of the Duke (Francesco Maria) was younger sister of his mother [Agnesina di Montefeltro]. However, Ascanio is already so rich and powerful in Italy that it is not for the Emperor's interest that he should become more so.

Salviati shewed us a letter from the Vice-Legate at Bologna, of the 10th inst., saying that the Duke of Ferrara [Alfonso d' Este] was strengthening the towns and castles of his estate more than usual, in the hope, as it was presumed, that the scarcity of resources and the approaching winter would mar the Emperor's projects, and his visit to Italy prove as sterile as that of [his grandfather], the Emperor Maximilian. He also hoped that Antonio de Leyva would advise the carrying on of war in Lombardy (*la guerra de Milan*), as he did at the time when Brunswick's Germans came over. If so, the Duke considered himself secure for a time. He (Salviati) said also that a courier of the Florentines, Rycio (Ricci?) by name, had lately passed through the land of the Switzers, coming from France, and brought him letters, after reading which he (the Duke) was in great spirits and more determined than ever to make a defence.

The oath at Piacenza, &c.—Rome, 15th September 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 8.

* Her name was Giovanna.

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16 Sept. **151.** The EMPEROR to his AMBASSADORS at ROME.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 130. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 155.

The High Commander of Calatrava [D. Garcia de Padilla] and Prothonotary Caracciolo, returned yesterday with the answer of the Duke [Francesco Sforza], which has been rather unsatisfactory, for he seems to find fault with the words of our memorandum: *the present undertaking at an end, and even before he has taken his trial, We shall restore Pavia and Alessandria just as We received them from him.* He (the Duke) pretends to have heard from his secretary at Rome that you (the ambassadors) had already taken this affair in hand; and therefore that whatever engagements he had taken with the Pope he was ready to fulfil, nothing more.

In view of such refusal it behoves us for the furtherance of our plans, and for the pacification of Italy, to obtain by force of arms that which the Duke will not surrender at our prayer. You will take the earliest opportunity of acquainting His Holiness with all this.—Piacenza, 16th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

18 Sept. **152.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MARGARET.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 17.

Madame: Since my last* advising that the King had written and sent a personage to accompany me to Court, I have seen His Highness, by whom, as well as by all his courtiers, I was very well and most honourably received, if their mien and manner did not deceive me. I had audience on the day of the Holy Cross after mass, and convérsed long with the King. Indeed, had it not been that he was in a hurry to go to dinner, in order to repair afterwards to the hunting field and take leave (*congié*) of the chase, as he is in the habit of doing at this season of the year, our conference would have lasted much longer, and been more to the purpose. It turned chiefly on the first and principal article of my instructions, the Queen's business. As it was also the first opportunity the King had had to enter fully into the subject, he began to treat the matter as one in which he was deeply concerned, and which he had much at heart, wishing at the same time to appear as if he were very learned in canon law, and had carefully studied the case, alleging reasons and producing arguments in his favour more or less plausible (*colourés*), the detail of which I omit for brevity's sake, and especially because the Queen has sent me word not to write about my interview and what he (the King) said to me until I hear from her. As soon as she gives me permission I shall not fail to send a full report.

After dinner the King, to whom I had expressed my wish of being introduced to the Queen, and presenting her with the Emperor's letter, bade one of his chamberlains to conduct me to her apartments. Having exhibited my credentials, and

* Chapuys' last despatch, dated London, 4th September, was addressed to the *Emperor*, not to *Margaret*. See above, No. 135, p. 195.

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delivered the letter, I went on to explain the substance of my instructions, and the conversation I had had with the King, her husband, and what I myself had replied to the King's arguments. She seemed very glad, and said to me that I could not have said more in her favour; but that the room being full of people at the time, she could not do more than express her gratitude and assure me that an ambassador from the Emperor at such a time was a great comfort in the midst of her tribulations. She then begged me to call on Cardinal Campeggio before his departure [for Rome], both in her own name and in that of the King, and make certain representations (*pour faire quelque remonstrance*), which I have done. Also warned me against giving to the Cardinal of York the letters I had for him, and advised me not to visit him before I knew the issue of his affairs which, she said, were then at a very low ebb indeed. For although he has been long asking permission to re-appear at Court, and has at last obtained it through Campeggio's influence, it is now certain that he will not trouble the Court as he did before, for already on my first arrival in London it was decided that his opponents now in power, of whom I have spoken in former despatches, are to reside at Court, and that he (Wolsey) is to remain at his country seat, three miles away, and not to come unless sent for. The Queen ended by saying she would soon forward to me through her own physician* from time to time such information as I might require to send home, &c.

The King has not yet allowed the notification (*intimation*) of the advocation to be made to him, for he finds that to be personally summoned to Rome is a morsel too big for him to swallow.† Nor has the inhibition been served against the two cardinals except by way of a brief addressed by His Holiness the Pope to that of York (Wolsey), as the King would not allow it to be made in the legal form. However this may be, the inhibition has been notified to the Cardinal (Wolsey), and so the two cardinals have given up their judicial functions by a public deed, of which a copy will be forwarded by next post.‡ The act in itself is considered sufficient as far as the judges are concerned; not so with regard to the parties themselves. There is, however, in my opinion, means of supplying the deficiency, as I will point out to you in my next despatch.

Campeggio, since the inhibition, is asking for leave to go home. I should like to hear that on his departure from this country the King, for whom he has worked so honestly, gave him the promised bishopric.§

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* Fernando Vitoria.

† "Car il trouve cella d' estre cité à Rome estre de male digestion."

‡ "Par instrument autentique dont, Madame, par la premiere vous demostray[rai] la copie."

§ "Je vouldrais bien, puis qu' il s'est monstré si homme de bien en ce affere, que le Roy luy ottroye aussy toust une evesché, que lui avoit esté icy promise comme il aura son congié."

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Monsieur de Langes* has been here for the purpose of recovering the rest of the rings (*bagues*) belonging to the Emperor, as well as to ask for some help in money towards the payment of the sum promised [as ransom for his children]. According to his brother, Mons. de Bayonne,† who came this very morning to call on me, the French ambassador has very good chance of success, for the King will give him anything he wants in that way. I am not aware that Mr. de Langes has brought [to England] any other commissions besides these two.

There has been here much talk about the personages to be sent as ambassadors to His Imperial Majesty. Besides those whose names I mentioned in my despatch of the 4th, the Admiral of England, and Monsieur de Montjoye,‡ the Queen's chamberlain, have been designated as likely to go [to Italy]; but it appears it is now settled that the Master of the Horse (*grand escuyer*),§ Dr. Sanson, and a third, whose name I do not know, are to be appointed. The two above named will not make a long stay, but the other will remain and reside at the Imperial Court. There is likewise a rumour that another embassy is being prepared for France, of which George Boloyne (Boleyn), the brother of Madame (Anna), is to form part. Who the others are to be I cannot say at present, but as I shall have to address you soon again, the information, if obtained, shall go by my next despatch."—London, 18th September 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Madame."

French. Original. pp. 3.

18 Sept. **153.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 224, No. 47.

The enclosed is an authentic copy of the inhibition made to the two cardinals (York et Campeggio),‖ and their declarations to desist entirely from the trial of the divorce case now advoked to Rome.—London, 11th September 1529.

Signed: "Thomas Card. de Sancta Cecilia, Archiepiscopus Evoracensis—Laurentius Card. Campeggio."

Latin and French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— **154.** MEMORANDUM, in 14 Articles, presented by the AMBASSADORS of ENGLAND.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 224, No. 49.

The following are the doubts and objections hitherto raised against the marriage of King Henry and Katharine of Aragon. The principal and most important being whether the Pope

* Guillaume du Bellay, sieur de Langeay or Langey. See above, p. 190, *note*.

† Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, brother of the preceding.

‡ William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, chamberlain and steward of the Queen's household. As to the Grand Admiral, the charge was held at this time by Henry Fitzroy, Henry's natural son.

§ Sir Nicholas Carew, Grand Squire of England.

‖ The same document alluded to in the preceding despatch.

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could or could not grant a dispensation to the parties to marry.—Factum.

Signed: "Henricus VII. Angliæ Rex."

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

19 Sept. **155.** The Marquis of Mantua to Monsieur de Peloux.

S. E. L. 848.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 330.

You will be pleased, after kissing the Emperor's hands, to express my most heartfelt thanks for the honour just conferred upon me, as well as for the good opinion he has formed of my personal abilities since he has granted me the command-in-chief of his Italian army [in Lombardy]. I will do everything in my power to deserve such confidence, though owing to the state of my health, which as you know is so poor just now that I am unable to rise from my bed, I shall not be able to do much at present. You know, however, that my intention is to assist the Emperor with all my power, and that nothing shall be left undone as far as I am concerned.

Respecting the Emperor's plan of campaign, which consists, if I am rightly informed, in attacking Cremona, and investing it so closely on all sides that it may not receive succour of men and provisions from the outside, your Worship knows very well what my opinion is on the subject. Though it is highly improbable that, however sudden and secret the attack, the Venetians will not have time to send thither the supplies that are required, yet in my opinion an attack upon that city must needs be made. But then I do not know what His Imperial Majesty's plans are, and which of the two, Cremona or Venice, is to be attacked first. If Cremona, I should like to hear beforehand, for we might set about at once making preparations, &c.

If, on the contrary, the Emperor wishes us to invade first the Venetian territory, in that case the best way would be to begin at Verona, which would be of the utmost importance for His Imperial Majesty in the event of his journey to Germany. In the meantime and whilst the necessary preparations were being made, the Germans, in my opinion, ought not to stir from where they are now, and if obliged to move on for the sake of provisions and better quarters, not to go beyond their present quarters more than four or five miles, so that if required for any of the above-named expeditions, they may be in position to be directed against Cremona, or if it be His Imperial Majesty's pleasure, against Verona or even Brescia. Meanwhile, in my humble opinion, Venice should be undertaken first, and the German bands remain under the command of the captains who brought them over to Italy. I believe Count Felix [of Werdenberg] to be a good soldier, well fit for the command, and have accordingly written to him not to move from the spot where he is until His Imperial Majesty's pleasure is ascertained.

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You will tell the Emperor how advantageous it would be in either case to join to those German bands, which are said to be excellent and chiefly composed of veteran soldiers, a good number of hackbutiers, Italian or Spanish, who might perhaps be more useful in the present mode of warfare.

Three are my reasons for urging that a decision be taken as soon as possible in this matter. One is the Emperor's reputation, which might suffer considerably, if, after so many days spent in Italy, nothing was done one way or the other. The second, the great expense and cost of so many armies, and the third, the approach of the winter season, during which military operations are not so easily conducted as at other times.

Indorsed: "Il Marchese di Mantua à Monsignore di Pelu," (*sic.*)

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

20 Sept. **156.** The Emperor to his Ambassadors at Rome.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 136.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 157.

Francesco Sforza rejects reasonable terms. Must use force. The troops under Antonio de Leyva, and part of those which have been sent to Pavia,* and are expected to reach their destination to-day, have orders to march at once into the Duke's territory. Orders have likewise been sent to the Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) to invade the Venetian territory with the army that came lately from Flanders and Germany, and do therein all the harm he possibly can. Pavia and Alessandria once reduced, the troops under Leyva are also to march against Venice until the Signory comes to terms as it is just they should.—Piacenza, 20th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

20 Sept. **157.** The "Vicario and Dodeci della Provisione di Milano" to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 385.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 158.

Yesterday, the 19th, the Spanish infantry arrived in this city in a state of mutiny, and quartered themselves upon the citizens, intending to live at their expense (*comiendo á discrecion*). The city is so exhausted and ruined that it cannot bear this new burden. It is reduced to a mere corpse. Beg him to command his soldiers not to treat the Milanese as enemies.—Milan, 20th September 1529.

Italian. Original. p. 1.

20 Sept. **158.** Loys de Praët and Miçer Miguel Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 89–90.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 159.

Thursday, the 16th inst., in the afternoon, Cisneros, the courier, arrived with the Imperial letters of the 12th, having stopped full 24 hours at the Prince's camp, who, occupied as he

* "Y algo de lo que truxo sobre Pavia donde oy llegará."

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was at the time in the taking of Cortona, could not attend to him at once.

Communicated the measures to be taken against the Venetians, and also against the Duke; and His Holiness approved of them. Reported also on the affair of Don Sigismundo and shewed him the orders issued for his apprehension; but His Holiness objected to his arrest, and to give him up to the Imperial magistrates to be judged, on the plea that Rome was of old a free town, where no refugee could be captured. As Don Sigismundo is closely related to His Holiness, and is almost his guest, since he is now staying with Jacopo Salviati within the Palace, we have not insisted on this point until we hear what the Emperor's pleasure is.

Spoke to him about ecclesiastical promotions. The Pope made some difficulties about the Lord of Monaco, who, he said, had already two archbishoprics, namely, one in France, (Grasse), the other in Sardinia (Oristan).

According to advices from Naples, the Venetians at Brindisi fired three pieces of ordnance, and one of their captains, Simon Romano, a distinguished knight of this country, who had served under the French, and was a man of importance, was killed in consequence.

Quarta.—Accquia or Imperial Canal of Aragon.

Miçer Andrea del Burgo tells us he hears from certain quarters that His Imperial Majesty must be very careful about his cook, and have all his food closely tested every day.

Gave the Pope his message about the English business. He told us that the brief had already been sent, and that he trusted the affair would come to a good issue.

The Bishop of Tarbes (Grammont) is at his usual tricks again. The other day he went to the Pope and told him that the principal reason the Venetians had for not coming to terms with the Emperor was their unwillingness to give up Ravenna and Cervia. They would (he knew) gladly sign the peace provided an article was added to the treaty intimating that the affair should be tried juridically in order to ascertain to whom those cities really belonged. The Pope's answer was, that after the towns had been restored to him, he should have no objection to the legal inquiry being instituted. The Bishop is also reported to have told the Pope: "I hear Your Holiness is about to start for Bologna [to meet the Emperor]. It is a wonder to me that Your Holiness has decided upon a measure of such importance without first apprizing the kings of France and England of it, and hearing what they had to say;" which words the Pope answered by saying: "The action in itself is so meritorious and good that I do not think it necessary to consult or ask people's advice about it." Now had such words as the Bishop is reported to have said to His Holiness come from another quarter

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we might consider them of some importance, but knowing how light-headed he is, it is hardly necessary for us to take notice of them.

Account of the festivities, &c.

Morone arrived the day before yesterday. He goes back to the Prince to-morrow. We had orders from the latter to have him closely watched by spies, so that if he attempted to take another route he might be arrested. As this, however, could not be accomplished without noise and scandal of some sort, and as besides we (Mai and I) perceived that he was on the right path (*bien encaminado*) we have not complied with that order. We must add that Morone being, as he is, escorted by upwards of 30 horsemen of his own, it would have been no easy task for us to get hold of him. We have written to the Prince, telling him the road he (Morone) has taken, and he may, if he chooses, on the excuse of keeping him company, send some officer with a strong detachment of troops.

The Prince also wanted us to ask for 30,000 ducats, which he asserts is the amount of pay due to his army for this present month of September. We mentioned the fact to the Pope, who answered that he would willingly remit the sum if he had the money. Should we (the Imperial ambassadors) point out to him in what manner the funds could be procured he would forthwith issue the necessary orders. We have consequently written to the Prince to have patience for a while, and do his best. Letters have since been received from him announcing the taking of Cortona and that a sum of 20,000 crs. had been obtained from the inhabitants, by way of compensation, which will enable him to wait some little time.

The garrison of Cortona came out without arms, but with sticks in their hands, as agreed. The city and its castle have been taken possession of by the Papal troops. This very morning the Prince's letter, announcing the surrender, was by us delivered to the Pope, who showed great satisfaction, and added that the capitulation of Florence was, in his opinion, a settled thing (*cosa hecha*). The Pope, moreover, has not yet lost all hope of the Duke of Milan's reduction, though he thinks the Venetians are the only cause of his obstinate refusal. He strongly blamed the answer given by the Signory to the Imperial deputies.

The Bishop of Tarbes (Grammont) called this morning upon us, and said that he had always wished to see the Emperor and his master on good terms. Now that they were friends they might together govern the whole world, provided their ministers and ambassadors were prudent and wise. A number of similar flattering things did the Bishop tell us, to which we made a proper and courteous answer. We shall return his visit to-morrow.

Francisco de Tovar writes [from Siena] that he has there six pieces of ordnance and one culverin, two half culverins,

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and 12 more pieces of light artillery, besides powder and ammunition. Of this last article he has lately received from Naples no less than 218 barrels, besides 700 balls and 100 more for culverines. He has also prepared 400 scaling ladders and 1,000 "gastatori," with all the necessary instruments and tools for the siege of Florence. He is only waiting the Prince's orders.—Rome, Monday the 20th of September 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Miguel Mai."

Spanish. Original almost entirely in cipher. pp. 4.

21 Sept. **159.** The Emperor to the Marquis of Mantua.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 103.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 167.

Appoints him (Federigo Gonzaga) "Ducem et Capitaneum Generalem" of all the cavalry and infantry now coming from Germany.—Piacenza, 21st September 1529.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

21 Sept. **160.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 18.

Since my last despatch informing Your Majesty of my arrival in London, as likewise of my sending one of my men with a message to the King to ascertain when it would be his pleasure to grant me an audience, and another to the Queen announcing my arrival, and the object of my mission; also inquiring whether it was possible for me to communicate with her first,—as prescribed in my instructions,—in order to know her wishes and do her will, what I (Chapuys) have to report is:

That the King immediately sent back my messenger with a very gracious letter, in which he expressed great pleasure at my coming, and said he was about to send his first secretary, Dr. Guenich (Hennege), to London, that he might entertain and conduct me to Grafton, where he purposed being about the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*le jour de Sainte Croix*). The Queen, on the other hand, sent a message through her physician (Fernando de Victoria), to say how pleased and comforted she was by my coming; she had felt more joy at the news than she had experienced for a long time; my arrival could not be more opportune, &c. As to waiting on her, as I proposed, the Queen sent to say it was entirely out of the question; it could not be done according to my wish without the King's permission. She would, however, send me her own physician, a very trusty man, through whom she could keep me "au courant des afferes."

The Queen fulfilled her promise, and accordingly sent me her physician, whom I met as I was leaving the house. Surrounded as I was at the time by officers [from the King's household], who accompanied and escorted me through the streets of this capital, it is a mystery to me how the said physician dared make [in their presence] a summary of what had occurred in the divorce case, the origin and causes of it,

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&c. With regard to further proceedings (he said), the Queen wished me to consider and calculate the best means of promoting the advocation of the cause to Rome, inasmuch as the King, her husband, as Your Majesty will hear hereafter, opposed it violently. Also to consider whether any of the expedients suggested to overcome the King's obstinacy would serve that purpose. Though the King, she owned, had for the last three or four days put on a better mien than was his wont, I was not to fail on that account to make him feel as strongly as I could the great interest Your Majesty took in the affair. This I was requested to declare in public whenever I had the opportunity, not forgetting at the same time to apply for the King's permission to wait on her. I was also advised not to spare in my interview with the King, her husband, such flattering and conciliatory words as might, without prejudice to my commission, influence his nature, which is more accessible to persuasion than to threat.* After duly delivering his message as above, the physician, Victoria, left me as late as possible in the evening to avoid observation.

Three days before my departure [for Grafton] Dr. Guenich (Hennege) called, and said he had received orders from the King, his master, to come to me a little sooner than the appointed time, keep me company here [in London] and help me, if required, to find comfortable quarters, provide post horses, &c. As I had already provided for all these wants I declined the Doctor's services and company. He then asked me what my mission was, observing that I could confide it to him without scruple of any sort, he (Hennege) being a member of the King's Privy Council, and, therefore, sure to hear of it in due time. My answer was: "That is the very reason why I decline complying with your request, for you being, as you say, one of that body (*mestier*), are sure to get cognizance of the matter soon enough." Upon which the said Hennege smiled and said in a familiar tone: "If I asked the question of your Worship it was merely by way of suggestion (*par manniere de devise*), and not otherwise; the commission I have from the King, my master, is merely to ask you whether you wish to expound your charge publicly before the Privy Council or privately before the King, and whether you wish to speak in Latin or French." I replied: "That will depend entirely upon the King's pleasure and will. It is for him to decide what language is to be used at our next interview. Should the choice be left to me I should speak French, as being the language most in use, and that which the King himself understands and speaks best. The King, moreover, must be aware that in the words of my commission my statements must be simple (*naif*) and plain, and such as I am

* "Aussy me fist elle advertyr que en ce que pourroit gratiffier au Roy et luy donner gloyre (sans prejudice de ma charge) que le deusse far (*sic*), cart sa nature veust ainsy estre mené."

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directed by my instructions to make without any rhetorical figures or elegant phrases such as are generally used in public orations,* which, owing to several considerations more or less weighty, and which I needed not put forward, ought to be avoided in the present instance, inasmuch as the close friendship and alliance now existing between Your Majesty and the king of England required no public testimony, nor could the matter now under discussion be improved either way by giving it publicity or courting the popular favour, since everything rested with the King, and was to be an act of his own free will and discretion. Respecting the oration or address, which the King thought I was prepared to make, like other Imperial ambassadors in similar circumstances, it struck me forcibly that His Highness, being so magnanimous a prince, so wise, so prudent, and so reasonable, it would be as absurd in me to deliver in his presence a laudatory oration merely to bring forth facts apparent to common honesty and reason, as it was in that philosopher, who in the presence of Hannibal the Carthagenian, discoursed upon military glory and science.† The King, however, would decide which it was to be, a private or a public audience, as I was quite prepared to do his pleasure.

Dr. Hennege agreed to this proposition of mine, and as I afterwards learned, the King himself was pleased at my answer.

The day before the Exaltation of the Cross we started from London, and arrived the same evening at a place three miles distant from where the King was supposed to be. Lodgings had there been prepared for us for the night, the King residing then at a manor so small and confined that half the servants of his household in ordinary had to lodge elsewhere. The day afterwards, however, orders came for the Doctor [Hennege] and me to appear before him at 11 o'clock. We reached the place at nine in the morning, and were received at the gate by Mr. Rosselz (Sir John Russel), comptroller of the royal household (*premier sommelier de corps du Roy*) who had orders to entertain us at his rooms until the King should come out of church. Mass over, the King came, entered the audience hall, and sent for us. As soon as he saw me from the very end of the hall, a very spacious and long one, where he was conversing apart with some of his Privy Councillors, he came forward and sat in the middle of it in an arm chair, which had been prepared for him, and under a small canopy (*dosselet*). The

* "Aussy qu'il pourroit imaginer et cognoistre que les propos que luy tiendres (*sic*) seroint les naifs et propres que m'avoint esté ordonnés sans aultre couleur ni aguisement de parler en publicque."

† "Il m' estoit advis, que estant le dit Sr. Roy ung prince si magnanime, sçavant, prudent et raysonable, il seroit aussy grand souttize de faire orayson dèvant luy, pour lui louer et remonstrer choses de rayson et honnesteté, comme fust du philosophe qui devant Hannibal fist une orayson de la gloyre et art militaire."

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King, at my approach, rose from his seat, advanced three or four paces to meet me, and bade me most graciously to come nearer. I did not enter at once into the matter of my commission, as I thought it better to thank him first for sending his secretary to me, and for the offers made in his name. I explained again in as few words as possible my reasons for desiring that the audience should be private instead of public, and repeated almost the same words I had said to Dr. Guenich (Hennege). This I did on purpose, that he might listen with greater attention to what I had to say, as did happen. For having presented Your Majesty's letter he took it in his hand, but did not attempt to open it at the time, believing it, no doubt, to be a mere credential. I then began to expound my commission without omitting any part of my instructions, adding from time to time some little remark of my own, which I considered fit for the purpose. The King, meanwhile, listened with much attention, with open mien and smiling countenance (*à visage ouvert et allegre*). My address at an end, the King began by welcoming me to his kingdom, and saying: "I could really have wished that the person I sent to visit you had been more suitable (*propice*); I would have chosen a better one had I had one at hand. I am very glad and happy to see that since God has been pleased to make peace between the Emperor and myself the charge of cementing and preserving that very peace has devolved upon a man of your parts, so wise and so well inclined, for if my own information and that communicated by my ambassadors be correct, I have not the least doubt that you will do your best to preserve the friendship and alliance between your master and myself. The discretion or indiscretion of ambassadors is often the cause of the enmities and quarrels of princes as it is also the cause of their friendships and alliances. As to me, the Emperor will always find me at my post as in past times, and certainly he must own that my friendship has hitherto been of some use to him. Respecting the principal point of your commission (this he said in a low tone of voice, and as graciously as before), I must candidly tell you that I do not see what reason the Emperor has for refusing to send me the brief of dispensation for the marriage between the Queen and myself, when both of us conjointly have applied for it. One might say that great injury had been done to both parties by such refusal, for the Emperor must know that a Papal brief addressed to me and to the Queen, is our joint property, belongs exclusively to us,* and ought to be in our hands, not in those of people whom it does

* Il fault que je vous dis qu'il me semble que l'Empereur mon frere n'avoit grande rayson ne occasion de fere refus du bref de la dispensation entre la Royne et moy, en estant si instamment requis de la part de tous deux. Et pourroit l'on dire qu'il nous en fist tord et grand prejudice, car yl sçayt bien ou doyt sçavoir que puisque le bref est devisé et intitulé a moy et a la Royne, c'est chose nostre qui nous appartient."

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not concern. In case of the Emperor claiming to have an interest in the affair, a faithful transcript might have been sufficient instead of retaining the original itself." The King then went on reproducing the very same arguments once made by his own ambassadors and those of the Queen in Your Majesty's presence, when they went to ask for the brief, though it must be said that he occasionally amplified and coloured them as much as he could, sometimes in Latin, at others in French, saying among other things: "I cannot help thinking, seeing the Emperor's pertinacious refusal to send us the brief of dispensation, that it must be a forgery, made, I have no doubt, without the Emperor's knowledge, for I believe him to be incapable of such an act. I have caused all the register books at Rome to be searched, and in none of them is mention made of such a brief, whereas everyone knows that if such document really emanated from the Holy See there would still remain some record or trace of it.*

"Besides (continued the King) it is a wonder to me how the Emperor, being like myself a secular prince, and the case being a purely ecclesiastical one, has mixed himself up with such matters, and gone so far as to solicit urgently the prosecution of the trial at Rome; for His Majesty knows very well that this is purely an affair of conscience, and one in which, putting aside consanguinity, friendship, or any other consideration, the truth must be investigated and made patent. Had the Emperor, your master, sent us the brief of dispensation when we applied for it the whole affair might now be cleared up and decided. If so, it would have been a great pleasure and comfort to me, for the delay in the decision of this case is extremely annoying, inasmuch as so long as the matter remains in suspense the exercise of marriage is expressly forbidden to us both.†

Respecting the advocation of the case to the Papal Court, the King maintained that it was far more legal, reasonable, and convenient that the case should be tried and decided here in London than anywhere else. For it was absolutely necessary (he observed) that the judges should hear what the Queen and himself, who were not people of a condition to be summoned to appear at Rome had to say; besides which there was a number of witnesses too old and infirm to quit the kingdom and give evidence so far from home in a country so troubled and distracted by war as Italy had been for many years past, and was indeed still. In consideration of which, and in order the more to facilitate the inquiry, His Holiness, the Pope, had

* "La dite difficulté d'envoyer le bref luy fait croyre que ce soit une chose fourgee, sans toutesfoy, le sceu de Vostre Majesté, qu'il 'sçait ne vouldroit permettre tel cas. Et qu'il a fayt revisiter tous les registres de Rome, et n'a esté question d'en trouver le moindre memoire du monde, que bien se fust trouvé si veritablement le dit bref fust quelque foys emané de Notre Saint Pere."

† "Cart la tardance et deslay de la decision de ce affere l'ennuyt extremement pour autant qu' entre deux yl est frustré et interdit le exercise de marriage, que [ce] ne seroit estant determiné pour ou contre."

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motu proprio, without solicitation of any person whomsoever, but actuated merely by a sense of justice and impartiality, committed the case to two of his cardinals (Campeggio and Wolsey) to be tried in England. "At that time (the King continued) I wrote a letter in my own hand to the Pope, saying that not only did I consider it expedient that this matter of the marriage or divorce should be investigated in this my kingdom, but that in my opinion it was quite indispensable that it should be so, as no one in his senses could venture to think of sending the case to Rome, on account of the violence of the Imperial soldiers, who had treated His Holiness in such a disrespectful and brutal manner as to make him still tremble whenever he thought of it."* For this very reason did the Pope promise them most solemnly that he would never advoke the case to Rome. This lasted until the moment when the Emperor and the Pope made league together, when by the terms of the treaty of peace and alliance concluded at Barcelona, and perhaps also through dread of the Emperor and of his army, the Pope was compelled to do the Emperor's pleasure in this respect, and grant that which for the whole previous year he had considered unfair, for he has recently decreed the advocation against all reason, and even against his own promise, that whatever the sentence of the legates, he would confirm it. That the Holy Father (he continued) was influenced by the above-mentioned considerations, and, therefore, decreed the advocation of the case merely to please the Emperor and comply with his will cannot for a moment be doubted, for certainly the commission given in the first instance by the Apostolic See to two dignitaries of the Church of such rank and authority as Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey, the former of whom was in possession of benefices and pensions from the Emperor, could not give rise to suspicion or scruple of any kind, especially as no intimidation or persuasion was meant, which would have been dishonest and unfair in a case of this kind, in which he (the Pope) never was either principal or party.† "Besides which (said the King) I am a conscientious prince, who prefers his own salvation to all the goods and advantages of this world, as appears sufficiently from my conduct in this affair, for had I been differently situated and not so prone to obey the voice of conscience, nobody should have hindered me from adopting other measures, which I have not taken and never will take."‡

With regard to the Queen's defence, the King remarked, it could be undertaken here, in London, much better and more

* "Par la crainte et violence de l'exercite de Vostre Majeste, que l'avoit ainsy traicte que le nom seul le faysoit encore trembler."

† "Yl n'y devoit tumber suspicion ne scrupule; mesmes attendu qu'il n'estoit pour les constraindre ne leur persuader chose que ne fust honneste et raysonnable, specialement en ce affaire dont yl ne fust jamays promoteur ni partie."

‡ "Cart quant yl eust été autre nul ne l'eust peu garder de fere d'autres choses et en user d'autre sorte qu'il n'a fayt ne vouldroit fere."

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freely than anywhere else. He had given orders to the councillors, chosen by the Queen herself, to serve and advise her faithfully, which they had done hitherto with the same affectionate and constant regard for her interests as if the action for divorce had been brought on by the meanest peasant in his dominions, some of them going as far as writing books, and maintaining what they call the Queen's rights "jusques au feu" (such were the King's words). Besides which, had the Queen wished for a counsel of foreign lawyers he would have allowed them to come, as he did in the case of the two who came from Flanders.

The King was very glad to hear (as he himself observed) of Your Majesty's conviction that the whole of this affair had no other cause and origin than the peace and tranquillity of his own conscience. Such, and no other, were his motives, as he had informed Your Majesty by his letter. That this was the real truth, as true as the Gospel, no one could doubt who had examined his conduct in the affair. As to the remark which I made in the course of my address to him, namely, that if the matter was merely one of conscience he ought to be satisfied with the exhibition of the original brief before his ambassadors, and with the attested copy sent to him, he said: "As some suspicion hangs over the brief, a copy is not enough to set my conscience at rest. It frequently happens that transcripts are made of false documents. As to saying that my ambassadors in Spain, who were experienced men in such matters, saw and examined the original itself, that is no proof of its authenticity, for it was not shewn to them as it ought to have been, and yet they (the ambassadors) had observed certain flaws in it, of which they had not, out of respect for Your Imperial Majesty, taken any notice at the time,* thereby meaning, if I am rightly informed, that one of his ambassadors, the Auditor (Ghinucci), had written to say that the brief was decidedly a forgery, inasmuch as the Papal bull and the brief itself were dated the 26th of December of the same year, whereas they ought to bear different dates, for the bulls are generally calendered from the birth of Christ (*la Nativité*), whereas the briefs are from the Incarnation. The King, himself, did not say so, but I know from a very good source that this is one of the flaws which the said Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber pretends to have found in it.

"Besides (continued the King) how could I attach faith to copies which do not agree together, for one of the attestations declares the original document to have been found in the

* "Mais quant a ce que luy dis qu'a ce effayt, pour l'information de sa conscience, luy debvoit souffire le transumpt, il repondist que demeurant la suspicion susdite du brief, le transumpt n'estoit souffisant pour en esclerey (*sic*) la conscience, et que plusieurs foiz l'on fait bien de transumps sur des faux instrumens, et que de dire que ses ambassadeurs avoint veu l'original, que sont gens que se y entendent, cella n'estoit assez, cart yl ne leur fust monstré en la forme que ce debvoit, et neantmoins quils avoint bien notté chose qu'ils ne vousloient (*sic*) desclayrer devant Vostre Majesté, &c."

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Archives of Spain, whilst the other says that it was discovered among the papers of a notary ?"

"I suppose (he added) the steps hitherto taken in this affair have been advised or suggested to the Emperor by some person or other, for his professions and tastes are not that way; indeed, I should have no difficulty in asserting, which I have not done before, that had the Emperor heard as much of this case as I happen to know he would at once desist from the prosecution."* Then he said: "Do you imagine that I have acted lightly in this case ? Not the least, I would never believe those who spoke to me without first discussing the question and consulting books about it." I saw that the King by these words meant to drag me into a polemic about the validity of the marriage, and therefore shunned as much as possible the discussion of this point for two reasons: the first and principal the defence of Your Imperial Majesty's acts and interference in the affair; the other, that there are already books written on the subject in which this matter of the attempted divorce has been sufficiently discussed, so much so that there is no need of further argumentation for or against it.

After this the King continued: "All these events have passed at times when difference of opinion and enmity prevailed between the Emperor and me; now that peace has been concluded things will go on differently and better," which last sentence he repeated in a rather emphatic tone. Indeed, I found the King's manner, whilst uttering this sentiment, so different from the mildness and composure of his former speech, that I determined, as previously advised by the Queen, to follow another tack, and praise and exalt him [rather than show opposition and mistrust]. I told him that he had just given such a testimony of his great penetration and talent, as well as of his consummate skill in these matters, by the easy and clear exposition of those very points which constituted the basis of my instructions, that I did not hesitate to say no man, however learned, could have done it better. "Nevertheless (said I), I firmly believe that Your Highness inwardly approves of the Emperor's conduct in this affair, and that the objections raised against it are more intended on the part of Your Highness as a display of wit and talent than as a serious contradiction of my master's mode of thinking and behaviour in this matter." As to any dispute arising between His Highness and the Emperor (I added), there can really be none, for united as you both are now by almost brotherly affection, if contention and dispute should arise between your two Majesties, it can only be for the purpose of your gratifying each other. This much I can

* "Sachant que la profession ne vacation en telles matieres n'estoit pour Vostre Majesté, et qu'il ouseroit bien affermer tant avant, et dire ce qu'il n'a fayt jusques à ceste heure, que si Vostre Majesté entendoit en ce cas ce que luy en sçait, elle se deporteroit d'en faire aucune poursuytte."

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vouch for the Emperor, my master, convinced as I am that his utmost wish is to please his brother of England. Your Highness, who is so wise and reasonable, cannot fail to be satisfied with the answer once given to the English ambassadors [in Spain], and with what I myself have stated in fulfilment of my charge. It is not for me to dispute the point with Your Highness, but I cannot help observing that the refusal by the Emperor to deliver the original brief of dispensation was owing—apart from other reasons and considerations elsewhere stated—principally to the great danger of its being lost on the road, or falling into bad hands, for in these eventful times, when the accomplishment of this divorce might lead to perpetual enmity between the two Princes, there would not be wanting parties ready enough to waylay the bearer and get hold of the brief, and that might be accomplished in various ways."

The King here interrupted me by asking several times the question: "But now pray, what are the Emperor's reasons for thus keeping the brief in his power, and not sending it to me to whom by right it belongs?" As I perceived his obstinacy on this point I could not help answering: "If Your Highness wishes to know what my own private opinion is about the retention of this brief by the Emperor I will at once state it in corroboration of what has already been alleged elsewhere: it is founded on right, and I would have no objection to defend this right in a court of law." The King nodded his assent, and I continued: "That the brief itself does not belong to Your Highness, and that there is no reason whatever to compel the Emperor to surrender it can be easily proved, for if Your Highness believes it to be a forgery, and not issued from the Roman Chancery, it is quite evident that it was not addressed to Your Highness, or the cost paid out of your Royal Treasury, which are the two conditions required to claim possession of an instrument. Besides, the brief is like a letter missive from the Pope; and it is an axiom of civil law that a letter missive does not belong to the person to whom it is addressed, unless he actually receives it. Ergo, His Highness cannot assert that the instrument belongs to him, since he owns never having seen or heard of it. Even supposing that it really belonged to Your Highness, my master's interest in the affair was such as to make it rightful, and even necessary, that the brief should remain in his (the Emperor's) hands, as prescribed by common law, which ordains that instruments concerning various parties should be preserved and kept by the highest in authority amongst them*, who, of course, is obliged, when required, to furnish attested copies of the same to the interested parties." Then I added, in a milder tone, not to over irritate the King,† that although Your Majesty was a secular prince, not an ecclesiastical one,

* "Entre les mains du plus digne."

† "Toutes fois je lui voulu dire ceste tone pour non l'irriter pas trop."

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yet nobody could deny him the right of interference in an affair of this sort, since notwithstanding the protest entered by his ambassadors at Saragossa, it had never crossed Your Majesty's mind to exercise jurisdiction in this case, and therefore that their remonstrances and protests fell to the ground as null and inappropriate.*

Respecting the cause itself, and whether it was to be tried and sentenced at Rome, or elsewhere, I had nothing to say. He had refused to comply with Your Majesty's wishes in this matter, and, therefore, nothing was left but to obey the Pope's commands and refer to the brief lately forwarded to the Cardinal of York, wherein it was expressly declared that, although right and justice were against him, he (the Pope) had, out of consideration for His Highness, and to do him pleasure, delayed as much as it was in his power, the just and legitimate advocation of the case to his court. With regard to the brief which His Holiness had written to him in his own hand, it was for His Highness to consider whether it was likely that our common Father, the Pope, who had on so many occasions shewn himself hostile to Your Imperial Majesty—of which hostility and ill-will he (the King of England) could testify better than anyone else, since out of regard for him he had joined the Italian League against the Emperor—would now, out of affection for that same prince, whom he had offended and ill-treated, condescend to issue such a brief in favour of the Queen, his aunt, and against him, his best friend and ally, had he not been stirred by a sense of justice and duty, and by the sanction of his Apostolic authority? As to me, I wondered not at the Pope issuing the brief in question; my wonder was that he had not in the first instance written to say that the marriage was null and void, and that it was neither wrong nor difficult to obtain a separation and divorce.

It was evident to me that this topic was a disagreeable one for the King, and that he feared lest by going on with my argument, it should be proved, as many people here and elsewhere pretend to say, that our Holy Father had been one of the promoters of the divorce, for he suddenly interrupted me by saying: "Enough about that Pope (*ce Pape*), this is not the first time that he has changed his mind; I have long known his versatile and fickle nature."

With regard to his assertion that the Pope would never dare pronounce sentence in the affair, unless it was favourable to Your Majesty and to the Queen, I observed that His Highness ought to cast away all fear on that account. Your Imperial Majesty was the Prince of Christendom, who feared God most, and had the greatest regard for justice. Had he considered the marriage illegitimate, not only would he not object to a separation of the parties, but would never have consented to two persons of their rank, and so closely allied to him, living in sin. Your Majesty should show to the World

* "Et que les protestations estoint bien frustatoires et hors de propos."

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that he was not an usurper or a tyrant, and although all powerful now in Italy, would not abuse his power. These last words were not much to the King's liking, for he kept repeating: "Not so much (*non point trop*), not so much."

As to the difficulty which His Highness found in himself, the Queen, and the witnesses repairing to Rome, I told him plainly that the remedy was at hand. He had only to appoint agents and proctors to represent him there, not liable to suspicion as the last were, but impartial and honest men, without any jurisdiction, commission, or mandate whatsoever, save that of examining [witnesses] and proving their allegations, and justice would have its course all the same.

As the King in the course of conversation had frequently alluded to the last peace, saying that he had been one of its principal promoters, I could not help remarking that the chief cause which had moved Your Majesty to conclude the said peace, and to let many things pass (*et laisser couler beaucoup de choses*), was the affection and regard he entertained for him, as well as his wish to gratify him, and follow in the track (*brisèes*) of the treaty which he himself had drawn. In fact, I had charge to tell him, in case the treaty of Cambray had not been concluded and signed before my arrival, that if he (the King) wished to become one of the mediators, Your Majesty would be much pleased by his acceptance of the post, and would certainly have done more for him than for any other prince in the world, without stopping to consider whether that peace was to his taste or not, thus showing how grateful Your Majesty was for such interference, and that Your Imperial Majesty had by no means forgotten the pleasures and enjoyments of his kind hospitality, or the timely assistance [in money] to which he had alluded. If Your Majesty had not yet taken his revenge (*revanche*) in this respect he would soon do so, for Your Majesty's nature was such that he could not allow himself to be surpassed in generosity and affection by anyone. I, therefore, again entreated him to consider the friendly message whereof I was the bearer, &c.

To this exposition of the various points contained in my instructions the King replied that he was exceedingly glad to hear of Your Majesty's kind sentiments towards him, which he reciprocated. Returning to the principal object of your mission, (he said): "Whenever the Emperor feels disposed to listen to my reasons, and consents to waive all affections for the sake of justice, and to look into the truth of this case, I shall have no difficulty to abide by his decision (*qu'il s'en voudroit bien tenir á ce*).

The King did not say more on this occasion, and even the last words passed only between us two. I replied that neither passion nor affection had command of Your Majesty's heart. That could not be doubted even in the present case, which was equally a matter of conscience for him and for the parties concerned. Upon which he (the King) interrupted me

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by saying: "Well, it is getting late, and I must needs go. I shall soon be in London, where we can discuss these matters more at leisure." My answer was; "As to my waiting Your Highness' pleasure in London, I must observe that, although I have been appointed Imperial ambassador at this Court in case of Doctor Lee retaining that office next the Emperor's person, yet——." Here the King again interrupted me and said: "It is true that Doctor Lee has been recalled owing to the Emperor having left him behind in Spain, but that is no reason for your returning so soon, for I have already appointed other ambassadors to replace the Doctor, and they will soon take their departure [for Italy]." He then told me to stop to dinner, promising that I should be well entertained, and gave Mons. de Rochefort orders to that effect. After which, and when about to retire to his private apartments, he added: "Should news come from the Emperor, or you yourself want anything, you have only to inform me of your wishes by letter, or through one of your secretaries and they shall be attended to immediately." I then begged his permission to call on the Queen and present the Emperor's letters to her, which he willingly granted, and then retired to his apartments.

On my leaving the Audience Hall Mr. de Rochefort, the King's treasurer, and other gentlemen of the Court came to welcome me. The King then sent for the treasurer (Rochefort) and others of his Privy Council and related to them part of our conversation, as I afterwards learned from Mr. de Rochefort himself, when, after our return to the hall, he, my guide (Dr. Hennege), another gentleman, and myself sat down together to dine. During dinner the conversation turned naturally on Your Imperial Majesty, and I must say that the said Mr. de Rochefort inquired most kindly after your health, your passage to Italy, the suite you took thither, and other particulars; after which he remarked that the affairs of Christendom could not but go on prosperously now that its two chief heads (meaning Your Imperial Majesty and the Pope) were agreed. His not mentioning other Christian princes made me suspect that this was said rather ironically, and that perhaps he (the treasurer) would have preferred on his daughter's account that Pope and Emperor had not been so united as they are on this occasion. After dinner, however, he took me apart and said: "The King tells me that you are thinking of leaving us soon owing to Dr. Lee's recall from Spain. You must not do that." My answer was: "So I was determined to do at first, but since the King proposes sending another embassy to the Emperor you may tell him that I will remain, for such are my instructions which His Highness had no time to hear in full." I can assure you replied Mr. de Rochefort that the King, my master, whatever his differences with the Emperor may have been at other times, bears him more affection than anyone can think, imagine, or

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describe. I would have given anything, nay, the whole of my fortune, for the Emperor to be convinced of my master's good-will and affectionate regard, and that such being the case the two princes should certainly understand each other on all points." "The King may be sure," was my answer, "that the Emperor, my master, fully reciprocates such sentiments, and as to your saying that you would willingly give up the whole of your fortune for such conviction and assurance, I may tell you that you can be gratified at much less expense, for I will take the very first opportunity, as my instructions prescribe, of convincing you and the King of my master's sentiments." At this juncture a gentleman came out of the King's chamber in search of Mr. de Rochefort, upon which, after promising to renew our conversation when we first met in London, he took leave of me, and went into the King' apartments.

Soon after this Mons. de Rossel (Russel) and other gentlemen of the Royal Household came to conduct me to the apartments of the Queen, who, attended by a number of gentlemen and ladies, came out of her chamber. I presented my credentials to her, and proceeded to explain in almost the same words I had used to the King, the object of my mission. The Queen seemed very much gratified at my coming, and observed that if my words and remarks to the King had been as described, no one could have executed his commission better or spoken more to her satisfaction. Respecting the Papal brief, about which the King himself had spoken with such persistence, she observed that for those who had any regard for truth and justice, and knew the ins and outs of the affair,* there was no necessity for that document. After which she said: "There are, however, matters upon which I dare not, surrounded as I am, speak to you in detail. I will send you one of my servants to explain the remainder. There is, however, one thing I must not forget, which is that if you have not yet visited Cardinal Campeggio, it is very important that you should see him as soon as possible, and thank him in my name and in that of the Emperor also for his honest and rightful behaviour, and the trouble he has taken in this affair. As to me, I am so grateful for what he has done that I should hardly know how to repay his services." I then told her that I was the bearer of letters both from Your Imperial Majesty and from Madame for the Cardinal of York, and that I wished to know whether I ought to deliver them or not. "There is no necessity (replied the Queen), for the Cardinal's affairs are at this moment rather embroiled (*en gran brausle*)." This last sentence she said in such a low tone of voice that nobody but myself could hear her, and I doubt even whether the courtiers in the room could see her actually move her lips. After this she raised her voice to

* "Et quant au briefz sur quoy le Roy avoit tant persisté, qu'il ne seroit nul besoing d'icelluy briefz [a] qui voudroit considerer la verite et justice et les choses comme elles sont passées."

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its usual pitch, and inquired where Your Majesty was, and whether your health was good, and so forth. After hearing my answer to all and every one of the above questions, she asked me for the letter which she knew Your Majesty had written to her in your own hand, and which I had not yet dared present. She told me to pass it over to her physician, which I did, after which the conference ended, and I took leave of her. I must not omit to say that as I was on my way to the Queen's apartments under the guidance of Master Rossel I was complimented by him on the satisfactory and pleasing manner in which the King had received me. I had already received from Mr. de Rochefort similar assurances, and if truth be told, I myself was far from expecting such a reception. So when I heard my guide (Mr. Russel) insist so much on this topic, and tell me all manner of agreeable things respecting the good impression I had made upon the King, his master, and other flattering remarks about my person, such as the courtiers of this country are in the habit of saying to any new ambassador, I seized the opportunity, and said to him: "I am happy to hear by what you tell me that half my task is already accomplished, for if the King is as pleased with me as you say, half the game is played; it now remains for my master, the Emperor, to be equally satisfied on his own side with what the King and I have said and done in the affair. I wish you would go back to the King and beg him, before he starts for the chase, to give me some sort of resolution on the subject of my mission. Though he has spoken at length, I confess I am unable to guess what his real intentions are, and what he proposes doing. He has certainly raised several objections and told me many things rather with a view to argue than because he really is of a different opinion, but I cannot judge of his intentions. I, therefore, most humbly beg him to say whether he wishes me to add to or curtail, or otherwise modify, what he has just said to me, for I am desirous to inform the Emperor as soon as possible of the result of my mission. If I do not hear from him in time, I am determined to write to my Court about the favourable reception I have had, and the affection your King bears the Emperor, my master, and so forth. About my principal charge I cannot say anything definitive, unless the King himself orders me to do so in writing."

It appears, as I afterwards learned, that when Mr. de Rossel delivered this message of mine to the King, the latter was so much pleased with it that he turned to his councillors there present and said: "Now, gentlemen, do you not begin to see the truth of what I told you about this ambassador from the Emperor?" and he forthwith ordered Rossel to return to me, and say that he would shortly communicate with me through Mr. de Rochefort and his own secretary.

Coming back from the Queen's apartments I found that the King was still up (*descouché*) and conversing with Mr. de Rochefort. Secretary Rossel went in and announced me, and

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then came out with the following message: "Up to this hour the King, my master, has not yet had time to look into this affair, and prepare an answer to the Emperor; were he called upon to give one immediately he could but repeat the arguments he had made use of at the conference. But His Highness purposes going back to London soon, and there, after one or more interviews, that affair and others may and will be discussed." Meanwhile (Russel added), I was to let the King know of any news I received [from Italy], and in a like manner he would inform me of anything that came to his knowledge. He then gave orders that a beast laden with the best venison that could be procured should be sent to my lodgings in London.

I am not at all astonished at the King's not giving me an answer after dinner, as I requested, for in the first place he had then no other member of his Privy Council with him except the said Mr. de Rochefort, the father of the Lady [Anne] and then the King himself was in a great hurry to repair to the meeting place of the morning, where the Lady was ready to open the chase. So that, all things considered, the constellation under which we were was by no means a favourable one for obtaining an answer to Your Majesty's letter.

That very day I went to a place three short miles off, and stopped to see if any news or message came from the Queen. Perceiving, however, that none was forthcoming, I sent one of my men to her physician, who replied in the Queen's name: "That on no account was I to write or send an express to the Emperor until I heard from her, as she would communicate with me as soon as possible through him (the physician)." And yet she again requested me to call on Campeggio, as she had advised me to do before he went to Court, because that cardinal being on the eve of departure it was important that he should at his last audience from the King say something (*donner un recharge*) in her favour. As Campeggio, however, was then staying with the other cardinal at one of his country seats, and both were preparing to visit the King, there was no means of my seeing him in private without arousing suspicion, for he (Campeggio) was suspected of being rather favourable to the Queen and envious of Wolsey.* I, therefore, determined not to go to London, but remain where I was, from fear of meeting the said Campeggio, and having to speak to the other (Wolsey), which would have been disagreeable to the Queen, who had advised me not to call on him, and more disagreeable still to the King, as I had occasion to learn from many of his courtiers. I therefore sent one of my men to that Cardinal (Campeggio) informing him by letter, without signature or superscription, so that if intercepted nobody could tell who wrote it and to whom it

* "Qu'estoit chargé le dit Campegio de plus grande souspiccion envers le Roy, et d'envie vers le Cardinal."

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was addressed, in as few words as possible, of the message I had received from the Queen. His (Campeggio's) answer was that he expected soon to have an opportunity of speaking to the King on the subject, when he would not fail to take up the Queen's cause, as he had done at other times.

I need not particularize the good services of the Cardinal in this affair, because I know the Queen herself is about to write to Your Imperial Majesty on the subject. He has since this letter was begun visited the King, and obtained permission, though not without great difficulty, for the Cardinal of England to present himself at Court. It was at first flatly refused, on the plea that his colleague was under a sentence of exile from Court, and ordered to reside three miles away from it, and not to appear unless summoned. At last the King consented, but only on condition that the two legates should come to him without any sort of pomp or ceremony, without their crosses preceding them as usual, or that arrogant display (*braverie*) of retainers which the two cardinals were wont to shew in public, but with only 10 or 12 servants each. The Duke of Suffolk, hearing of the Cardinal's arrival at Court, has managed matters so well that it will be impossible for him (Wolsey) to lodge where the King is now living. This has been done with a view to countermine him if perchance he should return to his old practices, and get into favour again. So I hear the reception made to the two cardinals has been very meagre; there is no knowing yet how the parting audience will turn out. Campeggio is gone, as I said before, to ask for his "congé." I fancy that it will be granted more easily than the bishopric promised him in England.

*"The Queen is rather concerned and frightened at this meeting of the English Estates (Parliament) which is to take place soon. She fears that something may be brewed there against her. Her fears originate in the conduct of the King, her husband, who, she says, has played his cards so well that he is likely to get a majority of votes in his favour, and may perhaps be tempted to obtain by this means what he has not yet been able to get in any other way. But I am inclined to believe that there is no fear of that, the affection of the English for Your Majesty and for the Queen being so great."**

It is reported that the real cause of this Parliament having been convoked for the 2nd of November is, independently of others specified in my despatch of the 4th of September, to investigate the conduct and examine the accounts of all those functionaries who have been connected with the finances of this country. Others add that a motion will be made to abolish the Legatine Office in England, and prevent the Pope from appointing or sending in future legates to this country. Those who think so may not be far from the truth, for I now recollect that at the last sitting of the Legates (Campeggio and Wolsey) for the purpose of proroguing the case until the

* The paragraph in italics is entirely written in cipher.

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2nd of October, the Duke of Suffolk got into a great passion and began to swear, and say within hearing of the King himself, of the cardinals, and of all those who had come to that piteous ceremony in order to hear whether the sentence was in favour of the Queen or against her: "I see now the truth of what I have heard many people say; never at any time did a Papal legate do anything to the profit of England; they have always been, and will hereafter be a calamity and a sore to this country."

"*I need scarcely observe that if these sentiments of the Duke gain ground with the King and the people of this country, there will be a door wide open for the Lutheran heresy to creep into England, which is the very identical threat made by the English ambassador at Rome when the Pope was pleased to grant the advocation, as I have informed Your Majesty in a previous despatch. I firmly believe that if they had nothing to fear but the Pope's excommunication and malediction, there are innumerable people in this country who would follow the Duke's advice, and make of the King and ordinary prelates as many Popes. All this for the sole purpose of having the divorce case tried in England, notwithstanding the Holy Father's inhibition, and not so much perhaps for the ill-will they bear towards ecclesiastics in general, but principally on account of their property which they covet and wish to seize.* It is to be hoped, however, that fear of Your Majesty, if no other consideration, will defeat such wicked plans.

Yesterday the Queen sent her physician to ask me to despatch immediately a courier to Your Majesty with the account of the above conference, and everything else I have seen or heard since my landing in England; also to report about the general inhibition and its publication in this country, but having told him (the physician) that the execution had been already made, both at Bruges and at Dunkerk, he immediately returned to acquaint his mistress with the fact that she might, if interrogated by the King, know what to answer. The express, who was to be the bearer of this letter, will not leave until the physician's return, which, he tells me, will take place two days hence.

The Queen has sent me word expressly to warn Your Imperial Majesty against any attempts, past or future, made by the King or by his ambassadors to persuade Your Majesty that the divorce case had been merely instituted for the discharge of his conscience. That is not the fact; the idea of the separation originated entirely in his own iniquity and malice. Whatever the peace [*between the Empereor and him*] *the heart was not free, and he could not but show this on many occasions.** *The very same day the news of this last peace of Cambray arrived in London he was the first to go and announce it to the Queen, which he did in these words: "My peace with the Emperor is made, it will last as long as you*

* "Et quelque paix qu'il y ait, encoures le ceur n'estoyt franc, et ne pouvoit tenir sous (sans ?) autres foys (comme autrefois ?) d'en declarer quelque chose."

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choose." Some time ago he said at dinner: "I fancied at one time that this treaty of Cambray would be the means of ensuring peace and tranquillity to all Christendom. I was mistaken; ambition and lust of power must still be alive in the Emperor's heart since Alessandria is, I hear, being besieged by his troops."

As far as I can hear and judge, this King's obstinacy and his passion for the Lady are such that there is no chance of recalling him by mildness or fair words to a sense of his duty. Things having come to such a pitch, there can be no security or repose [for the Queen] unless the case be tried and decided [at Rome], and the sooner the better, for many reasons and political considerations, whereof Your Majesty is the best judge. I am convinced that the opposite party will not leave things as they are, but intend proceeding in the case. In proof of which assertion I may tell Your Majesty that a very few days ago the King proposed to the Queen to have the whole case transferred to Cambray instead of Rome, which proposition, of course, was rejected, and will not be accepted unless Your Majesty wishes it to be so. I must further state that the King has not yet consented to the advocation being intimated to him, as, among other things, it contains a summons for him to appear personally before the Pope at Rome, which, of course, he refuses, as besides his unwillingness to quit his kingdom on such an errand, there is a law (*pragmatique*) in England which forbids it under pain of confiscation of property and imprisonment. Neither has he allowed the inhibition to be served to the cardinals in virtue of the first Papal brief, but only by means of a second one addressed separately and individually to the Cardinal of York, which has since been done. According to the letter of this second brief, both cardinals have now resigned their powers, as well as their delegation and jurisdiction from the Pope in due form, as Your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of the deed of resignation,* so that they can no longer proceed or mix themselves up with the affair, as if the principal execution had been directed against them.†

The Queen had at one time resolved to be herself the bearer of the inhibition, and since there was no one to execute, to present the same to the King; but on the latter representing that it was quite sufficient that the two cardinals should resign, and exhorting her not to take such a step she (the Queen) agreed to desist, on condition of her counsel declaring that no harm or detriment should ensue to her interests, and that the inhibition to the cardinals should be considered sufficient. This has already been attended to in Flanders, as Madame writes, and the execution duly made both at Bruges and

* Not in the Archives.

† "Et les cardinaulx se sont demis de leur pouvoir, delegation et jurisdiction en bonne forme, comme le verra Ve. Majté., de sorte qu'ils ne peuvent non plus proceder, ne s'en mesler que si l'execution du principal depesche eust esté faytte."

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Dunkerk according to the letter and form of the mandate. The whole will, I fancy, be immediately forwarded to Rome, that the 60 days of the summons may not expire. It now remains for the Imperial ambassadors at Rome to proceed in the affair as discreetly and honourably (*honnestement*) as they can.

The Duke of Norfolk, formerly High Admiral of England, was not at Court when I arrived, and therefore I could not give him Your Majesty's letter. Brian Tuke was, and I failed not to deliver those I had for him. I may be wonderfully mistaken about the last-named official, but I cannot help thinking that he wishes to be useful to Your Majesty in his way. He was one of the first to call on me and to make all manner of offers, but as I did not know him then I refrained from saying much about him. He has called again, and when announced to me as Master Brian Tuke, I gave him the Imperial letter, which he read in my presence with much apparent gratitude, and carefully renewing the offers of service made on a former occasion. We have since conversed several times at full length, and he has promised that if he only can escape from Court he will come to me in London. I must observe that I have found many courtiers and others making similar professions of friendship and offers of service. I will not give their names until their deeds respond to their words, for, being still unacquainted with their tempers and conditions, I am unwilling to trust them, and have therefore returned their compliments in mere words.

To replace Mr. Baruech,* who, together with the Dean of the Chapel, was to have gone as ambassador to Your Majesty, the Master of the Horse (*grand escuyer*), Nicolas Caro (Carew), has been appointed, owing to the former having fallen from his horse and broken his leg. They are to start together in 10 or 12 days at the same time with another embassy to France, consisting of men "de moindre equippage et estoffe." One of them is George Bollin (Boleyn), the son of Mr. de Rochefort, and brother of the Lady Anne; the other one, Doctor Stocler (Stockley), the man who has most violently and obstinately supported the cause of the divorce, and who is still doing the utmost he can to promote it, for, I am told, scarcely one day passes without his writting some paper or suggesting some new argument in support of what he calls his master's right. *The Queen is very much afraid that he (Dr. Stokley) is sent now to France for no other purpose than that of inducing the University of Paris to write in behalf of this King.*

From Flanders I have nothing new to report since my arrival in England. I have frequently heard from Madame, but only personal news about Your Majesty, for the information of this Court, or from Hungary and the Turk. These last, however, are often obtained here much quicker than in

* The Earl of Warwick?

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Flanders, owing to the ambassadors of the Vayvod (Zapolsky) being still here, who, as Your Majesty may suppose, are not idle in circulating, as the Venetians *and the French also do*, whatever rumours there may be unfavourable to Your Majesty's brother.—London, 21st September 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 20.

— Sept. **161.** MEMORANDUM OF MATTERS to be solicited from HIS HOLINESS at BOLOGNA.

S. E. R. Cap. c. Pont L. 1, f. 141. B. M. *Add.* 28,579. f. 294.

The affairs of the Queen of England above all.

The confirmation of the bull on patronates, and that of the union and incorporation of the military orders,* with their respective masterships, &c.

Modification of the brief of absolution from the sack of Rome.

A brief empowering viceroys, governors of provinces, and presidents of "audiencias" and chancery courts to imprison, try, and condemn clergymen and ecclesiastics in general without notification.

The Inquisition.

Extension of the brief authorizing the sale or exchange of all property belonging to the military orders.

The pension of 10,000 ducats which His Holiness enjoyed on the see of Toledo.

The persons who are to be expelled from Rome.

Cardinals, &c.

Spanish. Contemporary. pp. 3.

— Sept. **162.** MIÇER MIGUEL MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.†

S. E. R. Cap. c. Pont L. 1, f. 141. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 393.

"The brief forbidding the King to take another wife, as long as the present suit is pending, has been secretly affixed in the Chancery at St. Peter and at San Petronio, in Bologna. A copy of it is now being forwarded to Madame [Margaret], that she may have it published in the low countries. Another copy has been sent to the Queen, in England, and to the Imperial ambassador [Chapuys], telling them to remit here a legal

* The masterships of the four military orders of Spain, viz.: Santiago, Calatrava, Alcantara, and Montesa, were successively incorporated with the Crown as early as 1494–9, in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic. The Emperor leaving Spain about this time, and having appointed Isabella of Portugal to govern during his absence, a bull from Clement was especially required for her to administer the affairs of the said orders.

† This despatch was found among some papers docketed "*Roma; cartas de letra de Miçer Mai y de su Secretario para el Comendador Mayor Francisco de los Covos.*" It bears the date of 1530, and was consequently placed by Bergenroth, or those who arranged his papers, at the end of *Add.* 28,579, which is the eighth volume of the collection, together with those under No. 161 and No. 163. There can be no doubt, however, that they all belong to the year 1529.]

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notification of their doings (*information del hecho*), to be used in case of need when the proceedings commence. Meanwhile the Imperial lawyers here in Rome are examining the papers received from London."

Indorsed: "Paragraph from a letter of Miçer Mai, the ambassador at Rome."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

22 Sept. **163.** Louis de Praët and Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 93. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 169.

The Pope will start for Bologna on the 4th or 5th of next month.

Enclosed are letters from Cardinal Colonna and the Marquis Alarcon. Copies have also been forwarded to the Prince [of Orange], that he may learn Renzo's* proceedings in Naples.—Rome, 22nd September 1529.

[*Cipher:*] Yesterday Secretary Sanga came to us from the Pope, begging us to write to the Prince not to admit in future compositions in money like that of Cortona. He (the Pope) wished to recover his estate with all possible mildness (*dulzura*) and good treatment. It was for that purpose that he had made a treaty, and paid the sums wanted.

We have accordingly written to the Prince to avoid in future exactions† of that kind.

Signed: "Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original in cipher. pp. 1½.

23 Sept. **164.** Poupet de la Chaux to the Emperor.

Lanz. Corresp. I., p. 332.

After his letter from Novalesa, giving an account of his arrival at that place, he (Poupet) prosecuted his journey and was honourably received and entertained one whole day by the Duchess of Savoy and her two sons, as he had the honour to inform the Emperor by Grospain. Went next morning to San Giovanni di Moriana, where the Duke (Carlo), her husband, was waiting for him. He had previously sent to him (Poupet) the sieur de Lullin, governor of Vaulx, a very wise and honourable gentleman, who met him more than two leagues on the road. At San Govianni he (Poupet) was met by the Duke himself, accompanied by a number of his courtiers, who, notwithstanding all the excuses and requests he (Poupet) could make, would not consent to his going alone, and actually accompanied him to the very handsome and comfortable lodgings prepared for him. When, after taking some rest, he (Poupet) went to call on the Duke, he found him preparing to visit the Emperor, at Genoa, for

* Renzo da Ceri, or Lorenzo Orsino da Ceri, so surnamed from the place of his birth in Tuscany.

† According to Mecatti *Storia Cronologica della città di Firenze*, vol. ii., p. 581, the citizens compounded for a sum of 100,000 ducats in specie.

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which place an embassy, consisting of the Bishop of Moriana, the sieur de Sarmoya (*sic*), the president of his Council, and another gentleman, whose name or title he (Poupet) does not recollect, had already started.

The Duke told him (Poupet) that the Lord of Monego (Monaco) had been for some time in treaty with him for the sale of his estate; the Duke had offered 30,000 crs. down, and 4,000 crs. more every year, which offer had been almost accepted by that lord, on condition of his being allowed to retain his bishopric and other benefices he held under the king of France. Whilst the negociation was going on, the Lord of Monaco (Grimaldo) told him (the Duke) that the king of France had offered a wonderful price for his town and estate, notwithstanding which, he said, he kept to the bargain, and would gladly accept the price offered. Some time after this he said that he was in treaty with the Emperor, hearing which the Duke instantly declined having anything to do with the Monaco estate, and the matter dropped, as he would not do what might be unpleasant to the Emperor. The Duke added, and let this be private and confidential, "the Lord of Monaco is a fickle and capricious individual, not to be depended upon."

The Duke [of Savoy] starts on this expedition with a light heart, and determined to do good service. He is now trying to borrow money, pawn or sell part of his estate, and raise funds to meet the expenses of his journey to Bologna, and visit the Emperor there; but should he be obliged to go further, say to Rome, he will have much difficulty in accomplishing his purpose, for if he is expected to go in state, with a numerous retinue, much money will be required, which certainly at the present moment does not abound in this duchy. It is for His Majesty to decide what the Duke is to do, for he is wonderfully disposed to obey the Imperial mandates in all things, and is undertaking this journey with perfect good-will. His two sons, too, are the Emperor's nephews, and his wife (the Duchess Beatrix) is perhaps the princess of the Imperial family who has shewn the most affection for the Emperor, and the greatest regard for his interests in Italy.

He is very much put out at his President of the Finances having been taken prisoner in France, and has, as it appears, written to the Emperor about it, and says that due representations shall be made to the King and Queen Regent of France.

The peace is variously spoken of here; some believe that it will hold good; others that it cannot last; others again that it is a hoax (*tromperie*).

Was told at his passage through Italy, that the Swiss, Venetians, and Luquese had made a secret alliance against His Majesty, and that the former would without fail send to Italy 30,000 men next year. The number is apparently so exaggerated, that he (Poupet) had at first no difficulty in

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believing the whole to be an invention of the enemy, yet the information comes from such a good source, and has been so often repeated to him, that he considers inquiry should be made about it. Has accordingly begged Mr. de Lullin, an excellent man very much devoted to the Emperor, and about to return to the canton of Vaux, of which he is now the governor, to make inquiries and let him know. This Mr. de Lullin has just returned from France, whither he went as ambassador, Madame the Regent having asked for his recall (*l' a fait desappoincter*); owing no doubt, as he himself thinks, to his having once prevented the Swiss and Valesians from joining St. Pol in Italy, as he (Lullin) can prove by the copy of his letter to the Grand Master [of France] on that occasion.

The above was written before his (Poupet's) arrival in this city, which took place on the 20th inst. The governor, one of the Triulzi family, and a nephew of the Count and Marechal of France [Theodoro], came out one half league to receive him, as did soon after many personages and nobles anxious to make his acquaintance and welcome him to their city. It was about six in the afternoon when he (Poupet) arrived at the gates. As he was at the end of the Rone* bridge, a gentleman came from the Admiral [of France], Bryon, to welcome him, and propose that they should sup together either at his [Poupet's] lodgings, or at those of his master. Thanked the Admiral for his courtesy, and returned his message by saying that as no doubt he (the Admiral) had much the better fare to offer, he (Poupet) accepted his invitation with pleasure, and would call at the appointed hour. Therefore, instead of going to the inn, where rooms had been bespoken for him and his attendants, he (Poupet) went at once to the Admiral's hotel not to make him wait. The Admiral came out to the very gate, and gave him the most courteous and honourable reception that could be imagined. Told him, among other extremely polite phrases, that when the King, his master, first heard of his coming on a mission from Your Majesty, his joy was intense, inasmuch as he knew very well who he (Poupet) was, and expected to get on with him much better than with anyone else. "As to the King, my master (the Admiral added), you will find him so desirous of keeping up the Emperor's friendship and alliance, that you will have no difficulty whatever as to the fulfilment of his engagements; for after all, whatever differences may once have existed between the Emperor and my master, experience shows that most often the bitterest enemies become the surest friends." To such complimentary address he (Poupet) replied as well as he could, telling him in conclusion that if the King, his master, proved to be such as he described, he had not the least doubt that the Emperor would prove to be the best friend and brother he ever had. The Admiral then offered him a robe instead of the travelling "housse" he had on. Answered that he could drink as

* The original has Sone, which is evidently a mistake for Rhone.

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copiously "en housse" as any other man "en purpoint." Sat at the uppermost end of the table, and partook of a most splendid repast. After supper, which was attended by a number of gentlemen, "a une grande table de quatre plats," both the Admiral and he retired to a corner at the end of the hall, and there the former began to inquire after His Majesty's health, at the same time saying many complimentary things about his personal qualities, and so forth, and ending by inquiring where the Imperial Court might be at present, "for," said he, "I am at this moment charged with a mission from the King, my master." Told him that at the date of his last letters His Majesty was still at Piacenza, but that his correspondents could not say how long the Court would remain there, or whither it would go afterwards. Believed, however, that however short the stay, he (the Admiral) had still a good chance of finding His Imperial Majesty either at Piacenza or perhaps in the immediate neighbourhood. He then began to enumerate and praise the benefits and advantages of peace contrasting them with the miseries and calamities of war, and said he had charge from the King, his master, to point out to His Imperial Majesty the desirability of executing promptly and at once whatever designs might have been formed respecting Italy, without giving the enemies of the Empire time to strengthen themselves. "His Imperial Majesty (he added) must not allow himself to be deluded by the sweet words or the fine promises of those Italians, whose only object is to gain time until the winter season, which is just at hand. No nation can speak more fairly, but none is more deceitful. The King, my master, knows them well by experience." Nor did the Admiral stop here in his confidences. "As a proof," he continued, "of my master's great desire for peace I will tell you a secret. I have full powers to agree at once and without consulting him to any proposition His Majesty may make respecting the execution of the treaty, to sign deeds and documents, and do anything else as if he himself (the King) were present." After expatiating at same length on the nature of his commission and instructions in the same courtly language, told him that His Majesty had been already informed of his appointment, and expected him at Piacenza. Added that, knowing of old his qualifications and honourable parts, nothing could have given the Emperor greater pleasure than his nomination, &c. The Admiral inquired whether he (Poupet) had any particular charge as to the way and manner in which the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans (Charles), as well as Queen Eleanor, were to be delivered at the frontier in exchange for the money which his master was bound to pay, as well as the other conditions which he had to fulfil. He had presumed to make the inquiry (observed the Admiral) because he was ready to make him (Poupet) similar confidences as to his own instructions and his master's ideas and views on the subject. Told him that he had no charge from Your Majesty to

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speak or treat of such matters, but since that was, as he had just revealed to him, his principal mission, he had not the least doubt that he would find His Majesty so frank, open, and generous, and so affectionate to his brother of France, that any reasonable proposals made by an ambassador like himself (Brion), in the name of his royal master could not fail to meet with His Majesty's entire approbation. As to the delivery itself, and the manner in which it could best be effected for the mutual security of the parties, he saw little or no difficulty, as it might take place precisely at the same spot, and under the same formalities and conditions as when the King himself was exchanged for his two sons [in March 1526]. If no better expedient was suggested, his opinion was that whatever was done on that occasion might be taken as rule and precedent in the present, and he ended by expressing his firm belief that should any objections be started, or an easier mode of mutual delivery proposed, His Majesty would be ready to accommodate his brother of France.

These last words were so pleasing to the Admiral's ears that he embraced him (Poupet) most affectionately, andsaid: "I am more delighted than I can say to hear of the Emperor's good-will and honourable intentions in this affair." After which he went on to speak about Mr. d'Angouleme, who, he said, was one of the handsomest and most attractive youths in the world, just as his two sisters were the prettiest young ladies at the French Court. Nay, he went on speaking for some time on this subject, as if he wanted him to take it up and allude to the contents of the King's note, which Des Barres took the other day to the Emperor. Perceiving, however, that he (Poupet) made no allusion to it, the Admiral passed on to the subject of Queen Eleanor, who, he observed, when in the company of the King, her husband, could not fail, God willing, to have soon a numerous succession as handsome and comely as the former. Then he said that she (Queen Leonor) was so anxiously expected by all classes of people in France, that he (the Admiral) could not describe the joy and enthusiasm caused by the announcement of her having actually started for the French frontier. Must observe that the Admiral is not the only Frenchman who speaks in this way about the Emperor's sister; many have told him more than once that she will be the means of restoring this kingdom to its former importance, of which restoration, it must be owned, it stands greatly in need, to judge from appearances. Of the Queen Mother, Louise de Savoie, no mention was made in the conversation, except to say that she took charge of the King's children, which makes him (Poupet) suspect that the Admiral is no particular friend of hers.

Mr. de Brion is now about to send a gentleman of his suite to His Majesty to ask for a safe-conduct across the frontier, and also to ascertain where the Court is likely to be for the next few weeks. Wish to God the Imperial ministers may have thought of this in time, before the Admiral himself makes

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the application, for when one of his (Poupet's) servants, who was sent forward to announce his arrival and secure good and comfortable quarters, came to this city, he happened to see letters of the King of France for this governor, enjoining him to give the Imperial ambassador the best reception possible, and so he has, for certainly the hospitality and courtesy shewn to him cannot be sufficiently commended.

Forgot to say that among the many things which the Admiral said on the subject of this general peace and the affairs of Italy he introduced some trifling remarks which, though vague and obscure, and referring to no potentate in particular, might in his (Poupet's) opinion bear on the Pope. He said: "I hope the Emperor is not so closely bound to his friends in that country [Italy] as to prevent him from doing towards others what is just and reasonable." His answer was that His Majesty could not possibly forget any of his engagements. "Well and good," replied the Admiral, "but those to whom promises have been made ought to be satisfied with what they have got already, and ask for nothing more. The Emperor might remonstrate, and then after mature deliberation grant only what is just and reasonable." Cared not to let him know that his allusion had been understood, and, therefore, made no further inquiry about it. The conjecture, however, became a certainty in his (Poupet's) mind, when next day Messire Galias Visconte* came to meet him at St. Paul's, after mass; for, among other things, he said whilst accompanying him back to his lodgings: "I have just come from the King of France, with whom I have often conversed on the subject of Italian politics. I was with him when the news of your appointment was received. Nothing, I can assure you, could have given him greater satisfaction than the said intelligence, knowing, as he does, your quality and parts." Such was Visconti's flattering speech, but he (Poupet) fancies that there was irony in it, as if he wished to imply under covered words (*soubs mots couverts*) that this present peace could not be of long duration, for he went on to say: "We know very well that by the treaty concluded between the Emperor and the Holy Father it has been stipulated that Modena and Reggio, which the Duke of Ferrara still retains, shall be restored to the latter. This we know by a duplicate copy of the treaty which our Holy Father himself has sent us here, to France; but, on the other hand, the King's sister-in-law (Renée), married to Ercole d' Este, has such an interest in that affair that I cannot imagine how that article of the treaty can be carried into execution." Repeated to him the very same words he had told the Admiral, namely: "His Imperial Majesty intended fulfilling every one of the promises or stipulations of the treaty, and as to the restoration of those cities to our Holy Father I am not aware that it has been even mentioned in the peace of Cambray. Any stipulation made in that treaty the

* Galeazzo Visconti, about whom see vol. iii., part 2.

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Emperor will surely fulfil." Here Galeazzo interrupted him by saying: "You are mistaken, it is mentioned in the treaty." He then paused as calculating what he had better say next, and continued after a while: "You may be right after all, but the King, my master, has so often spoken to the Emperor's aunt (Margaret) on the subject, and so earnestly requested her to interfere, that she has promised at last to do her utmost in the affair, which promise is to us almost equal to a real stipulation inserted in the treaty."

In this manner did he (Poupet) guess at the meaning of the Admiral's words. Galeazzo, however, went on explaining that there were two families (*deux lignaiges*) in Italy which were the cause and origin of all the misfortunes of that poor country, namely, the Medici and the Sforza, and that the sooner they became extinct the better; the World would not enjoy peace until they had disappeared from its surface.

Has known this Galeazzo Visconti for many years as a man rather inclined to speak unfavourably of people in general, but upon the whole he is a shrewd politician and full of wit. He is not the only courtier who asserts that this peace will not be of long duration, and many go as far as to say that there is some deep intrigue going on somewhere. Will do his best to unravel it, and if successful will not fail to acquaint His Majesty. Meanwhile, the best remedy, in his (Poupet's) opinion, lies in the pacification of Italy as soon as possible, so as to remain on friendly terms with all and every one of its rulers, and for the Emperor to be satisfied with what has already been won at this game, without attempting to sweep the board quite clear.* His Imperial Majesty is in a better position now than any other prince in Christendom; he has gained both honour and reputation, he is besides, sword in hand, ready to strike; therefore no one can say hereafter that the steps taken now were dictated by ambition, but by liberal and good sentiments, and for the remedy of poor Christianity, which is in a fair way of being destroyed and annihilated.

Has always considered this Milan affair as the origin and cause of all evils, and recollects perfectly well what were the Emperor's instructions to Don Hugo de Moncada in 1526, Has no doubt His Majesty bears them in mind also; and, therefore, if Don Hugo had then the charge of carrying out certain instructions and plans in the Duchy, why not have them accomplished now the Emperor is in Italy? There is still another consideration not to be disregarded, which is the enormous cost of so many armies as His Majesty is obliged to maintain; that the winter season is close at hand, and that if the money to pay those armies is not forthcoming regularly one cannot say what may happen. The Emperor must recollect what he (Poupet) told him on the day he took leave to come

* "Sans enlever aussi la table et les traiteaulx."

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here on this embassy: "Should the King of France be badly inclined, and wish to deceive us again, he has a fine excuse and opportunity at hand in our tardy proceedings concerning the execution of this treaty; and he might still spend in war the very sums he has amassed for the ransom of his children." This money, as he (Poupet) is informed, is almost entirely collected; at any rate, this city's contribution towards it is ready. Were the French king that way inclined he might do much this next spring.

The terms of the treaty are principally founded on the restitution of the sons of France. The delivery to take place before the 1st of March, but he (Poupet) fancies that the treaty, of which he has no copy at hand, adds or "earlier" (*ou plustost*) if possible. It might, therefore, be suggested that February is the worst month in the year to bring royal children from Spain to the frontiers of France, to cross the mountains, &c., and that it would be far better to alter the period of such delivery to the end of December next, or the 15th of January [1530] at the latest, when the season is dry and the roads are in a better condition. As to the place of the delivery, Fontarabia, is, in his (Poupet's) opinion, the most convenient for both parties. Should the Emperor adopt any of the above suggestions they might be communicated to the Admiral, who is now going to the Imperial Court, as he says, for the express purpose of promoting the delivery of the princes, and having the place fixed. As it is more than probable that the King and his mother will speak on the subject, he (Poupet) should very much like to receive His Majesty's commands and instructions on this particular point.

Must not omit to say that on his arrival at this city the Governor (Triulzo) told him that the King had written to Mr. de Clermont, his relative in the Daulphine (Dauphinois), to hold himself in readiness to come here and accompany him (Poupet) in his journey to the Court of France. Clermont has not yet made his appearance and he (Poupet) has stayed here ever since Monday last purchasing wearing apparel and making other preparations for his visit to the King, for which he intends leaving to-morrow whether Mr. de Clermont comes or not.—Lyons, 23rd September 1529.

Signed: "La Chaulx."

French. Original. pp. 7½.

24 Sept. **165.** Louis de Praët and Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, ff. 91–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 171.

Wrote on the 20th, enclosing Alarcon's and Colonna's letters, and announcing at the same time that nothing had been done here in the Milan affair. Indeed we are astounded to hear the Duke referring to things which have never taken place. If his ambassador negociated at all, certainly it was not with us but with His Holiness.

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Since our last despatch Arezzo has surrendered and the Florentines, if their ambassador here is to be believed, are in great fear. The Archbishop of Capua is gone to the Prince [of Orange] on a mission from the Pope, that he may be present at the expected capitulation of Florence and act accordingly. Letters from the Papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court have been received here. We have been able to learn (*traslucir*) some of their contents, and therefore consider it our duty to report. Among other things, the letters say that Sanga is not doing his duty near the Pope, but is, on the contrary, playing his own game to his heart's content. His plans, however, have been discovered at Piacenza, and he ought to be well content that the Emperor does not find fault with the Pope. After hearing this Sanga came to us in despair, protesting that ever since His Holiness' liberation [in December 1527] he had thought or done nothing intentionally against the Emperor's interests. He said he wanted to write to the Nuncio to declare himself openly and not speak in these ambiguous terms, for he said to us: "I really cannot understand what the man means." Our opinion is, that unless Sanga is positively guilty of what they accuse him, it is prudent to dissemble (*entretenerle*), because he is alone (*solo*) on His Holiness' side. The same letter intimates that Your Majesty is not well pleased with the Bishop of Verona (Giberto), but as we have not been officially informed of it, nor do we know what the cause may be, we are at a loss how to answer or take measures as we would otherwise have done for the Imperial service.

The same Nuncio writes to his own secretary here that Your Imperial Majesty is also somewhat displeased with Andrea Doria and begins already to entertain suspicions, in consequence of which the Pope had actually asked him to make out a brief ordering him to repair immediately to the Emperor's presence, and that the brief was being made out accordingly, &c. Now as Your Majesty has never sent us any orders in that sense, nor has the Pope said a word to us about it, we really know not what to think, but do not hesitate to remind Your Majesty, as we have already done at other times, that the mutual friendship and attachment of Andrea and of His Holiness is of such a nature that we deem it impossible for one of them to know of a thing which the other does not know, which in our opinion is sufficient warning for Your Majesty or your ministers never to speak before the agents and friends of one in disparagement of the other, for as they have no secrets from one another the information would be communicated immediately.

The Nuncio is an honourable man, and has always behaved as such in Your Majesty's service, but he owes the Datary a grudge and is evidently aiming at the purple (*emulacion al Cardinalato*). It is well that Your Majesty should bear this in mind (*advertido*), the better to judge what he may say against [Sanga].

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As we reported in our last, the Pope is still determined to go to Bologna, a move which these Romans, both cardinals and laymen, dislike very much, because instead of the Imperial courtiers coming here to spend their money they will be obliged to go elsewhere where the Emperor is, and incur great expense in consequence.

Moron left yesterday for the Prince's camp. He had before leaving a long audience from the Pope, about what we are unable to say, unless the Milan affair was discussed. This seems very probable, for Moron pretends that he can, whenever he likes, recall the Duke to his senses and make him accept the Emperor's offers. We very much doubt, however, his being able to accomplish this, for just at this moment the Duke Francesco is surrounded by councillors and people who dislike Moron excessively and fear his regaining his influence over him.

Bulls concerning the "Quarta," Crusade, and Empress.

Your Majesty's letter was duly placed in the Pope's hands. He told us again that he intends leaving for Bologna on the 4th or 6th of October at the latest, so as to arrive in that city four or five days before All Souls, and that if the news of the surrender of Florence come in the mean time he may possibly anticipate his departure.

Respecting Your Imperial Majesty's wish that the kings of France and England should be invited to assist there by delegation, and send their respective ambassadors to witness the coronation, the Pope, as a wise and prudent man (*como hombre prevenido*), has already done so in writing. He now intends sending nuncios for that express purpose, and there is some talk about sending the Bishop of Como (Triulzo) and perhaps Gregorio Casale too, who now resides here as English ambassador.

The Pope is exceedingly angry at the Duke Francesco having taken as a pretence for refusing Your Majesty's handsome terms that an agreement had been concluded here. It is a most atrocious lie as Your Majesty knows. His secretary is soon expected. We shall see what excuse he gives the Pope when he is charged with it.

News has just arrived of the taking of Firenzuola and that the enemy has abandoned Pistoya in consequence.*—Rome, 24th September 1529.

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Mai."

Addressed; "Sacræ Ces. Cath. M^ti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

24 Sept. **166.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Bohemia.

M. Re. Ac. de Hist. c. 71, f. 218 v°.

Wrote on the 6th inst., and reported from the Emperor's landing [at Genoa] until his arrival at this city [Piacenza]. On

* This is followed in the volume (fol. 175) by a copy of some paragraphs from the same letter.

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that very day Count Noguerol (Nogarolo ?) received a despatch in cipher, which could not be answered immediately as the instructions were being deciphered at Trent, and came only two days after. Nevertheless both he (Salinas) and Count Noguerol have lost no time in speaking to the Emperor about its contents, and requesting that 3,000 Spanish hackbutiers at least should be dispatched at once to the assistance of Germany. All their efforts, however, have been unavailing both with the Emperor and with his Council, for the reasons that Noguerol himself will fully explain in his separate despatch. Really thinks that were His Highness to know the state of affairs in Italy, he would insist less upon the succour being sent at the present juncture, for the Venetians, knowing the reason why the Emperor cannot, if he wished, give the help demanded, are so reluctant that instead of asking for peace, they presume that they will be invited (*rogados*) to make it, and are secretly trying to persuade other powers [in Italy] to keep up the game. The Emperor, therefore, has been obliged so to divide his forces that he cannot possibly detach any of them now. On the receipt of the royal letter of the 28th August, he (Salinas) saw the Emperor again; he could obtain nothing from him save the assurance that were the Venetians to persevere in their purpose, he (the Emperor) is determined to make war upon them, persuaded, as he is, that they are the sole cause of these Italian troubles, and that it is they who have brought the Turk into Europe. Thus an attack upon the Venetians might after all be more efficient than the succour which His Highness desires.

His Highness must consider that unless Italy be entirely pacified, the Emperor cannot dispose of any part of his forces. These are at the present time scattered over various parts of the country, so that their concentration upon one given point would take many weeks. First, we have the Prince of Orange with his Germans,—not now a considerable body,—part of the Spaniards, the Pope's contingent, and some cavalry, all marching against the Florentines, who are likely to give trouble. Then Alarcon is at Naples with the rest of the Spaniards and some Italian bands, trying to recover the fortified places on the coast still held by the Venetians, and the fleet has already sailed to keep them* company; it consists of 15 galleys of Andrea Doria, three of Spain, and the Sicilian squadron, in all 30. Those which the Emperor brought from Spain have been sent back to be disarmed as unfit for service, and only eight of them are kept for the defence of this coast. Firmly believes that the departure of the Imperial fleet for those parts may after all better serve His Highness' plans than any land force detached against the Turk.

The Emperor is now treating with the Duke Francesco [Sforza], but the Venetians are likely to do their utmost to prevent his making his peace. If so the Emperor will be

* "La armada de mar es ya partida para los [á Alarcon y los Españoles?] tener compañia."

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obliged to occupy the whole of his estate, whilst he attacks Venice with the rest of his forces.

The above considerations are weighty enough to prevent the Emperor from detaching any of his forces, for although his present army is very numerous, yet it is spread over so many provinces and districts, that if reduced it could not successfully cope with the enemy. His Highness must not imagine that because the Pope and the French have already made their peace all is quiet in Italy. — Piacenza, 24th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

24 Sept. **167.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 219 v°.

Such is the Emperor's desire of freeing himself so as to be able to march to His Highness' assistance, that all hopes of an agreement with the Duke [Francesco] having vanished, he has ordered his artillery train to go to Pavia. The Duke shewed at first some inclination to treat, but the Venetians interfered and persuaded him to resist. However this may be, he (Salinas) cannot help thinking that the failure of the negociations is principally owing to certain conversations (*platicas*) of the Imperial ambassadors with the Pope at Rome, for Miçer Andrea del Burgo has lately forwarded the enclosed report of what was said there [at Rome] respecting the duchy of Milan. Cannot say whether Miçer Andrea had instructions or mandate from His Highness to that effect; all he can say is that he should have preferred that Burgo had not spoken or even thought of the business at Rome,* because the terms proposed are evidently too low, for if the whole of the estate is to remain as before, in the hands of the Duke [Francesco Sforza], it is quite evident that the ambassador did not ask for sufficient compensation; and yet he (Salinas) has frequently been told by councillors and secretaries and courtiers about the Emperor's Court that His Highness would not be forgotten in the present arrangement of the Duchy, although it must be said that in the condition the Duchy now is, and likely to remain in future, it is by no means a desirable object. This is the reason why the Emperor's answer has been delayed, and the Count [Noguerol] has not returned home.

On the 18th inst., at five in the evening, His Highness' letters dated Lintz the 8th inst., and announcing the departure of Luis de Tassis, were duly received, but up to the present that courier has not made his appearance, nor are there any tidings of him. The Emperor is really very much concerned at the danger and trouble in which His Highness is, but

* "Pero no quisiera yo que lo hobiera hablado, ni pensado por ser muy baxos sus pensamientos, porque á estar todo el estado en poder del Duque era poca cosa lo que queria. Y acá á mi me han dado á entender que en lo que se trataba no quedaba V. A. olvidado de cabelle la mejor parte solo de la buena voluntad de S. Mt.

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cannot offer for the time greater help than that proposed in his letter.—Piacenza, 24th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4½.

27 Sept. **168.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MADAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 19.

The reason which the Queen had for wishing me not to write [to you] about her affairs was, as far as I can judge, her fear of my recommending and soliciting that the advocation obtained at Rome should be executed in Flanders, as you were pleased to intimate in your letter of the 8th, received on the 20th. I am much inclined to think that was the cause that the Queen herself sent me on the 21st one of her most confidential servants with letters for the Emperor and for Miçer Mai, the ambassador at Rome, and that the latter had also previously written to say he had orders from Your Majesty to furnish any money required for the expediting of express messengers with the Queen's letters and any others I might have to forward. I think, however, that when the news of the execution reaches the King he will not be in such a hurry, and will return here, to the Queen, before another despatch is made out; for he (the King) fears that she may be displeased, knowing that she had written to Don Iñigo* requesting him to use all his influence [with the Council] to suspend the execution of the brief [in Flanders] until the councillors heard from her, and most likely she had spoken to the King about it, and perhaps also promised to interfere.

The suspension of the execution did no harm on the whole, as long as I did not declare my commission, and tried whether by mild and friendly means the King could not be persuaded to continue conjugal relations with his Queen; but since no hopes remain of his being brought to reason by such means, you have, Madame, acted, in my opinion, most wisely; for, although the execution was actually accomplished before I had an opportunity to speak to the King, it was enough for our present purpose that he should not have been officially informed of it, for then he could not allege as an excuse that he had spoken to me about it. Thus, before proceeding to strong measures, I should have tried gentle ones; but now it will be necessary that the whole be legally dealt with, since no other argument or persuasion will be of any avail. Besides which, since the case is so far advanced, though the parties were of good understanding together, it would be necessary in order to remove all traces of scruple and inconvenience to have it decided by a definitive sentence. And since necessity compels us to it, the sooner it is done the

* "Mais oiant les nouvelles de la dite execution il n'en a plus grant haste que de s'en rotourner vers la dite royne avant que fere autre despeche, et doubtant fort que la royne n'en fust desplaisante, veu quelle avoit pieça escript a monsieur de Bourgues de tenir main que l'on ne feist le (*sic*) dit execution." *Mr. de Bourgues* is here for Don Iñigo de Mendoça then in Brussels. See his letter from that place. No. 27, page 58.

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better. This, in my opinion, is the surest way to get out of this difficulty, for many considerations and reasons, by far too manifest to require further illustration. That is why, Madame, I do not hesitate to say again that you have acted well and wisely in this affair. It now remains for the Queen's excuse, that, if, as I said before, she has made a promise of some sort to the King, you be pleased to write her a letter stating that notwithstanding the Queen's express desire conveyed to you by Don Iñigo de Mendoza that the execution should not be made in the Low Countries, you had, yielding to the importunities of the Roman lawyers and proctors, or on such like plausible considerations that can easily be found, ordered the said execution to take place. Or if you think it best, you might have a paragraph to that effect inserted in one of your letters to me, that I may make use of it and show it to the King.

The King received me at Grafton, as I have already had occasion to write. After listening for a while, and with great attention, to what I had to say, he began with a very joyous and smiling countenance to say how pleased he was to see me at his Court, believing that if the reports about me and my person were true—and he had no doubt they were from what he saw—I should prove to be a good minister, and one likely to do his best towards maintaining this blessed peace between His Imperial Majesty and himself. To that effect (he said) it was necessary to have to do with people well disposed and inclined, inasmuch as the discretion or indiscretion of ambassadors was frequently the cause of the friendship or enmity of princes. Coming then to the principal point in my instructions, namely, this divorce case, there was much debate and argumentation on both sides, of which I shall only give here a summary in order not to tire you with too minute details. He began by bringing accusations* against the Emperor and saying he could not conceive what reason he (the Emperor) could have for refusing to send to England the brief of dispensation for the Queen's marriage, when he had been requested to do so by him and by the Queen herself; a document, he said, which evidently belonged to them both and not to anyone else, since it was directed to them. Whoever had given the Emperor such bad advice had certainly done great injury to his master and to the parties concerned, for had the brief been sent to England, as requested, and been found valid and authentic, all disagreements would have been at an end, he (the King) would have maintained his union with the Queen, and enjoyed the advantages and blessings of marriage of which he had been deprived, much to his regret, ever since the beginning of the present dispute. On this topic, and respecting the Emperor's refusal to give up the brief, the King dwelt much and for a long time, repeating word by word the very same arguments and allegations once made by his ambas-

* Il commencha par l'accusatif, disant que a dire verite, &c.

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sadors and by those of the Queen at Saragossa, which, together with the answers then made [by the Imperial ministers], I have no doubt you have seen. The King, moreover, added on this occasion some new arguments of his own which had not been used before, principally taken from Civil and Canon law. To pay him off in the same sort of coin, I begged the King's permission to dissent from some of his opinions, which being granted, I proceeded to argue that putting aside the reasons for not sending the brief to England—which in my opinion were strong enough to excuse and warrant such a proceeding on the part of His Imperial Majesty—I could prove that he (the King) had no right whatever to have the brief in his power. The King found this proposition of mine so strange, that after listening to my argument for some time, he let the matter drop, changed the conversation, and said: "However that may be, I cannot but wonder at the Emperor's persistence in a matter which, relating exclusively to conscience, ought not to be subjected to the pressure of affection, friendship, or consanguinity; one which, without the Emperor's interference, might have been fairly settled between the parties. And I wonder still more how, the Emperor being a secular prince, and the matter a purely ecclesiastical one, he could take such a part." He then came to the point on which he is most sensitive, which is the advocation of the suit to Rome, which, he said, the Emperor had contrived against all reason and justice, since it was notorious that no place in the World was more fit for the investigation of a case of this kind than this city of London, the usual residence of the parties concerned (himself and the Queen), both of whom were to be examined, and were not of a condition to leave their kingdom and appear before the Pope to plead at Rome.* It was also necessary to examine many witnesses, old and infirm, who could not possibly undertake such a long and fatiguing journey. "Besides," he said, "the Pope wrote to me a letter in his own hand saying that not only on account of the causes and reasons above alleged, but because Rome was then under the tyranny of the Imperial soldiers, it was absolutely necessary that the case should be tried in England, not elsewhere." The Pope, moreover, had promised him that never, on any ground, would the trial be advoked to Rome. "And now that same Pope," added the King, "for fear of that same army, as well as on account of his league and alliance with the Emperor has been induced to grant the said advocation." "No justice (he continued) could now be obtained at Rome except such as suited the Emperor; the first commission given to two cardinals, both of them learned, honest, and conscientious men—one of whom in particular had received proofs of favour from the Emperor—had indeed been issued in accordance with right and reason, but the present advocation [to Rome] was altogether unreasonable. As far as the Queen was concerned,

* "Les quieux ne sont pour delaissier le royaulme et aller tracquiasser à Rome."

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no fitter place for her defence could be chosen than London; nowhere, in all the world, could she find better counsel than those he himself had procured and appointed for her by letters patent, some of whom had treated him as rudely (*asprement*) as though he had been the humblest peasant in his kingdom." In addition to a council so composed he (the King) had allowed lawyers from foreign parts to come and undertake the Queen's defence, as those whom you, Madame, sent during Don Iñigo's time.

My answer to the King's objections was this: At the time that His Holiness, the Pope, sent his legatine powers to Campeggio and Wolsey to have the case tried here in England, he could not have spoken or acted worse than he did against the Emperor, in order to create perpetual enmity between the two princes. Respecting the iniquity (*iniquité*) of the first commission, and the justice of the subsequent advocation, since he (the King) would not attach faith to what I had stated in the Emperor's name, there was nothing to do but refer to the Papal briefs, addressed to the Cardinal of York, of which I here enclose a copy for Madame's information. With regard to the summons and appearance at Rome of himself and Queen, I observed, the remedy was close at hand, which was to appoint commissaries for that sole and express purpose, men of upright and unsuspected character. And as to his fears of not obtaining proper justice at Rome, he (the King) was to put them on one side, and consider that the Emperor is the prince in Europe who most fears God and loves justice, who would not on any account allow injustice to be done, especially in a case of this sort, in which, were the marriage considered illegitimate and unlawful, he would not for one moment consent to persons of their quality and condition, so closely connected to him by the ties of consanguinity and friendship living in continual sin.

"But let us set that matter aside," was the King's reply, "it is not an affair of the moment, and besides I know too well the Pope's versatile humour. To come to the point, I must now declare to you one thing, to which I have hitherto avoided making allusion, which is that if the Emperor, my brother, had studied these matters as I have done, and knew as much of them as I do, he would refrain from speaking about them.* As to me, if I take the affair up it is merely for the repose of my conscience, not for any other purpose. I was not the promoter of it, and it cannot be said of me that I ever shewed myself a party."

Many other things of this kind did the King say in direct opposition to the real facts of this case, and to what the people here see and believe. In short, after many replies and counter-replies (*plicques et replieques*), which I omit for brevity's sake and not to weary your attention, the King concluded by saying: "All these things passed at a time

* "Je vous asseure certainement que se l'Empereur, mon frere, entendoit bien ceste matiere, comme je fais, et qu'il en sçeut ce qu'en sçays," &c.

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when the Emperor and I were not on good terms; now that we are at peace, thank God, all affections and passions must needs be put on one side. Therefore, whenever the Emperor, my brother, will put aside all bias of affection and listen to reason, I will meet him on this ground, and he will find me quite ready to do what is proper and right." This last sentence the King uttered in a lower tone of voice, and between his teeth. Then he added: "I shall be back in London soon; there we will again treat of these matters at greater ease." I then begged him to tell me at once what resolution he had come to, as I could not say how long I should remain in London, knowing, as I did, that his ambassador at the Imperial Court had been recalled. "It is true," replied the King, "the Emperor has left Dr. Edward Lee in Spain, without allowing him to follow his court [in Italy], but I am about to send others to replace him, and, therefore, there is no occasion on that account for hastening your return."

After these words the King got up to leave the audience hall and retired into his own apartments. Before leaving, however he invited me to dinner that very day and ordered Mr. de Rochefort to attend to me and take care that I had all I wanted, which he certainly did with great courtesy. Then turning round towards me as he was issuing from the hall, he said: "If you want anything from me, or have news to communicate, let me know, and I will give immediate orders for your admission." He then left the room, and as I afterwards heard, sent for the said sieur de Rochefort and others of his Privy Council, and related all I had said to him, and especially the doubts I had expressed respecting my stay in England, which, owing to Dr. Lee's expected return from Spain, I considered could not be very long. There was probably some talk in the Council Room upon this particular subject, for shortly after the said Mr. de Rochefort and others of the Privy Council came to announce to me in the King's name that he was about to send ambassadors to the Emperor to reside at his court, and that accordingly I ought to make up my mind to reside here. To this I acceded without difficulty, inasmuch as there is an article to that effect in my instructions.

After dinner the said Mr. de Rochefort and I had a private talk together on various points, and principally on the Emperor's late journey to Italy, on his suite and the troops he had brought with him, on this late peace, and the reputation that you, Madame, have gained by promoting it. He then said much about his master's good intentions, which (he said) had never been justly appreciated. As to him, he said, he would have given his life to let the Emperor penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and see what his real sentiments were. And upon my observing to him that this could be well accomplished at much less cost, and that I would gladly undertake to be the mediator, he was going to say something in reply when a gentleman of the royal household

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came and summoned him to the King's presence, and thus was our conversation suspended without hearing his revelations, if ever he intended to make any.

The Queen's counsellors, fearing lest some motion should be made to her disadvantage* at the present Parliament, are of opinion that an express should be sent to Rome to obtain a general inhibition; but they have not sufficiently well considered the words of the one already in our possession, which appears to me strong and extensive enough to comprise all people. There are different opinions about the object for which this present Parliament meets; some say that it is merely for the purpose of examining the accounts of the last few years, and seeing how the money has been laid out; others maintain that it meets for the purpose of passing an Act forbidding any more Papal legates being admitted into the kingdom. The Cardinal (Wolsey) has lately been at Court, owing to the influence and exertions of his colleague, Campeggio, and was there treated as I have informed you by my last despatch,† although it must be said that the very evening of his departure [for Grafton] he was three or four hours debating with the King, He was, moreover, told before he arrived at Court that neither he (Wolsey) nor Campeggio were to travel with crosses before them and other legatine paraphernalia, and that they were not to take a numerous suite of followers, but only ten or twelve servants each. And they had indeed as poor a reception as could possibly be. Cardinal Campeggio has since taken his *congè* and will leave England shortly.

The ambassadors of this King now going to the Emperor are ready to undertake the journey [to Italy]; they will leave next week. Instead of Mr. Vannes, who was appointed in the first instance, the Master of the Horse (*Grand Escuier*) has been named, who goes well equipped. They will first visit the French court, and there will part company with those who go to the Pope, who are George Boleyne, the brother of Madame Anne, and with him a doctor in Theology, the greatest enemy the Queen has hitherto had. Many people here say that this latter goes to France for the purpose of gaining the votes of the Parisian doctors at the University, make them declare for the King, and write in favour of the divorce.

There is no need for me to give these people news of the Turk, as they get them quicker and more reliable than you can imagine, for the ambassadors of the Vayvod who have been here have taken good care to acquaint them from time to time with the movements of that Infidel; and it seems to me that at the present moment they are more deeply concerned

* "Le Conseil de la Roine a crainte que aux estatz ne se traictasse de quelque chose *a son aduantaige*, pour quoy estoit d'aduis que l'on despeschasse a Rome pour auoir une inhibition." Thus in the original, but unless ironically meant the word "advantaige" ought to be changed into *desaduantaige*.

† "Bien est vrai que le soir quil partist il prona plus de trois ou quatre heures avec le roy."

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with the news from Alessandria—which is sadly afflicting, as I hear—than with the operations of the Turk, about whom they do not care much just now. Immediately after the receipt of Madame's letter with the news of Vienna and the retreat of the enemy, I hastened to go to Court and communicate the information received, but found that they were many days before in possession of the facts.

Respecting the excuse to be pleaded for having ordered the execution to be made in that country, you must not trouble yourself, I will make it any how. As to the one to be offered by the Queen, in case she has made any promises or taken engagements, that will be more difficult. At any rate, since the work has commenced it must needs be brought to a conclusion, and you must give orders that within the term fixed in the Papal letters the execution be made at Rome, otherwise all the trouble taken in this affair will be lost.

As I am writing these lines I hear that the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber [Ghinucci] has passed through this town, riding post, and that he is going to Court. Nobody knows yet what his mission is.*—London, 27th September 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys."

French. Original. pp. 6.

28 Sept. **169.** The Emperor to Chapuys.*

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 21.

Your despatches from Brussels and Valenciennes have been duly received. We now enclose to you two documents, one of them being a "factum" in 14 articles on the doubts that have been raised upon the marriage question.†—Parma, 28th September 1529.

French. Original draft. p. 1.

29 Sept. **170.** Count Felix of Werdenberg to the Emperor.

Arch. d. Roy^me. de Belg., *Doc. Hist.*, f. 287.

Yesterday, having received intelligence that the Marquis Darscot (d' Aarschot), who on Monday last left this camp with the artillery horses, the ammunition, &c., and part of the light horse of this army, would most probably be attacked on the road by Count Gallache (Galeazzo), Sigismond de Rymelen, and Avantin Fragastor, of Verona, I detached to his assistance two companies of infantry and a proportionate number of men-at-arms. The same Monday, in the evening, Mr. le bailly Damont (d' Aymont) sent me a message by his lieutenant, the sieur de Rausonnières, to say he had positive information that Count Gallache and the two other captains, with about 250 light horse, had passed the night

* This is followed by a letter to Margaret, which, with the exception of an occasional paragraph that was suppressed, is only a copy of Chapuys' despatch to the Emperor, though dated three days before, on the 24th of September.

† See above No. 154.

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before at Valais and were prepared to attack the Marquis at his passage through that town. The lieutenant further said that if I would only give him two companies of infantry the Bailly would attack the enemy and dislodge him from his position. I did so, and that very night the said Bailly Damont, Mr. Daultrey, and the lieutenants of Messieurs du Reulx, de Varax, and de Vyennes left the camp, and yesterday morning, one hour after sunrise, prepared an ambush at a spot between Carvyane and Vorte, into which Count Gallache fell, for he had only 150 cavalry with him, Cesare Fregoso having returned to Verona with the remaining 100. So sudden was the attack that the enemy was completely routed, and besides many dead on the field the Count and most of his men were taken prisoners. The latter, however, has managed since to make his escape, for whilst one of the troopers who took him prisoner was conducting him to the Bailly's presence he contrived, as I am informed by an eye witness, to run away with his guard, by offering him as a bribe 2,000 ducats. I have sent some horsemen in pursuit, and if the trooper should fall into the hands of my men I will not fail to make an example, and have him punished as he richly deserves.

We intend leaving this place to-morrow in the direction of the River Doye, provided the men I have sent to escort the Marquis return.

The enclosed list will shew how many litter-horses we take. If more are wanted for the artillery, about as many as 135 can be procured. As to oxen, 180 have been bought in Hungary for the use of the Imperial camp at Mantua.—Limad, the 29th of September 1529.

P.S.—I send now 350 artillery horses, and if more are wanted, as I said before, 135 can be easily procured here.

Signed: "Felix de Werdenberg."

French. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

30 Sept. **171.** KING HENRY to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 50.

In credence of his ambassadors, Messire Nicollas Carewe (Carew), Knight, our Master of the Horse (*Grand Escuyer*), and of our Chamber, and of Messire Richard Sampson, Doctor at Law and Dean of our Chapel.—Au manoir de Wyndesore, 30th September 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

Countersigned: "Tuke."

French. Original. p. 1.

30 Sept. **172.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 220.

Since the departure of Count Noguerol (Nogarolo), who left on Friday the 24th inst., nothing new has occurred, save that the Emperor shews still the greatest desire to march to His

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Highness' assistance, and is doing all he can to disengage himself. Already the Pope intends leaving Rome and going to Bologna on the 4th or 5th of next month, and the Emperor will leave this place in order to be there before His Holiness' arrival. On the other hand, the Papal Nuncio has gone to see the Duke Francesco Sforza and propose for the last time the terms on which the Emperor consents to leave him in possession of his estate. Should he again refuse Pavia will be next attacked and taken; for the siege artillery has already arrived.

The Prince of Orange is at the gates of Florence with his army; already deputies from that Republic are in treaty with the Pope.

News has come that in an engagement which the Germans and the light horse in the Mantuan had with the Venetians under Count Gaiaço, the latter were worsted; that captain and about 30 of his men having been made prisoners.—Piacenza, 30th September 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

2 Oct. **173.** MARGARET of AUSTRIA to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. *Corresp. des Kaisers*, I., 341.

Although God has been pleased to give Your Majesty peace with all your neighbours, there are still many causes for anxiety, both as regards politics in general, and the critical circumstances in which your brother of Hungary finds himself, owing to this invasion of the Turk. I may, therefore, perhaps, be excused if I presume to offer my advice on this occasion.

And first of all, I beg and entreat Your Majesty that, considering the country in which you now are, the malice and envious feeling of its inhabitants, the fear they all have of being subjected, and their damnable inventions to raise factions and make leagues, great care should be taken of your own person, and especially of your food.

The Pope having been the first to treat with Your Majesty, methinks that you will be obliged to fulfil all your engagements towards him, a matter not easily accomplished, and in which large sums of money must be consumed for the pay of the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Germans now serving under the Imperial banners, besides what may be owing to those under Antonio de Leyva and at Naples; the amount of which is so excessive that it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for you to hasten to the assistance of your brother, the King of Hungary.

I do not pretend to say that the alliance with the Pope is not a good and desirable thing; but Your Majesty must bear in mind the character of His Holiness, his inconstant humour and fickle disposition, and that he must be greatly changed in temper and general condition if he does not try now, as he did last time, to expel you from Italy after he has got all he wants from you. I am, therefore, of opinion that whilst doing for his sake what is honest, reasonable, and convenient, you

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should not consume your strength or waste your time; but, on the contrary, obtain from him, whilst in Italy, any concession or grant that may be beneficial for the present purpose and for the management of other affairs. For not doing everything the Pope wishes Your Majesty has now a very good excuse in the Turkish war, and in the relief of threatened Christendom; for certainly His Holiness would hardly consent to this duty being neglected for the sake of some town claimed by the Church, or his revenge of the Florentines and other Italians. With regard to the Venetians, before declaring war against them three mighty considerations ought to be attended to. The first is that they have a number of towns well fortified, and provided with ammunition and stores, and therefore almost impregnable; the second is the winter season that will soon begin; and the third, that they expect assistance from the Turk, whose allies they evidently are. It seems to me that if the Venetians wished to treat Your Majesty ought not to allow the negociations to be conducted through the Pope, but appoint proper and trusty people to negociate with Venice itself. And in that case, should the Signory consent to restore what they still retain in the Milanese, not interfere in the disposal by Your Majesty of the duchy of Milan, and besides pay what they owe you and your brother, a treaty might be concluded with them without attending for the present to other claims of the house of Austria, but leaving them untouched until such a time as it may be convenient to bring them forward, as well as those on the duchy of Burgundy. If, moreover, some town belonging to the Pope, or formerly making part of the duchy of Milan, should prove an obstacle to an arrangement of this sort, I for my part would not hesitate to come to an agreement under the best terms possible; provided, however, Venice granted the other points.

Respecting Milan, my opinion is that, considering the expense hitherto incurred, Your Majesty ought by all means to endeavour to remain master of it by investing the King, your son (*le prince votre fils*), with it, and treating with Massimiliano Sforza;* at any rate (*au pis aller*) you could allow him to retain the towns he now holds in the Duchy and touch the revenue thereof with some further pension for his maintenance. Should any of the towns the said Sforza still holds be deemed necessary for the preservation and defence of the Duchy, you could take them away from him and give him as an equivalent other towns and revenues to pass to his legitimate heirs and descendants. This being done, great care should be taken that Milan be not again lost, for it is the key of Italy, and also the place from which the kingdom of Naples can best be attacked: should Your Majesty leave that Duchy in other hands it is to be feared that it will be lost, and you will have to begin the work over again.

* Thus in the original, but it is evidently a mistake for Francesco Maria, then at Cremona, and negociating both with the Emperor and the Pope.

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Your Majesty ought likewise to profit by the situation of the Florentines and Ferrarese without driving them to extremities, and generally speaking your dealings with the Italian powers ought to be conducted in such a way that the siege of a city like Florence, undertaken exclusively for the sake of the Pope, should not be an obstacle to mightier aspirations; for, as I said before, neither His Holiness the Pope nor Your Imperial Majesty, who are the two principal defenders of the Christian Faith, have much honour and reputation to gain by such undertaking, whereas dishonour and shame principally lie in not resisting the Turkish invasion. And if you cannot at present entirely do your will in Italy, time will come, when all other affairs being satisfactorily settled, you will be able to dictate to those towards whom you must now dissemble.

The King, your brother, in the meanwhile must be fully provided with the means of defence, and money procured for him to carry on a good enterprize against the Turk. To accomplish this a good portion of the Church property throughout Christendom might, and ought to, be sold; also part of what belongs to the Knights of Rhodes, or to those of Prussia, since the Grand Master of the Order in the latter country is decidedly a heretic and a married man; besides which, in Germany, where there are so many knights, it is a known fact that princes and rulers, and principally those of the Lutheran sect, have already begun to seize their property and apply it to their own purposes. Our Holy Father might thus grant permission to sell Church property to the amount of a sum to be fixed beforehand, and then grant the Crusade to all the princes wishing to join in this holy undertaking. I see no other way of procuring money for the emergency, exhausted as Europe must be and is by the last wars. To deliberate and decide on these matters it might be advisable to institute three congresses; one for Italy and Spain, under the presidency of Your Majesty; another for France, England, Scotland, and the Low Countries, which I am now governing in Your Majesty's name; and a third for Germany and the dominions of the Empire on this side of the Alps. The Italian, as I say, might be held under the presidency of Your Majesty, and at any town that might be considered fit; the other at Cambray, or some other convenient place in Flanders. This I would attend personally, or if prevented, send thither some great personage to represent me. That of Germany might be held by the King, your brother, wherever he most liked. Should Your Majesty approve of this plan, and send me full powers to that effect, I imagine that no long time will pass before the kings of France and England send their commissaries thither; for the former King has frequently made overtures to this effect, professes to be well disposed, and hopes to induce the King of England to contribute also with money. Such being the case, the Pope ought to send thither a legate of his own, and another one to Germany, properly authorised to sanction in his name whatever measures might be proposed for

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the better issue of the deliberations. Your Majesty, moreover, could write to the princes and towns of that country strong letters of persuasion calling them to the defence of Christendom. It would also be advisable to hit upon some expedient in the matter of the heresies and new sect, so as to calm the apprehensions of the Germans, who might think that they would be corrected and punished in consequence thereof, for otherwise it is to be feared that they would show greater repugnance to contribute towards the expenses of the Turkish war than hitherto, and if so it would become difficult, not to say impossible, to attend at the same time to the Turkish war, and prevent also the spread of heresy in Germany. And as the army, which might be thus prepared for the said expedition could not be got ready until next spring, it would be necessary in the meantime to aid your royal brother [of Hungary] with such a sum of money as to enable him successfully to check the progress of the enemy, or detain him before some large fortified town so as to give time for the succours to arrive.

Meanwhile, Your Majesty might attend to your own affairs in Italy, and everything being settled there, depart for Germany at the head of all your forces, leaving only in Italy those strictly required for the defence of Milan and Naples. This would naturally result in great honour and reputation to your army, which might be paid out of the money collected for the intended expedition, and then you could not only succour your brother, repulse the Turk, and perhaps also follow him up to his own dominions, but also increase our Faith, which will be by far a greater honour and merit than losing your precious time in the recovery of a few towns in Italy.

I have perfectly understood what Your Majesty has written to me respecting the matrimonial alliances and secret treaties once put forward by the King of France, and of which Your Majesty must have been informed through Secretary Des Barres. Your Majesty's reasons and arguments against such alliances are rather conclusive, yet I cannot help thinking that the friendship of France is now more advantageous and necessary to Your Majesty than that of any other country in Christendom—not so much for the tranquillity of all your kingdoms, dominions, and subjects, as to enable you to have your own way in Italy and Germany, and be dreaded by your neighbours; also to be better assisted in this expedition against the Turk, and whilst thus engaged leave your own dominions in perfect security. For these reasons, and many more I could add, such as that of putting an end to the growing heresies, and reforming the Church, it appears to me that Your Majesty ought to strengthen the said friendship with France, and make it still more close and binding by all possible means, through marriage alliances or otherwise. For though the sons of the French king may not yet be of age, such alliances, if now proposed and made, contracted for a

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future time, would, no doubt, bring forth mutual sentiments of regard and affection in the fathers, who, in the hope of the said marriages taking place, would look upon each other's honour and interests as their own. Besides, Your Majesty could find nowhere better alliances for your children, and if concluded, the duchy of Milan might remain in your possession without dispute. Your Majesty will say that the prospect of such marriage alliances most times brings no benefit at all to the parties. I grant it, but in accepting the King's offer Your Majesty does not take more engagements towards him than he towards you, for if the King's offer is only intended to gain time, you yourself gain it also; therefore, there can be no harm to you in any way, but on the contrary, much that is really advantageous. And if so, I should advise that such offers, or indeed any other proposals likely to insure the said friendship, should be listened to, the sooner the better, and if possible, before the delivery of the King's sons, and the intended expedition a gainst the Turk, perhaps during the march [to Hungary], thus giving the French king to understand that you desire it, and doing away with all scruples, render him more willing, by shewing confidence in his friendship; for as the French king wishes the affair to remain secret, should he come to learn that Your Majesty is not inclined to accept the proposed alliance, he will naturally conclude that you do not at all value his friendship, and that will change his confidence in Your Majesty into suspicion, which would be highly detrimental to your interests.

Of the fear which you might have of the Venetians having secret intelligences with him, I see no appearances at all. For the King could not well do that without engaging to contribute a portion of the expenses of the war—which he is not likely to do, considering the large sums of money which he himself is bound to pay for the ransom of his sons, besides which he has engaged to pay 30,000 ducats every month for the recovery by force of arms of all the fortresses which the Venetians hold in the kingdom of Naples, and it is not to be supposed that he would at once contribute towards the expenses of the two belligerents. In addition to this, it is well known that at Cambray the French did their utmost to have the Venetians included in the treaty, which they would certainly not have done if their plans had been what Your Majesty suspects them to be.—Brussels, 2nd October 1529.

Signed: "Marguerite."

French. Copy. pp. 9.

3 Oct. **174.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 220.

Wrote on the 30th ult°, but for some cause or other the courier did not start. Has nothing particular to add to his

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despatch, except that the Duke [Francesco] obstinately refuses entertaining the Emperor's proposals for peace, in consequence of which Pavia is to be immediately invested.

The Bishop of Ciudad—Rodrigo (Don Gonzalo Maldonado), is now going to Spain by the Emperor's command to collect the fourth (*la quarta*) which His Holiness has granted on all Church property during four years, as well as the tenth (*la decima*) on the commanderships (*encomiendas*) of the Military Orders.

No news of the Turk has been received ever since the 15th ult°. Nobody knows here whether he has made any progress, and what state His Highness' affairs are in.

For fear Count Noguerol (Nogarolo) should meet with an accident on the road, a duplicate of his (Salinas') letter of the 30th is enclosed, as well as a copy of the Emperor's instructions to him, and a memorandum for Secretary Christoval de Castillejo on certain private business.—Piacenza, 3rd October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

3 Oct. **175.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 221.

Received last night His Holiness' letters dated Lintz the 18th and 23rd ult°. As a courier was then on the point of leaving for Germany, the Emperor gave orders that he should stay until an answer was prepared. Next day Don Pedro de Cordoba, and he (Salinas) waited on His Imperial Majesty and read to him the King's letters, which were immediately forwarded to the Privy Council for deliberation. The councillors met and discussed their contents, after which, with the Emperor's permission, the courier was dispatched in all haste to His Holiness the Pope, informing him of the critical state in which Germany is owing to the threatened Turkish invasion. The Emperor, however, would very much like to know what resources in men and provisions have been collected at Vienna to defend that capital against the advancing enemy, for on this point neither His Highness' letters, nor those received from private individuals, give sufficient information.

With regard to the advice asked, and to the question whether this be the proper time or not to apply to England and France for the promised assistance, the Emperor and his Privy Council are of opinion that it ought certainly to be asked for, but not until His Highness' letters containing the said application have been examined and discussed here [at Piacenza], lest the words of the demand should not be in harmony with the Emperor's previous declarations, or what he himself intends saying at the meeting (*junta*) of Bologna.

The Emperor has been informed of the departure of Mr. de

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Bredan*, who, after his arrival in Italy, may easily start for France and deliver his message, but this, it is thought, cannot take place till after the meeting at Bologna, for fear King Francis after hearing the application should say that he is entirely at the orders of the "junta," and cannot take a resolution by himself. In the meantime the Chancellor's opinion is that His Highness might send a messenger to Flanders with sufficient powers to settle what portion of the "quarta" and "decima" there collected is to be destined to the prosecution of the Turkish war.—Piacenza, 4th October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

4 Oct. **176.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 220 v°.

Duplicate of his despatch of the 3rd with the addition of the following paragraph:

Respecting the "quarta" and "decima" of Flanders, the High Chancellor (Mons. de Granvelle) recommends that a special messenger should be immediately dispatched to that country with a gracious letter to Mons. de Abstrato (Hoochsträten) urging the speedy termination of that affair, which His Imperial Majesty takes much to heart, as the success of the future campaign against the Turk depends principally upon the money to be raised in Flanders.—Piacenza, 4th October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

2 Oct. **177.** QUEEN CATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806, f. 28. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 176.

In favour and commendation of a doctor in law and subject of the Emperor, born at Barcelona, who has served for upwards of 30 years as clerk in the Rotta. He came to England with Cardinal Campeggio. At the sack of Rome by Bourbon's army he lost everything he had in the world, and has since lived in great poverty though he was very well off before that event. He is a very meritorious person. Begs for him some benefice in the kingdom of Naples or elsewhere. —Wynsor (Windsor), 2nd October [1529].

Signed: "Catherina."

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

3 Oct. **178.** POPE CLEMENT to the EMPEROR.

S. P. R. *Bulas Sueltas*, L. 1, f. 136. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 177.

Sends the Bishop of Como (Triulzo), his referendary, on a mission to the King of France and to ask his help against the Turk. Has ordered the Bishop to meet him (the Emperor) on his way to Bologna and convey his greetings.—Rome, 3rd October 1529.

Latin. p. 1.

* "Y por carta de V. Al. se escribe á Su Mag^{t}. ser partido Mos. de Bredan para acá, el qual es el mensagero. Esto ha parecido á Su Mag^{t}. porque no tome el Rey de Francia por achaque que el está remitido á dicha junta." By Mr. de Breda, in the original written *Bredan*, Henri Comte de Nassau is probably meant as he was also lord of Breda.

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4 Oct **179.** PRAËT and MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 102. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 178.

In credence of the Bishop of Como (Triulzo) going to France as Papal Nuncio.—Rome, 4th October 1529.

Spanish. p. 1.

5 Oct. **180.** The SAME to the SAME.

S.E.L. 848, ff. 94-5. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 179.

Have received no letters since the 21st ult°.

The Pope's departure is fixed for the 7th inst. He will take the road through Romagna, and travel with all possible speed. He (Mai) is to follow him; his colleague (Praët) will go before, riding post, that His Imperial Majesty may be apprized in time of His Holiness' arrival.

Cardinal Monte remains as legate at Rome during the Pope's absence. As for some time past he (Monte) has made professions of being an Imperialist, there is no reason to think that the Spanish courtiers here [at Rome] will be otherwise than well treated.

The Duke Francesco's secretary came back five days ago. The Pope having reproached him with having said that an agreement had already been concluded here, at Rome, he pretended that he had never made such a statement, but only that "there was some hope of one." He maintains that his master (the Duke) intends holding Pavia as long as he can, and after the city is taken defending the castle, thus gaining time to see how matters will turn up. The Pope undeceived him as to this, saying that the Imperial ambassadors had no power to treat with him, and would no longer negociate with his master.

On the last day of September, Monbardon* arrived with letters from the Prince and from the Capuan (Schomberg), stating the many difficulties attending the attack on Florence. Though disposed to do anything His Holiness wished in this respect, it was the opinion of the Prince's counsellors that the undertaking was more difficult than appeared at first. There was no money or provision in the camp; the Sienese had not sent the promised artillery and ammunition, &c., and therefore the attack, if made, could not be successful. Went to the Pope, accompanied by Monbardon himself, who repeated to him the substance of the Prince's letter, but all our efforts united were in vain; the Pope said nothing except "I place myself entirely in the hands of the Prince and of the Capuan," which words he repeated two or three times.

Three days after another courier came from the Prince, announcing that certain Florentine deputies had gone to him proposing to place the whole affair in the hands of His Imperial Majesty for him to decide as umpire how and on what terms the

* Montbardon, the chaplain and almoner to the Constable of Bourbon, and who, after the death of that general before Rome, was taken into the service of Philibert de Chalon.

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restoration of the Medici family in that Republic was to take effect, &c. There is, however, some difference as to the proposition itself; the Capuan saying that it was the Prince who first suggested the idea, whereas the Prince himself writes to say that it came from the Florentines. However this may be, the Pope is afraid that Florence mistrusts and dislikes him altogether, wherein he is right, and the case being so, His Imperial Majesty will have more to do as judge than as a party with arms in hand.* Yet, after all, the proposal of the Florentines, in the opinion of the ambassadors, ought to be taken into consideration, not only on account of the scarcity of money and provisions, which is likely to increase, but because the winter season being close at hand, the Florentines may be induced to defend their territory with greater obstinacy and, last not least, because desertion, as we are given to understand, has already commenced in the ranks of the Imperial army; camp marauders are spreading about, &c.

From Venice no courier has arrived in Rome for upwards of one month. One came at last about three days ago, bringing news that the Turk had actually retreated into his own territory. True, this intelligence comes by private letters, but it is very probable for the citadel (*roca*) of Buda defended itself most gallantly, which, coupled with the news of peace between the Christian princes and the fear the Turks have of their camp being inundated by the Danube, are likely to have obliged them to raise their tents.

Cardinal Grimano, who is a Venetian by birth, and resides here, called the other day upon the Pope and said to him, as if it came from himself, that he believed the Signory would agree to the peace if they were sure of obtaining two conditions. One was that the peace should be a lasting one: the other that the Duke Francesco should retain possession of his estate. The Pope having replied that they must at any cost secure peace, representing to them the danger in which they were of the Emperor's arms, it appears that Cornaro hinted that they had still some hope of being assisted by France; when or how he did not say. The Pope, however, having obsèrved to him that in case of peace being made the Signory would be expected to contribute towards the expenses of the war against the Turk, Cornaro said: "That we shall never dare do owing to our vicinity to the Turk; but we may secretly contribute some money in consideration for the fruits and rents of Ravenna and Cervia, which we are bound to restore to the Church."

By this last post it is rumoured that the Florentines have sent to ask the assistance of Venice, and that it has been refused to them, on the plea that they were believed to have already come to terms with the Pope. All the efforts, it is added, of the Florentine ambassador at Venice to persuade them that

* "Y tiene razon porque mas terná V. M. que hacer deste manera, como juez, que no como parte y con las armas en la mano."

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the report was untrue were in vain. They had, it appears, particularly applied for the 3,000 infantry the Duke of Urbino [Francesco Maria della Rovere] has in his estate. The Duke's answer has been that he has that force for his own defence, and does not choose to part with it or give it to anyone; and that although he is actually still in the Signory's service he does not intend carrying war into the territory of the Church or of the Emperor. This, notwithstanding, a report is afloat that the Duke was lately preparing himself by the command of the Signory to go and meet the Germans lately arrived [in Italy], but that when he was about to start he fell dangerously ill and was thus prevented.

Have likewise heard that the answer made by the Signory to the French messenger who went last to them was to the effect that His Highness the King had certainly not behaved well towards them. Being his allies, they had reason to expect not to be excluded from the peace; yet as they were still his friends and servants they would take no more notice of his ill-behaviour. Respecting the restitution of lands to the Church, His Highness the king of France could not object to their retaining them a little longer, because being as they were one of the conditions stipulated for the recovery of his sons—which cannot be accomplished before many months have passed—neither the King nor anyone else can find fault with their keeping them as long as they could. It is reported that when the Pope heard this argument of the Venetians he said to the by-standers: "I really believe that Frenchmen and Venetians have good reason to complain of each other on this occasion; yet it is evident to me that the Signory is willing to make up the quarrel, for she has at present no other support (*arrimadero*) to lean against but France.

Nothing is known yet of Juan Joachim (Jean Jocken), who is said to have gone from Venice to France on some such errand and message as the preceding. He is known to be a restless man, always ready for intrigue, and therefore ought to be watched.

A report is current here that Geronimo Rosario, the secretary of the Nuncio, now residing at the Imperial Court, has arrived with letters from his master persuading the Signory to accept peace on the proposed terms; and that the Signory has made him a very courteous answer, thanking him for his advice and good wishes, &c. The Nuncio is a native of Vincença, and consequently a vassal of the Signory.

The Pope said five days ago that he had letters from France advising that His Imperial Majesty had asked in advance for some of the money to be paid for the recovery of the King's sons. That the affair had been treated in Council, where most were of opinion that the demand ought to be granted. He (the Pope) had been asked to give his advice, &c.

The Marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga), according to the last news, is unwell; but as this happens whenever he expects money from any quarter, and it is not forthcoming,

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perhaps his present indisposition is only caused by the want of funds.

A servant of Juan Sesatello* has come from the camp before Florence and told Andrea del Burgo that Ferrante Gonzaga is much displeased at the Emperor having appointed another captain to the command of the light horse. No wonder, if the news be correct, for these Italians are exceedingly touchy (*coxquillosos*) on such points.

The Bishop of Como,† whom His Holiness is about to send to France, has hitherto been by lineage as well as affection a thorough Frenchman. For some time past he professes to be a good Imperialist. The brother of Gregorio Casal‡ has been appointed to England. Begs to recommend them both, as they may be of use hereafter.

We have procured that the Pope should write warmly respecting the English matrimonial suit. He has promised not only to do so, but send to the King for his information a copy of the opinion which Cardinal Ancona§ has promised to prepare, and which we (the ambassadors) have begged him to draw in as laconic and conclusive terms as the case requires. This the Cardinal has promised to do, not only from his love of justice, but because he wishes to be agreeable to Your Imperial Majesty.

The Marquis of Mantua‖ advises having duly received the copies (*despachos*) of the summons and inhibition of England, and forwarded them to their respective addresses. It was most unfortunate that out of six copies sent by different routes only this one and another, which was taken by a gentleman of the Queen's household, the same who brought the powers and process (*procero*), have arrived at their destination.

We hear from a good source that the Pope intends creating some new cardinals, both at the Emperor's request and at that of the King of France.

The Pope has written to his Nuncio at the Imperial Court not to make complaints or pick up quarrels (*revolverse*) with Sanga, whom he considers a good and zealous clean-handed official.

The Bishop of Gurz [Hieronimo Balbo] is clever and a very good lawyer. He wishes to serve the Emperor.—Rome, 5th October 1529.¶

Signed: "Loys de Praët.—Mai."

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* Sessatello, Saxatello, or Saxadello (Zuanne). See vol iv., part 2, p. 544.

† See above, p. 266, No. 178.

‡ Paolo.

§ The Cardinal of Ancona here mentioned can be no other than Benedetto degli Accolti, archbishop of Ravenna, who in 1526 was selected by Pope Clement to answer Perez's allegation in favour of the Colonnese Part 2, p. 1007. He has often been mistaken for another Accolti (Pietro), surnamed "Il Vecchio," also Cardinal of Ancona, who was bishop of Sabino, Cadiz, and Cremonas in succession.

‖ This name is crossed over in the original, which is not in cipher.

¶ There is in the same volume, at fol. 188, a duplicate of this letter.

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3 Oct. **181.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 221.

Received last night His Highness' letters dated the 18th and 23rd ult°. As a courier was then on the point of leaving [for Germany], the Emperor gave orders that he should stay until an answer was prepared. Next day Don Pedro de Cordoba and he (Salinas) waited upon the Emperor and read to him the letters of His Highness, which were *ipso facto* sent to his Privy Council for deliberation. The councillors met and discussed their contents, after which a courier was despatched in all haste to inform His Holiness of the critical state of affairs [in Germany]. The Emperor, however, would like to know what resources in men and provisions have been collected at Vienna to defend that capital against the advancing Turks, for on this point neither His Highness' letters, nor your own, nor those received from private persons, give sufficient information.

With regard to the advice applied for and to the question whether this be the fit time or not to apply to England or France for the promised help, His Imperial Majesty and his Privy Council think that it ought certainly to be asked soon, but in their opinion the letters and despatches containing the application for such help should come here first to be examined and discussed in Council, for fear their wording should not be in consonance with the Emperor's declarations on the subject, or with what he himself will have to say at the next meeting (*junta*) of Bologna.

The Emperor has also been informed of the departure of Mons. de Bredan,* who, after his arrival in Italy, is to take a message [to France], but he is very much afraid that King Francis will answer that he is entirely subject to the deliberations of the congress (*junta*), and that he cannot possibly take a resolution by himself. If so, nothing profitable can be achieved either way. At any rate, Mons. de Granvelle is of opinion that His Highness ought to send a messenger to Flanders with powers to settle what portion of the "quarta" and "decima" there collected is to be destined to the prosecution of the Turkish war†.—Piacenza, 4th of October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

8 Oct. **182.*** EUSTACE CHAPUYS, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 23.

(*Cipher*:) As a proof of this King's obstinacy in the matter of the divorce, as I had the honour to inform Your Imperial Majesty [in my despatch of the 27th ult°], I will add that

* "Y por carta de V. Al. se escribe a Su Magt. ser partido mos. de bredan para acá el qual es el mensagero. Esto ha parecido a Su Magt. por que no tome el Rey de Francia por achaque que el está remitido á la dicha junta."

† This letter, which is almost a duplicate of that addressed to the king (No. 175) with a few additions, ends by some particulars about the Emperor's preparations for his journey to Bologna, where he received his crowns from the hands of the Pope in February 1530.

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he has lately sent for the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber [Ghinucci] merely to confer with him on the marriage affair. The Auditor told the King, as I have since learned from very good sources, that he consents to lose his head if the dispensation brief is not found to be a forgery for many reasons. The first and principal on account of its date, as I have already had occasion to inform Your Imperial Majesty; the second, that the wax-seal is not where it ought to be;* and the third, that the secretary's signature is not in his hand-writing as appears from other documents of the kind. The Auditor, I am told, further adds that he saw once an inventory of papers and deeds of the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, concerning him and Henry VII., the father of this King, in which no mention whatever occurred of the said brief, whence it might be easily inferred that no such a document was ever issued from the Roman Chancery. They say that after telling the King all these fine things, he (Ghinucci) begged and entreated that the information should be kept secret for fear of Your Majesty parrying the blow.

The Auditor has had a very good reception here, and is since gone back to Rome with a mission to the Pope, as this King's ambassador. He will no doubt exert himself there to prove the invalidity of the brief founded on the three above-mentioned conclusions.† Thus, independently of his affection for the Lady [Anne Boleyn], the King is encouraged in his obstinacy by the persuasions of many who, like Ghinucci and others, support him in his belief, as likewise by certain hopes thrown out in a Papal brief lately received here, wherein His Holiness remits the penalty of 10,000 ducats contained in the inhibition, and promises that notwithstanding the advocation of the whole case to Rome, he (the Pope) will keep his word and do whatever has been agreed between them.

(*Common writing:*) These promises of the Pope have been gladly accepted here, and in order the more to stimulate him to their observance, an answer has been prepared, in which the King declares that "inasmuch as His Holiness has failed in many of his promises up to the present time, it is reasonable to expect that he will now attend more to them; otherwise no trust or reliance can henceforward be placed in him, and the utmost caution must be used in negociating."

(*Cipher:*) The Auditor (Ghinucci) took his departure for Rome this very day, and I have just been told by the merchant, at whose house he was lodged, that he goes well provided with money, both in cash and in letters of credit, for the King, it is said, has given him as much as 3,000 ducats, to be spent exclusively in the divorce case‡. I have written to Miçer Mai about it that he may be on his guard.

[*Common writing:*] On the return of Cardinal Campeggio [from Grafton] I called upon him, according to the Queen's

* "La seconde que la cire n'est mise á son devoir."

† "Et va en bonne intention de prouver son *triacle* (?) sur les dits points."

‡ "Tant y a que le Roy luy a fait donner jusques à trois mille ducas pour despendre à la poursuyte du divorce."

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desire, to thank him* in her name and in that of Your Majesty, and to inquire at the same time whether he had, or had not, according to promise made any notification (*rencharge*) to the King on this matter of the divorce. Also to learn his own opinion of a case so often discussed and debated in his very presence. He assured me that he had had no opportunity whatever of speaking about it, which circumstance he considered rather favourable for the Queen's case than otherwise, for had he attempted to make inquiries, or tried to ascertain the King's sentiments thereupon, he might have done harm instead of good, for the King, he observed, suspected him, and was very angry at his refusing to proceed with the case, so much so that he made no secret of his disappointment and ill-will towards him; neither would he allow of his speaking to the Queen or taking leave of her before his departure from England.

(*Cipher:*) I am inclined to believe that Campeggio does not wish the matter to remain as it is, and, therefore, that the King's suspicions apply more to the future than to any previous doings of that Cardinal in England, and that the fear of his talking more freely about the divorce on his departure—especially as the bishopric promised to him in this kingdom is not forthcoming—has been the real and principal cause of the King's anger and suspicion, and of his not allowing him to take leave of the Queen.†

(*Common writing:*) Campeggio, however, stated to me that wherever the case might be tried or discussed [in England or at Rome] he had not the least doubt that it would be decided in favour of the Queen and the marriage declared indissoluble.

(*Cipher:*) He thought, moreover, that the King after this would take no further judicial steps in the affair, and if so, that the Queen should be advised not to stir or pursue her defence. But having informed him of some of the particulars above alluded to, and others contained in my former despatches, he (the Cardinal) changed his opinion and agreed with me that the Queen had better, all things considered, prosecute her defence as best she could.

(*Common writing:*) Campeggio left yesterday morning for Rome taking with him silver plate valued at 3,000 ducats, besides a present of 4,000 more which he received on his arrival. It was very fortunate that he did so, for on the very day of his departure one of his most favourite chamberlains was struck by the plague, and 24 hours after he was dead.

(*Cipher:*) The Queen's Council, fearing to bring on themselves the King's displeasure, or perhaps wishing to fish in

* "Luy faire les merciations de la part de Votre Majesté."

† "Cela me fayt penser qu'il (Campeggio) ne veult ainsi laisser la chose, et que la suspicion que le Roy a heu est sur l' advenir, non point sur le passé; pensant qu'a son partement il parleroit plus librement que paravant, mesmement comme l'one (*sic*) ne luy a donne l'evesche que luy a este promise."

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troubled waters* for their own individual advantage, had once almost persuaded her to desist (*surseoir*), giving her to understand that in time everything would be set to rights, and that upon the arrival of Your Majesty at Rome a declaration might easily be obtained from His Holiness respecting the validity of the dispensation brief, without further proceedings. But it appears that the Queen hearing that her enemies are at work, and knowing also that delay in these matters is often fraught with danger; doubting, moreover, whether His Holiness will be persuaded to make such a declaration without a previous trial, has rejected the opinion of the majority of her Council. Others tell her that if Your Majesty could only persuade His Holiness to write [to the King] about it, the whole thing might be satisfactorily settled. In this last opinion, if adopted, I see two dangers: one is, that the Pope, considering his engagements and promises to this King—to which I have alluded in the former part of this despatch—may not dare to address him on the subject; the other is, that if this King comes to hear of Your Majesty's exertions at Rome in favour of Your Majesty's aunt, the opposite party may allege that unfair means have been used to obtain the Pope's grace (*gratieusetez*).

(*Cipher:*) The Queen has likewise been intimidated by the announcement of this new Parliament, which is to meet soon. She has been told that should the Commons hear that the King has actually been summoned to appear personally or by proxy at Rome some motion detrimental to her interests might easily be made and carried out. This, however, in my opinion, is not to be apprehended, for the love and affection which the English people bear Your Imperial Majesty and the Queen is indeed very great. This last fear has so perplexed her of late that she actually hesitates as to the best course to follow under present circumstances. The only resolution she has come to is to inform Your Majesty through me of her perplexity and fears, and to beg that the matter be taken entirely out of her hands and placed in those of Your Majesty, for Your Majesty to act and proceed as best suits the Imperial interests and her own. And in case of Your Majesty deciding for the prosecution of the suit at Rome, that a prudent letter be addressed to the King, her husband, stating the reasons for such proceedings, exculpating her therefrom and giving him (the King) to understand that the prosecution of the affair is as much in his favour as in the Queen's, all this being expressed in words similar to those contained in my instructions.

One of the reasons which this King alleges as an excuse for proceeding, as he has done, against the Queen, and trying to have his marriage declared invalid, is that he himself has never been a party to it; and yet, strange to say, he now

* "Ou qui par avanture vouldroit tousjours pescher en cest trouble."

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reproaches her with shewing herself a party!* (*Cipher*:) Hence it follows that if the Pope only consented to enforce justice there would be no occasion for excuse or reproach, for having appointed the Legatine commission "*ex officio* and *motu proprio*," it stands to reason that he could now proceed "*ex officio*" without the request or appeal of the parties concerned, since the cause is still the same once committed to the two Legates, and which is now being advoked to Rome with its appurtenances and incidents; besides which, there is no more reason now for fearing scandal and publicity than there was at first.† So that, rightly speaking, were the parties by common consent to institute an action at law, as the affair is spiritual and touches the soul, it would prove a very profitable move for Your Majesty and likewise for the Queen, as it would discharge their consciences and everything afterwards would go on well.‡ I have written to Miçer Mai in this sense, that he may insist upon the advocation. (*Common writing*:) As I have already informed Your Majesty, they make much here of this brief of dispensation, fancying that if they only succeed in having it condemned as a forgery—which they never will do—they will ultimately gain their point. Hitherto they have adduced no sound proofs against its authenticity, and I am really astonished how they can be so quiet about it when the Queen herself has declared by a public act—a copy of which is here enclosed—that she could not publicly avow or make use of the brief in her defence, inasmuch as it is explicitly said therein that Prince Arthur, her former husband, had consummated matrimony; which fact she declares to be untrue, as her present husband has often confessed before witnesses.§ Indeed, the Queen says that a short time ago, whilst conversing with the King, her husband, after dinner, he said to her: "You wish to help yourself and defend the validity of the dispensation by saying that your former husband, Prince Arthur, my brother, never consummated marriage. Well and good, but no less was our marriage illegal, for the bull does not dispense *super impedimento publicæ honestatis*, and, therefore, I intend disputing and maintaining against all people that a dispensation thus conceived is insufficient." I confess that an argument of this sort may appear strong enough to a person like the Queen, but to people of another class it would be found to rest on very brittle footing (*la glace d'une nuyt*). The Queen, however, answered that whatever arguments were used to convince

* "La chose que le Roy poyse autant pour son excuse du procès qu'a este icy esmeu sus la validité du mariage, est qu'il dist qu'il ne se trouvera qu'il ayt jamais fayt part en icelluy, et maintenant il raproche (*sic*) à la Royne que c'est elle qui fayt part."

† "Et d'ailleurs ne se peut plus disposer à esclandre ni divulger que premiers."

‡ "De sorte que pour forme de droit quant bien les parties commençeroint de commung accord au procès, puisque la matière concerne la spiritualité de l'ame, tenant tel moyen, seroit une grande decharge pour Votre Majestè."

§ "Et pense que le Roy ne le mettroyt en ny, cars plusieurs foys yl l'a dit et propalé."

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her that she was not his lawful and legitimate wife would be of no avail; she considered herself such. That was not the time or place to dispute about such matters, and that they had better go to Rome, and have the question determined by the Pope.

On Tuesday evening Cardinal Wolsey sent me one of his secretaries with a message from the King's Privy Council appointing 8 o'clock in the morning as the hour at which the Council would assemble and communicate with me certain affairs relating to Your Imperial Majesty. I promised to be present at the appointment and listen to what the King's Council had to say. Whilst I was talking to the Secretary, the French ambassador approached the door of my house, with an intention no doubt to call; but finding that Cardinal Wolsey's secretary and other English gentlemen were with me, he went off, and sent one of his own men to say he wished to speak to me, for he had been for the last two days debating and hammering (*il avoit desbatu et martellé*) with the King's Privy Councillors about King Francis' jewels, which, he said, he wished to recover as soon as possible, that his master might in return fulfil his engagements to Your Majesty. The King and his Council (he said) were ready enough to give up the pledge in their hands, but they did not know whether Your Imperial Majesty would approve of it or not. It had, therefore, been resolved in Council to send for me and ask me the question; accordingly he (the ambassador) wished to inform me thereof, and to request that I would make every effort for the said jewels and rings to be restored as soon as possible. My answer to the ambassador's man was that I had no instructions whatever respecting his master's rings, and if interrogated by the Council should be at a loss how to shape my reply, inasmuch as when I took leave of Your Majesty [at Barcelona] there had been no talk of peace, and that I imagined the treaty of Cambray would contain some clause and stipulation as to the manner in which such pledges were to be restored.

Wednesday morning, as I was preparing to go to the Privy Council, a second message came from the French ambassador, requesting that, since I could do nothing to help him in the matter, I would at least put off the interview till after dinner. Replied that, had I been sure that the King's Council had no other object in view than the affair of the rings, I would, to please him, have postponed the interview; but that having already accepted the appointment, and not being quite certain that their communication only referred to that matter, I must attend the summons.

At the appointed hour, therefore, I was in the Council room, where most of the English lords were already assembled. On my arrival there Cardinal Wolsey, and the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk left the Council room, and after much welcoming and greeting—for the two last named personages had not yet seen me—they took me to a corner of the anti-room,

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and there all four of us standing, the Cardinal began to say: "You must know that by the treaty of Cambray the King of France has engaged to pay into the hands of His Imperial Majesty certain debts of his own to the King of England, our master, in consequence of which a settlement of our accounts with him has been made, the bonds and obligations returned, &c. But inasmuch as the King, our master, has still as pledges for the said debt certain jewels originally belonging to the old house of Burgundy—to which the Emperor Charles has since succeeded—besides other old relics, which may have a certain value, the King, our master, wishes to know whether it is the Emperor's pleasure that the said jewels be at once restored to the King of France without passing through so many hands. For this reason we have sent for you to learn what your instructions are on this point, as neither the King, our master, nor ourselves would do anything that was disagreeable to His Imperial Majesty."

My answer was that I had no instructions whatever respecting the jewels. At my departure from Barcelona the Emperor had no certain information about the conference at Cambray, which had just then begun. Perhaps the Imperial messenger who was to bring to England the ratification of the treaty, would also bring instructions as to the manner of disposing of the jewels and relics. As to the treaty itself I had not seen it yet, nor did I know its contents. The King, their master, who had been the principal promoter of the peace (*desbatu et martellé*) ought to know what the terms and stipulations of it were. I ended by thanking them for their good-will towards Your Majesty and the affectionate care they took of your affairs, and assured them that I should not fail to acquaint my Court thereof. As to their suggestion, that Your Majesty might perhaps be better pleased to leave the said pledges in the hands of their King than in those of many others, I did not hesitate to say that so it was, inasmuch as Your Majesty had often given them ample proofs of the utmost confidence in their good faith, by trusting his own person and patrimonial dominions in their hands, upon which the Duke of Norfolk replied: "You have spoken the truth. In a like manner the King, my master, trusts more in His Imperial Majesty than in any other Christian prince, and that is the reason why, in the present case, for the sake of the old mutual friendship and the King's goodwill towards the Emperor, you, Chappuis, (*sic*) have been consulted by us on this occasion before doing in this matter anything that might perchance be disagreeable to your master."

It was, therefore, resolved at the Council not to deliver the said jewels into the French ambassador's hands until Your Majesty's pleasure should be known. And the Cardinal added that a special messenger should be sent post haste [to Italy] to that effect. After which we took leave of each other, the Cardinal and the two Dukes returning to the Council Chamber, and I myself retiring to my lodgings in the town.

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By the Queen's advice, and that of many good servants and friends of Your Imperial Majesty also, I have purposedly avoided calling upon the above-mentioned personages, not to give as it were cause for jealousy and suspicion, and to see in the meantime what turn the affairs of Cardinal Wolsey will take, for, in my opinion, not many days will elapse before we have a new Government in this country, and then we shall have to sail with them before the wind.

On my way home I called on the French ambassador for the purpose of returning his two visits and informing him of what had been resolved at the Council. I told him what my answer had been, and that there could not be much delay in the delivery of the jewel, as an express would be dispatched immediately to consult Your Majesty thereupon. I told him more; I said that my impression was that even if my instructions had been most categorical on the subject, they (the Lords of the Council) would have refused to give up the rings without a special mandate from the King, his master, determining the manner in which the jewel was to be surrendered and received, as well as the sort of document and voucher which he (the ambassador) was to give to the English. He confessed that I was right, but that he was exceedingly disappointed and sorry (*marry*), observing that the King himself and the principal members of his Privy Council, including the Cardinal, had expressed an opinion that the pledges should be at once restored, whereas some of the new Government (*nouveau regime*), wishing to appear as wise and exact as their predecessors in office, had raised the difficulty. He said more; he assured me he had protested before the Council that inasmuch as he considered he had done his duty respecting the jewel, he cared not a straw whether it was restored or not, as his master would easily find means, with the ring or without it, of maintaining Your Majesty's friendship, and giving the equivalent. He then told me in full detail the news from Hungary, which he said he had direct from the French ambassadors residing with the princes of the two leagues,* who, according to his information, had sent a messenger to the Imperial Diet. (*Cipher:*) But he told me this piece of news as if he were not at all concerned about it, yet observing that the gravity of the case was such that it well needed the co-operation and help of all the Christian princes without losing time in the wording of treaties, thereby implying no doubt what I recollect his saying to me on another occasion, namely, that Madame, the Archduchess (Margaret), had made many promises which had not, and could not be

* Puis me conta bien amplement des nouvelles d'Hongrie qu'il avoit reçeu des ambassadeurs de France que sont aux ligues (*sic*), qu'avoint envoye ung homme à la Diete Imperiale." Thus in the original. If the word ligues is meant for "leagues," the Suabian and that of the Protestant princes must be meant; but one might be inclined to think that *lignes* for frontiers or advanced army in front of the enemy is here meant.

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fulfilled, and confidently asserted besides that peace once concluded everything else would be settled to the satisfaction of the parties.

I have just heard from a very good source that this King is so blindly and passionately fond of his Anne, that he has, at her persuasion, consented to treat of a marriage between the Princess Mary, his daughter, and the son of the Duke of Norfolk, who is a near relative of the lady.

(*Common writing:*) Madame, the Archduchess, writes to me in date of the 25th September, that the ratification of the treaty of Cambray by Your Imperial Majesty has been duly received at Brussels. Also that Mr. de Rosymboz and I have been commissioned to present the same to this King, and ask him whether he wishes to sign at once or wait until his ambassadors have reached the Imperial Court, in order that on the same day and at the same hour the treaty may be duly signed and ratified here and there. Having immediately written to this King on the subject I have this very day had an answer from him, assuring me of his readiness to ratify and swear to the treaty, and that as to the time and mode of signing he entirely subscribes to any arrangement between Madame and his own ambassadors, recently appointed, *i.e.*, the Grand Squire to the Royal Household, Nicolas Caro (Carew), and Dr. Sampson, the Dean of the Chapel, who left yesterday. The Queen sends word to say that she has always found the Grand Squire very affectionately inclined to Your Majesty's service and her own, and begs me to write in his favour and commendation.

No other news of importance.—London, 8th October 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuÿs."*

French. Holograph occasionally in cipher. pp. 8.

9 Oct. **183.** The Emperor to the Archbishop of Bari.

S. E. Princ. d. Ital., f. 84.
B. M. *Add.* 28,577, f. 195.

The Emperor's commission to the Archbishop of Bari, bishop of Jaen (Esteban Gabriel Merino), to fill the post of extraordinary ambassador at the Papal Court, conjointly with Louis de Praët and Miçer Miguel Mai.—Piacenza, 9th October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

9 Oct. **184.** The Emperor's Instructions to the Same.

L. 848, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 196.

You are to go to the Holy Father, wherever he may be. Show him the letters of our brother, King Ferdinand, and entreat him to make as much haste as possible that We may be set free and in a position to march against the Infidel, as is our duty. To tell him that We have already sent gentle-

* I have already observed that the name of this ambassador is variously written in these despatches: *Chapuis*, *Chapuys*, and even *Chappuys*. In the present instance there are two points on the y, thus ÿ, instances of which do not occur elsewhere.

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men of our household to the kings of France, England, and Portugal, desiring them to take up this cause as one in which Christendom at large is concerned, and likewise to Germany, Flanders, and Spain, asking the co-operation of our subjects in the undertaking.

You will tell him that this news of the Turkish invasion has considerably affected us, because We foresee in it great danger to all the Christian princes should our common efforts be insufficient to drive him out of Europe.

Since this undertaking chiefly concerns His Holiness, as head of the Church, and us also, as Emperor, We beg him to consider what means had better be employed to secure success, and cast his eye on the memorandum sent to our ambassadors, or the copy here enclosed.

Respecting Florence, you will say that our intention has always been and is still to do his pleasure. What We wrote to our ambassadors about the terms proposed by that Republic was only intended for His Holiness' inspection, and that he himself might consider whether the terms offered by that Republic were acceptable or not under present circumstances, as We wish to be disengaged the sooner to march against the common enemy. The Papal Nuncio tells us that the Prince of Orange does not proceed as quickly and steadily as His Holiness might wish; you may say that our orders to the Prince being to follow implicitly his commands, We cannot persuade ourselves that he has failed in his duty. We, however, send Mussiur de Baubry* to him to urge him to action. Nevertheless, should His Holiness consider that under present circumstances, and the better to promote the expedition against the Infidel, it would be advisable to give in a little, you will request him in our name to ponder this matter well, and you may add, as coming from yourself, that in our present undertaking against the Turk We fully intend availing ourselves of the forces now before Florence.

The same observations apply to Ferrara, and if in compensation for what His Holiness may lose in Florence, or in the Ferrarese, he wishes for a portion of the duchy of Milan, you may say in our name that he shall have it.

You will inform him that Pavia has been taken by our troops, and that our intention is to give it in keeping to whomsoever he (the Pope) may designate, until the whole of that estate is disposed of. This will prove to His Holiness that We want no part of it for ourselves, and that We are quite ready in the best manner possible to ensure the peace of Italy.

With regard to Venice, you will inform His Holiness that the negociations are at a standstill. If they are resumed you may assure His Holiness that his interests will be attended to.

* Monsieur de Waury, frequently called Bauri, Babry, and Baberi by Italians and Spaniards of these times.

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Our intention is to go by way of Mantua, so as to be closer to the lands of the Church. There our armies will meet, and a portion of them, whilst We journey to Bologna, invade the Venetian territory.

In case His Holiness should be prevented by illness or otherwise from going to Bologna as soon as We expect, you will treat all the above matters in the form and manner contained in these instructions, and in virtue of the full powers which you have received to that effect.—Piacenza, 8th October 1529.

P.S.—After writing the above Monbardon has arrived with letters from the Prince with the enclosed report of what has passed at Florence, and the causes he has had, and has still, for not doing what His Holiness wants. You will shew it to His Holiness, and request him to consider whether a middle course cannot be taken in this affair, so as to put an end to it at once, &c.—Piacenza, 9th October 1529.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Couos, High Commander."

10 Oct. **185.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 221 v°.

On the 4th inst. a courier was dispatched with the answer to His Highness' letters of the 18th and 23rd ult°., and the duplicate of Noguerol's instructions. On Wednesday, the 6th, at 10 o'clock of the night, Lançaroto (Lancelot?) arrived, and was immediately conducted to the Imperial presence by the town watch (*las guardas de la villa*), to whom he gave the message of which he was the bearer. On the ensuing Thursday, at day-break, Blues (*sic*) arrived with more urgent despatches, begging for an immediate answer. In consequence of which, he (Salinas) and Don Pedro de Cordoba went to the Imperial residence and explained their contents. The Emperor's answer was that his resolution was taken, and that he had given orders for the execution of the plan referred to in Noguerol's instructions.

His Highness may be sure that had not Blues, the messenger, arrived with such pressing demands for help and assistance, besides a full explanation of what is there (in Germany) considered as the best way of getting out of present difficulties, His Imperial Majesty would all the same, and on the first message sent by Lançaroto, have decided to make war on the Venetians, for such has been his fixed purpose for some time past.

Blues brought also instructions for Mr. de Bredan, which, it is to be feared, will not be deciphered for some time.* Cannot say, of course, what their contents are; all he can say is, that Mr. de Bredan has not yet made his appearance, and that there are no tidings of him.—Piacenza, Sunday the 10th or October, two hours after noon, 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

* "La qual instruccion se descifrará de aqui á un año."

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11 Oct. **186.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 203.

Friday evening, the 8th inst., Mons. de Praët left Civitta Castèllano, taking with him the last news from this place, and especially the draft of the five articles (*capitulos*) which the Capuan (Schomberg) took to the Prince, and two more which the Pope has since added in his own hand.

Called this very day on Mesdames Julia and Isabella Colonna and begged for an answer to the Imperial letters, which Mons. de Praët and he (Mai) presented to them. Their answer was that they would remit it to Bologna. This was no doubt suggested to them by His Holiness, for both mother and daughter went to kiss his feet the day before, and complained of their grievances. Doña Isabel, in particular, was I am told very clamorous [*cipher*], representing the bad treatment she experiences at the hands of the Cardinal* under whose care she now is.

At midnight a courier arrived from the camp. It appears that the Prince [of Orange] has determined to attack (*batir*) Florence; he is, however, in want of money and pioneers. Called accordingly on the Pope, who on the very same day sent him 4,000 ducats, and gave orders for a number of pioneers (*gastadores*) to be recruited at Arezzo, Perugia, and other towns of his estate. He promised besides more money, which he says he expects to have at Bologna. Shewed him (Mai) letters from Florence giving him great hopes of the surrender of that city, but he strongly recommended [*cipher*] that a proclamation (*bando*) should be issued forbidding the Imperial soldiers to make prisoners and receive ransoms, because, said he, if that is duly announced, no resistance will be made, that being the thing which the Florentines dread most, for as to the sack and its consequences their minds are already made up (*ya lo tienen tragado*).

The Pope exhibited also a letter from Milan with an account of the military rising there, in which no less than 1,000 men took part. Some people here pretend that Antonio de Leyva was the sole cause of it, as they say he wishes this state of things to continue in Milan and the whole of Lombardy, that he may go on governing the Duchy. His Holiness and he (Mai) discussed the matter together, but neither could find a clue to the affair. As to him (Mai), though he attaches no faith to the report, and besides cannot imagine what could be Leyva's object in thus promoting insubordination among his men, yet he considers it his duty to inform the Emperor of the rumours afloat.

Delivered at Teranni (Terni) His Imperial Majesty's letters with the news of Hungary. The Pope was very much affected

* "Manifestando el sentimiento que tiene de la mala vida que la da el Cardenal." The Cardinal might be Pompeo Colonna, whose niece Isabella was; but as this one was then in Naples, I conclude that Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo must be meant, for he was also her uncle on the mother's side.

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by the intelligence, could not help thinking that treason had something to do with it, for he says, the succour was ordered in May, and was to have been ready in August.

Having humbly suggested to him that it was desirable for that very reason that his arrival at Bologna and interview with Your Majesty should take place as soon as possible, the Pope answered: "I cannot, on account of my present sufferings make greater haste, I am already greatly fatigued from yesterday's travelling. It is better to lose two days in this way, and arrive in good health at Bologna, than not to arrive at all." Must not omit a circumstance connected with this affair. The day before the Pope spoke in this way he (Mai) happened to say to Sanga: "Methinks that Master Scipio (the physician of Duke Francesco, who attends the Pope in his convalescence), is purposely [*cipher*] making him and us travel by short stages in order that his master may negociate in the meantime." Sanga replied: "Do not imagine such a thing; on the contrary, Scipio knows very well that the health of his master depends entirely upon the issue of these negociations."

(*Common writing*:) His Holiness expects to be at Bologna on the 27th, or the day after at any rate, some time before All Saints; but, he says, His Imperial Majesty [*cipher*] ought not to come to Bologna till three days after that [*common writing*], those being days for mass and much Church ceremony.

[*Cipher*:] Respecting the Lutherans, the Pope agrees that some sort of remedy must be thought of in time. He thinks that their pertinacious errors (*locura y pertinacia*) may be condoned (*condonados*) to a certain extent, provided they do not touch on matters of Faith. In all other things he says he cares not a straw, even if they should be left in possession of their churches.*

Yesterday, Sunday, we arrived at Teranni (Terni), which is the one of the Italian cities most attached to the Imperial service.

Letters from Venice have been received. The news is, that in the two or three last *preghai* the votes of the majority had been favourable to the peace, on condition, however, that the Duke Francesco should remain in possession of the Duchy. Since then letters of the 27th have come saying that a certain coldness was observed, which nobody could account for, unless it were caused by hopes in a certain quarter, or perhaps also fear of the Turk.

It was also reported that Vernes (?) had returned to France without obtaining the restitution of the towns and territories which they hold in Puglia. The Venetians had told him:

* "Que destas otras cosas no se le dara nada aunque se les dexe lo de las yglesias. Esto me dixo acerca de aquellos discursos, pero en fin todo lo remite á Boloña, y que entretanto se piense."

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"The King, your master, has not looked into this affair as he ought; we have already spent four millions of gold, and are ready to spend still more for the deliverance of his sons—for after all the last war and league had no other object—and yet we have been maliciously excluded from this peace;" to which the French ambassador replied: "That is not correct; your ambassador was called in but would not attend." In short, they say that they will wait for the arrival of the Admiral [of France], and that they wonder that Your Majesty did not apply for those territories, because they say, in case of restitution, why should he [the King] of France get the thanks?—Teranni (Terni), 11th October 1529.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 Oct. **187.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 848, f. 99. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 201.

The enclosed will inform Your Imperial Majesty of what passed with the Pope at Civittà Castellana, and afterwards at Trani (Terni). Last evening I spoke to him here, at Spoletto, and found him in great glee, in consequence of the taking of Pavia, and above all, of the news he had received respecting the Duke Francesco and the Venetians. It appears that when the Papal Nuncio went to Cremona to speak with the Duke Francesco, he found the Venetian ambassador there. Being present at the conference, the Venetian wrote home, giving particulars, and the consequence was that the Doge and Signory have now written a polite letter to the Pope, assuring him that they are ready to restitute the fortresses in the lands of the Church, as well as those in Puglia, and make peace at once, the only difficulty being the security to be given for the execution of the terms and conditions of the peace. They also shew a wish that the Duke Francesco be maintained in his estate of Milan.

This last courier, who left Venice on the 6th, brings news of the taking of Buda and Possonia by the Turk, where they say no less than 5,000 Christians were put to the sword. Vienna, however, had a garrison of 20,000 men, and as the women and children had been sent out of the city, there was provision for four months. A report was also current that in one of the provinces of Turkey those called green turbans (*los de las berretas verdes*) had rebelled, which was a sufficient cause for the retreat of the Turk to his own dominions.

On the same day, the 6th of October, news was received at Venice that the Duke of Urbino (Francesco Maria della Rovere) had had a relapse, and was in great danger of his life; yesterday morning a letter came from Perugia to Malatesta, who is now in Florence, advising the Duke's death. —Foligno, 12th October 1529.

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P.S.—This letter is not sealed, that Mr. de Praët may, if he chooses, peruse its contents.*

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Majesty the Emperor."

13 Oct. **188.** KING HENRY VIII. to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 57.

The most Christian King [of France] has sent an application concerning the jewel, known as the "fleur de liz," which he says ought to be delivered to him according to the letter of the treaty lately concluded at Cambray. It is the same which the Emperor, Maximilian, once pledged to his father Henry VII., for a sum of 50,000 crs. Wishes to know what the Emperor's will is in this respect.—Wyndsore, 13th October 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

13 Oct. **189.** CARDINAL SANTA CROCE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 129. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 207.

Owing to sciatica (*dolor de ijada*) which has considerably troubled him of late he has been unable to make greater speed. Will, nevertheless, ride post until he meets the Pope, and administers him the medicine (*xarabe*) he meditates,† such as a Pope can receive from the hands of a cardinal, to purge him of the bad humours which this dark affair of Florence must necessarily have created in his constitution, and give him to understand how befitting it is for him and for the Church to adopt a fitter course [respecting that Signory] than the one hitherto followed. For since His Imperial Majesty is disposed to fulfil his promises, and even to act against his own interests, those of his brother and country, and he (the Cardinal) might add of God,‡ there is no plausible cause for the Pope being so remiss. The better to satisfy His Holiness on this point it would be advisable to shew him a certain protest, which the Imperial ambassador,§ bearer of this letter, and he (Santa Croce), have framed and discussed together. Should His Holiness entrust his affairs to the Emperor, as confidently and deliberately as the latter takes charge of his; should he lay open the treasures of Jesus Christ, which, after all, were for no other purpose placed in the hands of ecclesiastics, much good might be worked. This being accomplished, and his (Santa Croce's) opinion on these matters openly and sincerely delivered to His Holiness, without giving the Imperial ambassadors notice, so that it may not appear as

* "Van abiertas y sin cifras para que de camino las vea el Señor de Praët."

† "Y darle [he] el xarope que llevo pensado, cual conviene recibir a un Papa de mano de un Cardenal purgando los umores malos que esta negra de Florencia ha engendrado."

‡ "Tan puesto en guardar vuestra palabra que por no quebralla faltais a vuestro hermano y patria, y si dixesse á Dios, no mentiria."

§ Probably Mr. de Praët who was about this time already at Piacenza with the Emperor.

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if the draft came from them, but from the hands of a cardinal, he (Santa Croce) has no doubt that everything might be settled to the Emperor's satisfaction. This once done, he will rejoin his colleagues.—Bologna, 13th October 1529.

Signed: "F. Card^{lis} S. +."

Adressed: "Sacræ Cesaræ Catolique (*sic*) Majestatti, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1½.

16 Oct. **190.** The Archbishop of Bari to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 109.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 208.

His two colleagues and himself* met the day before yesterday in secret (*in sigello*), when the instructions and papers were duly examined and read. Called afterwards on His Holiness to whom he (the Archbishop) communicated all he had to say in the Emperor's name.

Respecting the invasion of Hungary by the Turks, and the fear of their marching as far as Vienna, the Pope was very much concerned at hearing the news; he trusted, however, that the Emperor would be soon disengaged, and able to arrest their progress. He would on his part do all that was in his power, and hasten his journey to Bologna, where he expected to be on the 24th inst.

On the following Friday, at Calli (Calle), in the land of the Duke of Urbino, His Holiness sent for him (the Archbishop) and for his two colleagues, and reported the summary of a conversation he had had with the Venetian ambassador, whom he had pressed, as on previous occasions, to come to a decision. The ambassador's answer had been that it was not the custom of his country, or the practice of ambassadors, to decide on political matters, however unimportant, without first consulting the Signory. He would that very night dispatch a messenger to Venice asking for instruction; yet he was very much afraid of two things, namely, that a formal declaration of war against the Turk would be very unpopular just now, as it might be the cause of serious inconvenience to the Signory; and secondly, that they wished before all things to see Francesco Sforza reinstated in his dominions.

Having then told His Holiness that Your Imperial Majesty left entirely in his hands the pacification of Italy, and that anything he (the Pope) proposed would be gladly accepted, he replied that he trusted entirely in Your Imperial Majesty and cared not for his own interests: "Let the Emperor (he added) do as he pleases; and cut off one of my hands, and if necessary the two; I shall not complain. If money is wanting for this enterprize against the Turk it shall be procured, and I may add as a proof of my intentions, that in order to prepare the means for such aid, I am actually on my

* Don Estevan Gabriel Merino, bishop of Jaen and archbishop of Bari in Puglia, created cardinal in 1533. Soon after Charles' landing at Genoa he was sent on a mission to Pope Clement. He died at Rome in 1535.

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road to Bologna, where I hope, with God's help, to arrive alive."

As this was spoken in general terms he (the Archbishop) begged His Holiness to go more into particulars. He then said: "Of the four [Italian] estates which have not yet accepted peace, namely, Venice, Milan, Florence, and Ferrara, the two latter are in a certain measure subordinate to the other two; peace once made with the Signory and with the Duke Francesco, Florence and Ferrara must soon follow in their train. Nay, the question may be reduced solely to Venice, for if that be fairly settled, the Duke Francesco cannot possibly refuse. On the other hand, should the latter come to terms without consulting the Venetians, the Signory cannot but give in soon after." "Respecting Ferrara," the Pope added, "I have nothing to say, I place myself entirely in the Emperor's hands." Having then suggested that in case of settlement with those powers a good sum of money might perhaps be obtained towards the expenses of the Turkish war, the Pope replied that, although no doubt the Duke (Alfonso d' Este) was in better condition than any other Italian prince to furnish funds, having a good treasure at home, yet he advised us not to expect too much from him. He then inquired whether any overtures had been made, and upon our answering that nothing had yet been said or done except in the presence of his Nuncio at the Imperial Court, he continued: "Let the Emperor do as he pleases both at Ferrara and at Florence. I shall offer no resistance, and will willingly subscribe to anything he decides with respect to them both, for after all at Florence the interests of my family are only concerned, whereas at Ferrara it is those of the Church. This last sentence His Holiness uttered with his hand on his breast, as if he wished to imply that these last were the far more sacred to him.*

With regard to Florence, our opinion is that although His Holiness evidently wishes to see as soon as possible the end of an affair, which he describes as very advantageous for Your Imperial Majesty, yet he wants to appear very generous and disinterested (*se haze del mui liberal y disenteresado*), often repeating these or similar words: "If the Emperor thinks that the liberty which the Florentines are asking for be beneficial to the Commonwealth in general, let him grant it to them at once, and take from them a smaller sum of money than he would otherwise have demanded;† if, on the contrary, the liberties asked are considered detrimental to the State, in that case let the Florentines be taxed in much greater proportion."

The Pope added that he had written in that sense to the Capuan and to his ministers now residing with the Prince,

* "Y pusose las manos á los pechos como señalando que eran intereses eclesiasticos estos ultimos."

† "Con tanto menos, como pensará por alli hacer bien á aquella tierra."

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and as far as we could gather from his words the conditions he asks are: that all his relations and friends be allowed to return to Florence and recover their property and lands; that his niece, Katharine, be restored to him; and that the fine which Florence shall have to pay be equally divided between those who are now in the city and those who may be absentees from it at the time of the surrender.

He said more: He had heard that the Prince [of Orange] had lately granted safe-conducts to certain ambassadors of Florence now going to His Imperial Majesty, though he understood there had been no suspension of hostilities granted. Considering this a favourable opportunity to hint at a point which has never been to the Pope's taste, he (Mai) observed that it would be advisable to make the Florentines contribute a good sum [towards the Turkish war]. No sooner, however, did he (Mai) throw out the hint than the Pope exclaimed: "By no means; I wish to be frank with you; if money is to be obtained from Florence it must come through me, and after I have been restored to the full possession of my rights. Then my friends will willingly give for my sake a much greater sum than they would otherwise have given by the command of the Republic."

Such is the substance of our conversation with the Pope on these subjects. Should things not turn out exactly as he wishes, we recommend that he should not incur the Emperor's displeasure for a mere trifle, because though we know him to be very well disposed, he is so very prudent (*sabio*) that he often withholds the expression of his real feeling (*siente mas de lo que dice*), and since His Majesty has laboured so much to gain his friendship, every effort should be made to preserve it, because though he himself may not shew his displeasure, there are others near him who might take advantage of it and do mischief.

We are to leave Calli (Calle) to-day, and purpose being at Pesaro to-morrow, though the Pope tells us that the night before last he had a slight touch of fever.

Galeaço Ballon (Baglione), the nephew of Malatesta, has met us on the road and made the same offers as on a previous occasion. As soon as his uncle, Malatesta, who is still in the pay of the Florentines, is disengaged, he shall (he asserts) be happy to take service under His Imperial Majesty.

Having told His Holiness that the Emperor was ready to indemnify him in the estate of Milan for any losses he might sustain through the relaxation proposed, he told us to thank him and say that he would take nothing in compensation.

Before closing this letter Secretary Sanga and Jacopo Salviati called on us, and said that last night the Pope received the ambassador of the Duke Francesco, who said he was ready to treat with him.

[*Cipher:*] Not knowing exactly what His Majesty wishes to

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be done in this affair we beg for instructions.—Calli (Calle), Saturday 16th October 1529.

Signed: "G. Ar. Barensis.*—Loys de Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

21 Oct. **191.** The Imperial Ambassadors at Rome.

S. E. L. 848, f. 105. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 223.

Wrote on the 19th by the Sieur de Monbardon from Arimini a memorandum of what the Pope wanted to be done at Florence. The memorandum never came, and consequently Monbardon started off without it. Heard afterwards that instead of forwarding it to us as promised the Pope had enclosed it to his Nuncio at the Imperial Court. That very day, at Cesenna, we requested Secretary Sanga to give us a copy of it, that we might in the meantime deliberate on the terms proposed, and write to the Prince, the more so that Mentabona, the Pope's chamberlain, who had come with Monbardon, was returning that very evening to the camp with 7,000 ducats for the use of the army. Sanga sent word to say that he had had no time during the journey to make a copy of the memorandum; the handwriting was small and close, and he could hardly read it himself; but would set to work immediately, and when completed, bring it to us in person, which he did.

Along with the memorandum there came a copy of a letter from the Pope to his Nuncio by way of instructions, the substance of which is: That the idea of an undertaking against Florence was not his (the Pope's), but originated with the Emperor at Barcelona. When the Prince of Orange came to Rome he (the Pope) was disinclined for this undertaking, but finding that the Prince and the Imperial ministers mistrusted him and seemed discontented, he at last gave his consent; thirdly, that now that the enterprize has commenced he naturally wishes for a termination, and will agree to a convention, provided a good sum of money, not less than 300,000, be paid at once by the Florentines. In such a case he will be satisfied with the terms and conditions specified in the memorandum.

We scarcely need observe respecting the first point, that when the bases of peace were first discussed at Rome His Holiness desired that the article concerning the restoration of the Medici [to Florence] should be kept a profound secret from Jacopo Salviati, only known to him (the Pope), to Cardinal Cortona, who negociated in his name, to Miçer Mai, and to the ambassador [of Austria] Andrea del Burgo. After the death of Cortona no other cardinal was let into the secret but Secretary Sanga and the Papal Nuncio at Barcelona (Selade), to whom separate instructions were sent respecting that article.

* Gabriel, archbishop of Bari; his full name was Don Esteban Gabriel Merino, bishop of Leon, 1520, of Jaen, 1523, and lastly, in 1533, cardinal of St. John and St. Paul. *See* above, p. 286, *note*.

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That is why on the return of the Nuncio Jacopo Salviati was heard to say: "Methinks the Emperor has given more in this instance than the Pope asked him for."

The entry of His Holiness into Bologna will take place on Sunday next.

Here, at Forli, the payment of the 7,000 ducats for two yearly instalments of the Neapolitan census has been discussed. The Pope consents to their being deducted from the 20,000* which he owes still, and for which Your Imperial Majesty holds Benevento.—Forlin (*sic*), 21st October 1529.

Signed: "Archbishop of Bari.—Praët.—Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

22 Oct. **192.** Queen Katharine to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 806, f. 26.

A doctor-in-law, subject of Your Highness and a native of Barcelona, came here [to London] in the suite of the most Revd. Cardinal Campeggio. He has been for upwards of 30 years a clerk at the Rotta, and when the Duke of Bourbon and the Spaniards entered and sacked that city he lost everything he had in the world, so much so that ever since that time he has lived in great distress, whereas he could formerly live at ease. The said Doctor being a good and virtuous man, well deserving any favour bestowed upon him, I beg to recommend him particularly to you, that he may get some ecclesiastical benefice in the kingdom of Naples or elsewhere, for besides its being a charitable action it will oblige me greatly.—London, 22nd October 1529.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

23 Oct. **193.** The Imperial Ambassadors in Rome [the Archbishop of Bari, Louis de Praët, and Mai] to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 103.
B. M. *Add.* 28,58 f. 226.

Wrote to him yesterday morning from Forli, and sent a memorandum† respecting the entry into Bologna, the ceremonies of the coronation, &c.

(*Cipher:*) On the same day the Emperor's letter of the 21st, stating the road he intends to take and what the Papal Nuncio said about the Duke of Ferrara, was received at Imola. Went early next morning to see the Pope, who told them that it had never entered his mind to force him (the Emperor) to take the other road [to Bologna], which is very bad and muddy. He quite understood that if the Duke of Ferrara should offer to come half-way to meet the Emperor he could not possibly refuse to see him. He hoped, however, and trusted that nothing would be done or said to his prejudice in the projected interview. The ambassador's opinion is that the Duke Francesco [Sforza] would willingly accept the

* Elsewhere said to be 19,000.
† Not in the Archives.

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Emperor's terms and give up the Venetians if he were only sure that the peace would be a lasting one.

The Pope complains bitterly of the Florentines, who (he says) have lately beheaded one of his party* and confined 30 more in jail. However, as these latter are not men of quality he cares not much about them. One thousand five hundred citizens who had openly espoused his cause have, however, fled for security's sake.

The extremely contemptuous terms in which His Holiness speaks of what the Florentines call "liberty" is a further proof that he wishes to re-establish as soon as possible his absolute rule over that city.

He (the Pope) told us the other day that he had been informed that the English ambassadors, who are now on their way [to Bologna], had visited the most Christian King and spoken to him about the enterprize against the Turk, and that the King had said to them that if Your Imperial Majesty would only release him from the payment of half the sum he has to disburse for the ransom of his sons, he would give the one half forthwith, and employ the other [remitted by the Emperor] in the said enterprize, and would besides spend one million more in raising 40,000 men and helping the war in person. Should Your Imperial Majesty not place confidence in him he offered to pay at once one half of it, that is to say one million, and pass over the other million to the Pope for him to spend it as he pleased, for the furtherance of the said enterprize. He would, moreover, give the Pope one million more for the same object, so that the whole sum would then amount to the two millions of gold.

We frankly told the Pope that this seemed to us a mere trick of Francis. He was also of our opinion, adding: "I rather think that what the King of France intends by such a proposal is to impoverish the Emperor, and at the same time to have means in his power to raise an army and make himself formidable with the Emperor's money, or at least to deserve his title of most Christian King in the eyes of the World, and burden the Emperor with all the expenses of the enterprize, should the offer be rejected, as no doubt it will be.

We consider it our duty to inform Your Imperial Majesty of these particulars, that an answer may be prepared to such a demand, for we hear that the King has already sent or will speedily send a special ambassador for that purpose.

After their departure from Imola news were received concerning the Turk, the same which the Pope has forwarded [to Your Majesty] by a special messenger.

Yesterday a courier came from the Imperial ambassadors in England, bringing letters of Eustace Chapuys and of the most Serene Queen [Katharine]. They say that the King wishes to have his matrimonial cause finished by a sentence,

* Carlo Cocchi. *See* Bernardo Segni *Storie Fiorentine*, lib. iii., pp. 93.

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and will not allow the summons (*citacion*) and inhibition except conditionally. The most Reverend Father, Cardinal Campeggio, and the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) are coming back to Rome. This last in particular has done very little service since his return from Spain. On the contrary, he has confirmed the King and others in their suspicion that the dispensation brief [of Julius] is a forgery. Believing that Your Majesty is already informed of this particular we omit saying anything more, not to delay this courier.—Bologna, 23rd October 1529.

Signed: "Archbishop of Bari.—Louis de Praët.—Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King, our sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original in cipher. pp. 4.

25 Oct. **194.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.*

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 23.

On Thursday, the 21st inst., Your Majesty's letter, dated Piacenza, the 23rd of September, was duly received. Two days after, on Saturday, the 23rd, another one came to hand, dated the 5th October, from the same place, in neither of which, however, was any mention made of those I have written to Your Majesty since my arrival in this country. I am very much concerned and grieved at it, inasmuch as I have sent no less than five consecutive despatches without counting this present, and, in fact, have written home whenever I was told there was a courier going. Two of my despatches went by courier to Lyons [addressed to my correspondents], with instructions to have them forwarded to Genoa, the other two by the Antwerp post, and the fifth was entrusted to the very messenger who left this place at the Queen's express commands. But as I have no doubt Your Majesty has since received them all, or some of them at least, I will not repeat their contents.

However, immediately after the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 21st I sent one of my secretaries to Court, then at Winnesor (Windsor), to inform the King that I had received letters for him, which I was ordered to deliver into his own hands, as likewise to make certain communications whenever it might please His Highness to grant me an audience. The sooner, I intimated, the better, as the matter, in my opinion, admitted of no delay.

Meanwhile, and not to lose time, perceiving that the whole government of this country was fast falling into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk; calculating also that the matters I had to communicate would be more to his taste than the marriage question for the reasons specified in my despatch* of the 8th October, I determined to seize the opportunity for which I have been so long watching, of ascertaining the final issue of the

* This despatch (text and English translation) may be found at full in Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor, Charles* V., pp. 256–98.

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Cardinal's affairs, who, on the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, was himself disevangelized, set aside, and deprived of the office of chancellor and of his seat in the Privy Council. All scruples being thus removed which had hitherto prevented me from calling on the Duke, I hastened to visit him at his residence in this city. He received me with great cordiality and distinction, and after presenting him Your Majesty's letters, with some excuse for having kept them so long in my possession—which he accepted and took in very good part—I proceeded to express the great esteem and regard in which Your Majesty had always held him, not only on account of his own merits and worth, but also of the personal affection he had so long shewn Your Majesty, and which he (the Duke) would no doubt preserve now that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the King, his master, and Your Imperial Majesty. "The Emperor (I said) trusts that by your mediation this peace shall be made durable and permanent," to which I added a few complimentary sentences of my own to the same effect.

The Duke seemed, to judge from his countenance, highly pleased at my words. After returning thanks for Your Majesty's gracious recollection and good disposition in his favour, he assured me that the love and affection he had always borne Your Majesty were natural and hereditary in him; it could not be otherwise without disavowing his own father and all his ancestors, every one of whom (he said) had been particularly attached to the House of Burgundy. "As proof of my assertion (he added) I pray God and the King, my master, to permit me to serve Your Majesty and the King of Hungary against the Turk."

Respecting the peace and amity of which I had spoken, the Duke assured me that there was no one in England who deplored the late discords and disagreements more than himself, or who more cordially rejoiced at the change which had lately taken place. All the evil and misunderstanding which had led to the former state of things was solely to be ascribed to the falsehood of those who then had the government of affairs in their hands, who invented lies, and, more still, often acted upon them on their own will and authority. The King, his master, had often been dissatisfied with such conduct, as he would sufficiently shew before many days were over. As to the peace and friendship, he (the Duke) would do anything in his power to preserve it. He did not anticipate the smallest difficulty on the part of the King, his master, whose perfect sincerity and good-will towards the Emperor no one could dispute.

After some courteous and complimentary words, which I need not repeat, I proceeded to the principal article in my instructions, namely, the Turkish war. I informed him that this was the very point on which I solicited the whole of his attention, and also that for which I had sought the present conference. Having heard from his own lips what his senti-

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ments were in this respect, there was nothing left for me but to exhort him to continue in so laudable a purpose and use all his influence with the King, and persuade him, as "Defender of the Faith," to resist and oppose with all his energy that mortal enemy of Christianity, the Turk.

Passing on to the subject of this late peace, and the pains which the King, his master, had taken about it, I took occasion to observe that there still remained an agreement to be made, the accomplishment of which rested wholly in the King's power, and would redound more to his tranquillity and honour before God and man than anything he had yet done, namely, the difference between the Queen and himself, on which so many exhortations, representations and requests of the most gracious and kind nature had been offered and made by Your Majesty. Presuming (I said) that he (the Duke) had knowledge of the whole affair from the King, I would make no further allusion to it than to observe that, however favourably he (the Duke) might look upon it out of family considerations, and of his relationship to the lady, whom the King wished to marry, Your Majesty considered him such a true and virtuous knight as to preclude all idea of his acting—even were it the case of his own daughter—otherwise than as honour and conscience would prescribe; incapable also of instituting, or even consenting to legal proceedings in a case of such grave and important consequences without manifest reason. Your Majesty being perfectly convinced that he (the Duke) had neither been promoter nor counsellor of such a step.

The Duke's reply was that he would willingly have lost one of his hands rather than such a question had ever arisen; not that he himself had been a party to it in any way, or been appealed to or otherwise advised the measure; for the affair was entirely one of conscience and canonic law which the King had from the very beginning submitted to the consideration of ecclesiastics, doctors in theology, and other learned persons, a great number of whom had pronounced at once against the validity of the existing marriage. This opinion, however, the King was unwilling to adopt unless he had it confirmed by the highest written authorities which he had most diligently consulted and examined. With regard to the dispensation brief in Your Majesty's hands (the Duke added), the King had openly declared that he would consider himself the most ill-used prince in Christendom if the said document was not found to be a forgery, since many had told him so, and the King himself, as he believed, had expressed his conviction to me.

The Duke further went on to say that had Your Majesty remained neutral, instead of so openly taking up the part of the Queen, the affair would have been probably much sooner settled and brought to a satisfactory issue; and that it could not appear otherwise than strange that whilst he who was

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most interested in an affair of this sort kept aloof, and avoided appearing as a party in the suit, Your Majesty should have formally declared himself to be one.

In answer to this I carefully summed up the reasons which had influenced Your Majesty's conduct, as well as the pressure exercised upon you; and at the same time I could not but remark that the King's dissimulation, and his unwillingness to appear in the law proceedings, was but too manifest, both from his application to the College of Cardinals as from what his ambassadors had done—and were still doing—at Rome. Upon which, perceiving that the Duke appeared thoughtful, I deemed it best to change the subject, only remarking that if I had been induced to make the foregoing observation it was rather for Your Majesty's justification, and as a proof of the confidence you were willing to repose in his (the Duke's) integrity and honour.

After the above dialogue, the Duke turning towards me full of gaiety, said: "How delighted the Emperor will be to hear of the Cardinal's fall?" "I think he will," was my reply; "not indeed from any positive hatred His Imperial Majesty bears him, for although the Cardinal has certainly given many causes for it, yet his inability to do either good or evil to the Emperor is so manifest that no feelings of revenge could be excited on this occasion, nor is the Emperor likely to make great matter of his downfall. The pleasure which my master will no doubt feel at the news consists in this, that the King, whose welfare, honour, and prosperity are as dear to him as his own, will now be able, thus tutored by experience, to discriminate between those who wished him well and the evil counsellors, who in all their proceedings endeavoured only to serve their own special profit and advantage." Now (I added) the management of public affairs will fall into the hands of men better qualified by their birth and nobility to promote the welfare and honour of the King and kingdom, as well as the continuation of that sincere friendship and ancient alliance [between England and the Empire], of late so much disregarded; the more so that he himself, in whom Your Majesty placed greater confidence than in anyone else in England, was at the head of government.

I then took occasion to add, for the Duke's still greater gratification, that as I had been the first [ambassador] to break through the long established rule of visiting the Cardinal first, I wished to have the honour of first transacting business with him; and accordingly, that before addressing myself to the King on the subject of the letters and instructions whereof I was bearer, I had hastened to communicate their purport to him, hoping that should the King entrust the negociation to some other minister, this previous conference might be the cause of his being selected for that purpose.

The Duke thanked me warmly for my intentions and good will towards him, observing that State affairs in England

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were not now, as I thought, conducted by a single individual, but by the Privy Council in general, which he usually attended, and that whatever concerned Your Majesty's service would command his utmost attention.

Although, as previously stated, I had already sent my secretary to the King, yet in order the more to gratify the said Duke, and to impress him with the idea that I was determined to manage Your Majesty's affairs entirely through his advice and mediation, I asked him what I ought to do, and whether I ought not, on an occasion like the present, to address myself first to the King, and inquire the day and hour when he might be pleased to give me audience. This, the Duke informed me, was undoubtedly the proper course to follow. The King, in fact, had given orders that the application for an audience should be made direct to him before any other person whatever was apprized of the intended communication, and, therefore, I should do well to dispatch one of my secretaries to the King, begging his permission to present Your Majesty's letters.

After this I took leave of the Duke, who in spite of all my prayers insisted on accompanying me beyond the Hall, where he had come first to receive me, using the most courteous language and promising to return my visit without delay.

On the evening of the ensuing day, the 22nd [of October], my secretary returned with letters from the King, informing me that he was about to leave Winesor (Windsor) for his palace at Grennevys (Greenwich), where he would be on Saturday; but as he should not arrive till late, I had better not go thither till the next day (Sunday). Accordingly, about 8 o'clock on the following morning I arrived at the said Greenwich, and on getting out of the boat was met by Master Poller (Pollard ?), a very civil gentleman, and two others, each with their respective suite of servants, whom the King had sent to receive and conduct me to the royal residence. On entering the second gate I found Monseigneur the Bishop of London (Kuthbert Tunstall), by whom I was led to the King's antechamber, where most of the courtiers were assembled, and where I was received by the two dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham). Here, whilst waiting for the King, who was about to attend mass, I remained in conversation with those lords, and was asked, among other things, where Your Majesty was, and what you proposed doing at the conferences of Bologna, of which they had already received news; and also what were the real forces, intentions, and military successes of the Turk, which has caused no small alarm amongst them, and not without reason.

The King passing presently on his way to mass, came up directly to me with the utmost graciousness and courtesy, more so than on a former occasion, and said, taking me by the sleeve: "Have you any news of the Emperor my brother ?" I answered that I had, and then he inquired the date of the

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letters, and being informed, he said: "I see that the Emperor takes special care to inform me of all his movements." No doubt he does, was my reply, for one of his principal cares is to inform Your Highness as soon as possible, through his ambassadors, of any new affairs or deliberations in which he may be engaged, to prove the amity, brotherly affection, and entire trust he places in Your Highness, persuaded as he is that you would feel and act towards him in like manner, to which he cordially assented. I then presented Your Majesty's letters and declared the tenor of my credentials, adding that, although Your Majesty had been informed that the Pope was about to write to him on the subject, it was nevertheless due to the friendly sentiments which subsisted between you, as well as to the importance of the affair itself, that a special communication on Your Majesty's part should be conjointly addressed to him.

It was true, the King said, that the Pope had written on the subject, but it was no less agreeable for him to learn from Your Majesty the motives and object of such a proceeding. As to the particulars referred to in my credentials, he had already sent orders to his ambassadors at Your Majesty's court, who were instructed and had powers to confer upon, treat, and conclude the whole affair.

With respect to the cause and motives of Your Majesty's journey to Italy, I said that in this instance, at least, I was sure he would not be the last to co-operate in so good and holy an undertaking. "Certainly not," replied the King, "I should be very sorry to give cause for any such reproach." But as it was now time for going to mass, the King suspended the conference for a while, and bade me wait until his return.

The mass over, the King came up to me and resumed the subject of our conversation, asking me whether I thought him capable of backwardness in such important matters as the Turkish war. Upon which, I laid before him particularly, and in the most minute details, the great necessity there was of a strenuous and speedy resistance against that formidable enemy of Christendom, the Turk, now that judging from the abstracts of certain letters addressed by the King of Hungary to Your Imperial Majesty, as well as from those which the Lady Margaret had been pleased to write to me, the invasion [of Germany] seemed inevitable. I also told him that I had reasons to fear, from a paragraph in Your Majesty's letter, that the Pope's expected arrival at Bologna on the 5th of this month, would scarcely admit of his ambassadors—who were to set out and travel at their ease—being there in time for the conferences, and therefore that it might be expedient and more sure (I observed) to send fresh instructions and powers by post to his ambassadors at the Roman Court, to treat on all subjects in question, and particularly on this one of the Turk, should the case require it. His reply was, that he had given his ambassadors, now going to Your Majesty, special orders to make

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all possible speed, without stopping anywhere on the road, and that he would again repeat the order. But as to the help and assistance he was expected to give, he wished it to be clearly understood that it could not be very great, though he would willingly do all in his power.

This remark of the King as to the smallness of his means I could not allow to pass, as it is generally understood that they are not inconsiderable as regards men or principally money, with which he is known to be as well provided, if not better, than any other prince in Christendom. I told him so, and observed that even if it were otherwise, being quite as absolute as the Pope in his own dominions, and having moreover such abundance of rich ecclesiastics in his kingdom, he could hardly plead want of means. "I shall not be wanting," rejoined the King, "in assisting and promoting the enterprize as far as my own exertions are required, but the Emperor, as principal in this affair, the greatest prince and the most powerful, ought to take the lead, and the more effectually to accomplish it, make peace as soon as possible with the Italian potentates. All the success the Emperor could gain in that country would not add one atom to his greatness and power, and the more he could abstain from wasting his means in that quarter, which might be better employed on a wider field and for a laudable purpose elsewhere, the more would it redound to the Emperor's honour, praise, and reputation in the eyes of the World." It was not (he added) out of any particular favour or affection for the Italian powers—to whom he said he was bound by no tie or obligation—that he spoke thus, but out of a sense of duty towards Your Majesty, for whose exaltation and glory he had been always anxious. Not that he presumed to tender advice to Your Majesty, who not only is provided with an abundant store of wise and faithful counsellors, but has also greatly distinguished himself for prudence and wisdom.

Your Majesty, I assured him, had never relaxed in his efforts to bring about a lasting peace, and ensure the union and tranquillity of Italy, this being the principal object of your journey to that country, as I had already observed. I told him that the parties with whom Your Majesty had to deal were so obstinate and rebellious that they actually refused listening to reason in any way, or accepting the honourable terms offered to them, but on the contrary, proceeded in the negociations as if there was something in the back ground. With people of this sort, who rejected your offers of friendship, and were upon the whole as little to be trusted as the Turk himself, there was nothing to be done except to make them feel the weight of your power, however ungrateful the task, as happened in the case of the Duke Francesco Sforza.

Now, said the King, interrupting me, what are they about with that poor Duke? What harm can he do? I told him,

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in the very words of Your Majesty's letter to me what offers had been made to him, and how he had declined them. "But, perhaps," observed the King, "the case is to be referred to arbitrators, whom the Duke may have reason to consider as not very impartial." "Not at all," said I, "no judges can be more fair than those named to investigate his case; no terms more gracious and advantageous for the Duke than those proposed, which have been rendered more so out of consideration to the Pope and to him (the King), who had on more than one occasion interceded with Your Majesty in his favour through his ambassadors."

This the King did not deny, adding that his motive for doing so was simply to bring about a general peace, and as to the Pope, he was bound to it in consequence of the holy league, to which he (the King) had been made a party, he knew not how, but surely without his own consent. With regard to another point, namely, the surrender of Pavia and Alessandria, he allowed that those towns might easily be given up by the Duke as far as Your Majesty was personally responsible for such a charge, but to be handed over to your own people was quite a different thing, as in your absence there would be but little security, if one was to judge from what had lately occurred at Siena, which city, notwithstanding its devotion to Your Majesty, had been entered and plundered by some of the Imperial troops under the Prince [of Orange] When the King saw that I doubted such an unwarrantable assertion, bearing so little appearance of truth or probability, he confirmed it in still stronger terms, declaring that he had the information from his own ambassadors. "As to Pavia," said I, "there can be no question about it, for it has already been surrendered." He then asked me two or three times consecutively whether I was sure of what I said. My reply was: "I have received no letters from the Emperor announcing the surrender of that city, but my information comes from a friend who is not in the habit of stating untruths. I am, moreover, the more disposed to credit his account from the circumstance of his telling me also that Count Gayaz (Gaiazzo) had been taken prisoner on the occasion, but had since made his escape." "I also have heard," said the King, "that Pavia had been given up and afterwards retaken; but, he continued, I cannot help observing—and this I should like to remain between ourselves—that it is a great shame whilst the Turks are invading Austria, which, after all, is the Emperor's patrimonial estate, that he should not go to its rescue instead of wasting his time and treasure in war with the Christians." "Nothing," I replied, "could be more painful for the Emperor than the mere surmise of so gratuitous an accusation; for certainly it was not the acquisition of territory of which Your Majesty, as I was informed, often says he has more than he wants, that influenced Your Majesty in any such proceedings against Francesco Sforza, whom, as I heard Your Majesty was

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not only willing to reinstate in the duchy of Milan, but to add to his possessions, provided he behaved as he ought. But it was much to be feared that the moment the Imperial army left for Hungary, the said Sforza on one side and the Venetians on the other will become hostile, and do all manner of mischief, perhaps too feign an attack on Brindisi, so as to prevent the removal of the Imperial forces from Naples, and oblige Your Majesty to leave a strong garrison there, which might be very inconvenient, as it might make the enterprize against the Turk fail altogether, whilst the kingdom of Naples would be in danger of an invasion." "Not so," replied the King quickly, "for the Duke himself is powerless, and the Venetians have as much as they can manage in guarding their own frontiers. Invasion, therefore, is quite out of the question." As to withdrawing troops from Italy, the King maintained there was no necessity at all to do that, inasmuch as the Emperor could easily enlist as many lansquenets and Switzers as he chose, who, being better trained to war, might do excellent service. Even supposing that whilst thus engaged with the Turk the Emperor lost anything in Italy, the enemy once driven back to their own country, the recovery of lost territory would be easy work.

My reply was that I supposed his instructions to his ambassadors bore on the same points which had formed the subject of the conference; I had no doubt (said I) that Your Majesty's explanations on this point would be as frank and explicit as could be expected, and sufficiently clear to shew that it was neither avarice nor lust of power, but the causes which I had just named, which had throughout governed all your actions. "His Imperial Majesty," I added, "has done more than his duty towards them (the Italian potentates), and has already proved in various ways that it was neither the pompous ceremony of his own coronation, nor the longing after the estates of the Church or of other princes that had brought him to Italy, but only the causes which I had just specified.

To the latter part of this observation the King readily assented, admitting at once its truth, but said: "That would more satisfactorily appear were the aforesaid suggestions attended to, which my ambassadors cannot fail to have laid before the Emperor." Respecting the Italian princes themselves, he had nothing to say; his instructions to his ambassadors at the Imperial Court were limited to certain recommendations respecting his own personal friends. "Such recommendations," I rejoined, "were surely unnecessary, for His Imperial Majesty being aware of Your Highness' connexions, and who your friends are, cannot fail to bestow due consideration upon them, even before your ambassadors have mentioned the subject to him." And I concluded by saying that instead of wasting time in such persuasions, it would be better to employ the same in bringing the said friends and potentates to a juster sense of their own interest and duty.

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The King said he had already done so. Then changing his tone, he said to me with great emphasis, and in a tone of surprise: "My brother, the King of France, has, it would appear, made most wonderful offers to the Emperor for this Turkish business, has he not?" This he repeated three times, one after another, and then kept silence, as if he were waiting for my answer. "If he has," I replied, "he has certainly acted a very virtuous part, and one in accordance with his own professions and promises. King Francis was bound to do so by several considerations, which it would be useless for me to particularize at the present moment, since they are sufficiently notorious; his power is great, and certainly he could not employ it in a better cause." "As to his power," said the King, "my brother of France happens just now to be sadly in want of it; he is poorer than any of his neighbours; all the money he owns is owing to the Emperor, and therefore it is for your master to make greater sacrifices." "No fear of that," replied I, "the Emperor, my master, will stake everything God has given him."

Again changing the subject, the King said that the Pope was sending two ambassadors, one to the King of France, the other to him, respecting, as he presumed, this affair of the Turk, and that he would wait until he heard what they had to say. The person who is coming to him from the Pope is, I am told, the brother of his own ambassador at the Papal Court, and of the one who resides in Venice.*

I then told the King that if he wished for fuller information respecting the Duke Francesco, and the terms offered to him, and also the answer which the Venetians had made when required by the French ambassador to restore the towns they still held in Puglia, I could shew him the abstract of a letter from the King of Hungary. "Certainly," he said, and accordingly I put into his hands both documents. He looked at them for some time, and observed that as far as the Venetians were concerned it seemed to him that they were not at all in the wrong, considering that the promise which had been held out of including them in the treaty of peace at Cambray had not been kept.

My next duty was to remind him of Your Majesty's ring, which I did, relating very minutely what his councillors had said to me on the subject, not forgetting to extol the care he has taken for the preservation of what belonged to Your Majesty, as well as of your friendship. "You may well say that," he replied, "for although I have been often requested to restore the jewel to its owner, yet I am determined to act in this affair as my own discretion and a sense of duty and friendship demand."

A few more particulars were slightly alluded to in the conference, about which Madame [Margaret] had written to me; but as they are not very important I will defer any observa-

* Paolo Casale.

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tions respecting them until I have fully answered Your Majesty's letter. With regard to the Queen's case, not a word was said, besides which it was now getting too late to enter on new matters.

After dinner the King sent to inquire whether I had anything more to say to him. My answer was that I had not, unless it were to request that he would as early as convenient, send off to his ambassadors at Rome the powers he had mentioned, or else command those who are now going to Your Majesty to proceed on their way with all possible expedition. He sent me word in reply that every care would be taken, and that he himself had nothing more to say at present, except that he wished me to communicate to him any news I might receive, as he should not fail in doing the same towards me.

With regard to the treaty of Cambray and the peace there concluded, I need scarcely say that all people, great or small, have shewn the greatest satisfaction at it. These sentiments are universal, as far as I can see, especially on the part of the King, and of the principal people in this kingdom, although they would have much preferred the conditions demanded at Palencia, at which some few persons of no great importance still grumble. The proclamation has been made with great solemnity, no reference having been made in it to any other prince or country save those of Your Imperial Majesty and the King of England. Touching the future observation of it the Queen, as I have already informed Your Majesty, expresses strong doubts, imagining that it will not be of long duration. But for my own part I can hardly suppose that the contracting parties would wish to break it, inasmuch as war has cost them a mint of money, and they have gained little by it. Indeed, it is calculated that from its commencement this King has spent no less than 800,000 ducats, and to try again such expensive and exhausting medicine would not be pleasant for the parties concerned, besides which the people of this country have already shewn symptoms that this sort of thing is not to their taste.

Up to the present all seems to go on well between the French and these people, which state of things will, it is thought, continue until a demand for money be made upon the ambassador of France. About his treatment in this country I can only say that since my arrival in England he has only been once at Court, and that was when his brother was here. On another occasion, as he was on his way thither to see the King, he was countermanded, notwithstanding the bad weather, and obliged to return to London, being informed that he must present himself to the Council, deliver the message he had from the King, his master, and abstain from communicating officially or privately with the Cardinal, by which message the ambassador was so much put out that he went without his dinner that day, and was heard to lament himself sadly and wish himself dead. Soon after my arrival

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he came to see me, as I have said before, and has ever since been exceedingly courteous and polite whenever we have met.

As to the Italian [ambassadors], namely, those of Venice, Ferrara, and the Duke Francesco [Sforza], they were some time ago very busy about the Court and Cardinal; now they are in perfect repose. The one most in favour with the King is the Milanese, to whom a pension has been assigned for his maintenance. Two years ago he seemed inclined to go away, but I have my suspicions that both he and the rest of them will now be glad to remain at Court.

With regard to the administration of affairs in this country, those who now enjoy most credit with the King are, first, the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Your Majesty would do well to write a letter, next the Duke of Suffolk, for whom a similar letter would not be amiss. One thing further I must mention, although I have no doubt Your Imperial Majesty knows it already through Don Iñigo de Mendoça there is actually no one about the King who has not a pension from France. Almost all profess great affection for Your Majesty, but their love of money is the strongest feeling they have, and therefore no great reliance can be placed in their professions.

Two requests have I addressed to the King respecting Madame and the Low Countries. One is that he should give orders for the sea to be kept clear of privateers and pirates; the other that Mr. de Rosymboz, who must be already on his way to this capital, should be favourably received. Respecting the former, the King denied altogether the existence of privateers and pirates among his own subjects, some of whom, he maintained, had suffered much from those of Your Majesty even in time of peace. He had no doubt Your Majesty would see justice done in this respect, whilst he himself would take care that no such trespass should take place on the part of the English. At the announcement of Mr. de Rosymboz' visit he was highly pleased, so much so, that having learnt from me what were his quality and rank he immediately after dinner gave orders for the two dukes (Norfolk and Suffolk) to see that suitable lodgings should be provided for him, as near mine as possible, and directed the Grand Commander of St. John and his brother to go out and meet the said gentleman, who is thus pretty sure of a good reception.

The news here [in London] is that the Cardinal, who has been long tottering, has at length fallen completely. Having been dismissed from the Council and also from his office as Chancellor, as I said before, he has since been compelled to draw out in his own hand a most minute inventory of all his moveable property, that nothing may be forgotten, and that he may more easily be convicted. It is added that, having of his own free will acknowledged his errors and faults, he has presented all he had to the King, which is no trifling matter. Yesterday the King came by water from Greenwich to view the said effects [presented to him by the Cardinal], bringing

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with him only his lady friend, her mother, and one gentleman of his chamber; and it is added that the King was much gratified and found the present more valuable even than he expected. The Cardinal through all his misfortunes kept a brave face until the day of St. Luke, when all his bravadoes turned suddenly into bitter complaints, tears, and sighs, which are unceasing night and day. The King hearing of this, either moved to pity, or perhaps thinking it inconvenient that the Cardinal should die before making a full disclosure and confession of all his acts, has lately presented him with a ring by way of consolation. He is now living at a place about ten miles from London, with a very small train indeed. A son of his, who is in Paris following his studies, and of whom I have formerly written to Your Majesty, has received orders to return. People say execrable things of the Cardinal, all of which are to come to light before next Parliament, for it may be supposed that whatever be the end of this matter, those who have raised this storm against the Cardinal will not rest until they have entirely done for him, knowing full well that were he to recover his lost ascendancy and power their own lives would be in jeopardy. The person who they say feels most for the Cardinal and regrets his disgrace is the French ambassador, because all the hopes and expectations of his master rested upon his continuance in office and favour. Fears were entertained by some people here lest the Cardinal should contrive to send his valuables out of the country, and therefore a very strict watch was kept at all the ports. It was on this account that when the custom house guards asked to examine Campeggio's trunks, notwithstanding the passport received from the King, that upon his refusing to surrender the keys of them, the locks were forced, the trunks opened, and their contents inspected to that Cardinal's great displeasure. I am told that he said on the occasion to those about him "You do me great injustice to suppose that the Cardinal [of York] could corrupt a man like myself who has been proof against the King's innumerable presents."

The Chancellor's seals since the said festival of St. Luke have continued in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk till this morning, when in the presence of all the Council they were delivered to Mr. Thomas Moore, who accordingly has been declared Chancellor of the Kingdom, and taken the customary oath before the said Duke. Everyone rejoices at his promotion, for besides the esteem in which he is generally held for his uprightness of character, he is considered the most learned man in the kingdom, and has always shewn himself a good servant of the Queen. He was formerly chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, which office has been now conferred upon Mr. St. Villieurry (Fitzwilliam). Mr. Richard Pace, a good servant of Your Majesty, whom the Cardinal had kept for the two last years in prison in the

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Tower of London, or in a monastery, has now been set at liberty and recalled to Court. It is thought that unless his mind should again become unsettled, he will rise into greater favour and credit than ever, a circumstance of considerable advantage for Your Majesty's interests.

There has been here for the last ten days a young man sent by one of the two dukes of Saxony,* not the Lutheran, the other one. He comes with a mission from his master to this king; has visited me and dined with me to-day. I have as yet been unable to make out his business at this court. I only know that he often sees the King, and Monseigneur the Bishop of London (Kuthbert Tunstall), and expects to return home in about a fortnight. I will try to ascertain for Your Majesty's satisfaction what has brought him here.

The affair of the Queen, which I have purposedly reserved for the last, is in the same state, and I have nothing new to communicate, except that the Bishop of London assures me as a matter of certainty that Dr. Stock (Stokesley) is gone to France for the sole and express purpose of consulting the Parisian doctors. The Queen being also aware of the fact entreats Your Majesty to send thither for a similar purpose some learned canonists, for otherwise. in the absence of a definitive sentence, any attempts made to bring the King to reason will prove unavailing, and he will continue as pertinacious and obstinate as ever.

I have tendered to her the advice recommended by Your Majesty, but she seems to think that delay, far from being profitable, will be injurious to her cause. For which reason, and others of greater force and weight now than ever, which I have already pointed out to Your Majesty, it seems desirable not to agree to the postponement of the suit as demanded by this King. This, however, remains entirely at Your Majesty's pleasure and superior discretion. The Queen also thinks that in order to avoid raising suspicion in the mind of the King, I had better cease visiting her, and she hopes to be able to find means of communicating with me in private.—London, 25th October 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys."

Two days after the above was written the Cardinal was judicially and definitively condemned by the great Council of the King, and declared a rebel to his authority and guilty of high treason, inasmuch as in defiance of the royal authority and the privileges of the kingdom he had obtained from the Pope, the better to support his legatine powers, the grant of several benefices which were under the direct patronage of the King and others, of which he has disposed by anticipation. Accordingly, he has been deprived of all his offices and Church preferments, and of all dignities and prerogatives. All his property, moveable or immoveable, has been adjudicated to

* George and John Frederic.

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the King, and himself sentenced to imprisonment in one of the royal prisons here in London until the King shall decide on his ultimate fate. The sentence, it is true, was pronounced in his absence, for in this particular his enemies were quite ready to please him, but two procurators were present on his behalf, to whom it was duly communicated. All this will be of difficult digestion for him, and yet I doubt whether he will escape without further punishment.—London, 27th October 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 6½.

25 Oct. **195.** INSTRUCTIONS to PIERRE DE ROZYMBOZ and MAISTRE JEHAN DE LE SAUCH,* going to England.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 22, No. 23, 2°.

Taking with them the Imperial ambassador, Maistre Eustace (Chapuys), they will wait on the King, and present the letters of credence they have from the Emperor and from us. They will tell him that after the treaty of peace lately concluded at Cambray by the Duchess of Angosmois, our good sister, and ourselves, on behalf of the Emperor and of the King of France, orders were sent to Italy to have it observed there, and that, We are now sending to France the sieur de Lachaulx and his secretary, Maistre Guillaume des Barres, to have the said treaty ratified. It only remains for him (the King of England), as one of the contracting parties, to ratify it, and for this purpose, principally, We now send our ambassadors.

The Emperor has examined attentively the treaty of defensive alliance and commercial intercourse between this country and England. He has been very much pleased with it, as his own letters of ratification—which the ambassadors now bear—will shew, which letters shall be presented by them to the King, or whomsoever he may designate for the purpose, taking care to get letters patent acknowledging the receipt of the same, to be afterwards deposited in the Archives (*au tresor des chartes*), all other ceremonies usual at such times, such as the swearing on the Gospels, and so forth, being first complied with.

The ambassadors will exhibit the powers they have from the Emperor and from us for the signature and ratification of the said treaty.

Many abuses having been committed in the exercise of the said commercial intercourse, as was formally represented to the English ambassadors at Cambray, and they having consented in their master's name that, for the sake of remedying the said abuses, a meeting should be held (*une journee fust prinse*), they will request the King that the said meeting (*journee*) take

* Similar instructions, dated Genoa, the 29th of August, were given by the Emperor to Rosymboz, Le Sauch, and Theimseke, besides Chapuys. See Brewer, vol. iii., part 4, No. 5,899. In these, which emanated from Margaret, the latter, Theimseke the provost of Cassel, is omitted.

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place in some town on this side of the Channel, either Bruges or some other, whither the King of England may send his deputies, furnished with powers sufficient to hear complaints and treat of their redress. We shall also send our deputies thither, so that all together may remove obstacles and settle difficulties, and the merchants of both nations carry on trade on equal terms. The meeting (*journee*) to be fixed within six months, or any period of time the King may be pleased to name within next year.*

The ambassadors will also tell the King that We suppose him to be well informed by this time of the invasion of Hungary by the Turk. It is now an ascertained fact that the Infidel has actually entered that country at the head of 200,000 men, and it is to be feared that not only the kingdom of Hungary but the whole of Christendom will be ruined and destroyed through it. For unless the Christian princes league themselves together to resist the Infidel, it is to be apprehended that, one after another, they will be utterly destroyed. That We, therefore, beg him (the King) to send to Rome without loss of time an ambassador with full powers—as the most Christian King has already done—to treat with those of the Emperor and other Christian princes for the best means of arresting the progress of the Infidel, as likewise for checking the spread of heresy (*aussi contre les herectiques*), and decide what taxes are to be imposed, and what money to be raised for the accomplishment of so holy a purpose.

Should the King of England, or any member of his Council, ask you (the said Rozymboz, Chapuis, and De Le Sauch) whether His Imperial Majesty or We, ourselves, have any suggestion to make as to the best way of assisting the King of Hungary, you may say that the subject has often been discussed, and that many plans have been proposed. The first and principal of which is to obtain from our Holy Father, the Pope, a crusade and general indulgence throughout the Christian World, wherewith to provide for the expenses of the war. Another means would be that of a tithe on the clergy,† compelling all ecclesiastics, whether bishops, abbots, or prelates, of any rank whatsoever, who have property in abundance and superfluous means—more than man needs for his maintenance—to sell a certain portion of their property, "a rachat ou sans rachat," on condition of their respective lords and princes giving them vouchers that they may hereafter purchase as much of their property as they now sell. Also to dispose in part (*pour une portion*) of the property of the knights of Rhodes and of Prusche (Prussia), as the former place is no longer in the hands of the Christians, and besides the property of the Order was in the first instance destined for the defence of Christianity; the sale thereof to be likewise made under condition of repurchase at a future time.

* "Et que la dite journee soit prinse a six mois, ou a tel terme que le dit sieur roy desirera en dedans l'an."

† "Une aultre voye de desciemes sur les gens de l'Eglise."

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Should the King say anything about the "evocation et citation" posted up at the gates of Gravelinghes et Dunckerche, concerning the case of divorce between him and the Queen of England, you will tell him that the whole has been done by the authority of the Holy See, and in consequence of there being no easy access to his kingdom,* those places on the frontiers having been chosen which are nearest to his dominions. That this has been done only "par exploit et ayde de justice," and could not reasonably be avoided, considering the close relationship of the Queen to the Emperor. All this considered, the King cannot take in bad part what has been hitherto done, since he professes to desire nothing but the ways of justice.

The ambassadors will try to ascertain what truth there is in the rumours concerning the Cardinal, and will inform us as soon as possible of what they have heard.—Bruxelles, 25th October 1529.

Signed: "Marguerite."

French. Original. pp. 4.

25 Oct. **196.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 221 v°.

His Highness has no doubt seen by the despatches which Blues, the messenger, took back, how the Emperor is situated at present, and that matters cannot possibly be settled so soon as was anticipated. As long as the Milan question, and that of Venice, continue unsettled, the Emperor cannot well leave Italy. He (Salinas) is moreover afraid that in his anxiety to settle all these matters the Emperor may be induced to make a bad bargain (*barato*) for himself and His Highness.

Mercado arrived on the night of the 22nd. He came in good time, for the Venetians had previously spread the report that Vienna was lost, in consequence of which great anxiety prevailed among the courtiers. The Emperor, therefore, was delighted to hear the news, and requested him (Salinas) to read in Council the letter in cipher, written by Secretary Castillejo. Did so on the very same day, and failed not to represent as earnestly as ever the state of affairs [in Austria] and the necessity of speedy succour. Upon which it was resolved that His Imperial Majesty should go to Bologna, and there hold a conference with the Pope, respecting the best means of carrying on war against the Turk. The Emperor approves of this plan, and departs this very day, the 25th October. Hopes to be there on the eve of All Souls, to be crowned as King of the Romans, and the better attend to the business of the Congress. But, considering the business there to be discussed, and the persons who are to meet, he (Salinas) is afraid that the deliberations of that body will last too long to allow

* "Par l'autorite du Saint Siege aplicquee au deffault de leur acces en son royaulme."

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the Emperor to go to his brother's assistance, as he purposes doing.

The Venetians, knowing full well the Emperor's embarrassing situation, and the necessity in which he stands of a prompt settlement of the Italian affairs, naturally throw every impediment in his way. And as to the Duke Francesco [Sforza], though up to the Emperor's departure from Bologna the negociations have gone on, nothing has been gained, and he is as impracticable as ever.—Piacenza, 25th October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

26 Oct. **197.** CARDINAL GATTINARA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 168. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 241.

Arrived last evening at Cremona. Was very well received by the Duke Franceseo [Sforza], who now begs for a safe-conduct to go to Bologna and have his case thoroughly investigated. He (Gattinara) is of opinion that the accusation should be dropped altogether.—Casal Mayor (Casal Maggiore), Monday night, the 26th October 1529.

Signed: "M [ercurino] Car [dinalis] Gattinara."

Spanish. Original in the hand-writing of Alfonso de Valdés. p. 1.

26 Oct. **198.** The ARCHBISHOP of BARI [ESTEVAN GABRIEL MERINO] to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 108. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 238.

This morning the Emperor's letter of the 23rd was duly received. Monbardon came soon after with the Imperial message about Florence, which we hastened to communicate to the Pope. His answer was: "I place myself entirely in the Emperor's hands; in four or five days at the latest I will remit to the Prince [of Orange] 10,000 ducats more."

Spoke to him about the news of the Turk and from Vienna. So did Andrea del Burgo. His Holiness promised to do all he could, but remarked: "That is, no doubt, a great misfortune to come; but some do not believe in it, and others will be glad. That is no reason for my neglecting to do my utmost to avert the calamity. I will summon a congregation of cardinals to discuss the matter." The ambassador's impression is that nothing will be done until the meeting.

With regard to Your Majesty's proposed journey and arrival at Bologna, which seems to have been fixed for Sunday next, both the Pope and his master of ceremonies told us, and we perfectly agree with them, that it is very inconvenient, and perhaps also impracticable, because were that plan to be executed, Your Majesty would necessarily have to pass a whole night out of the estates of the Church and wait all Sunday.* Your Majesty cannot make the entry into Bologna on Monday, that being the day of All Saints, a

* "Por que v. mt. ha de estar una noche fuera de esta tierra."

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most solemn festival with chapel service, and besides vespers of All Souls (*dia de Difuntos*). Tuesday morning All Souls and chapel service after dinner, so that there would be no time for the reception, which, attended as it must be by numerous indispensable ceremonies, could not possibly be made in one afternoon now that the days are short. Our opinion is that Your Majesty had better come to Castelfranco, and thence on Wednesday to La Chartosa (Certosa di Bologna) and Thursday next to Bologna. We thought at first that Your Majesty had better pass these two days at Parma, but then as you would have to ride on feast days we adhere to the former plan, which is to sleep at Castelfranco, only 15 miles from this place, and then come to Bologna.

For the ceremonial of the coronation the following things are wanted: 1st the standard with the Imperial eagle, which Your Majesty has already; that of St. George, which has been ordered and will soon be ready; the sword, the bull for the Imperial election, &c. Money to be thrown to the people, and a sum of gold to be deposited at the foot of the Pope when Your Majesty comes to kiss it.

The Venetian ambassador called and told us after dinner, in the course of conversation, that the Signory was disposed to treat with the Pope, and with Your Imperial Majesty conjointly or separately as it might be. We afterwards learned that he had seen the Pope that same morning, and held similar language to him. The Pope's answer was: "If that is the case, let us hear what you propose about Ravenna and Cervia." The ambassador replied that if His Holiness only consented to let them hold those two towns and their respective districts as a fief from the Church, and on the payment of a good rental (*censo*), they would consider themselves happy. The Pope retorted: "I have already one feoffee (*feudatorio*), and am so much honoured by him that I would rather have no more." The Pope's impression and our own is that the Venetians are trying to save what they can out of the struggle, and that if all other matters are settled to their satisfaction they will give up those towns and anything else they possess in Puglia.

(*Cipher:*) Have been told by the Pope himself that the King of France has lately sent him a message by a barber of his chamber, to assure him of his friendship and affection, and the great care he takes of his interests.* That was the reason why he (the Pope) had not yet sent for his niece (Katharine) who was still at Florence, that she might afterwards be married in France, as suited her rank and quality. Now the King (he said) was thinking of sending the Duke of Albany for her, but had promised to take no steps concerning her marriage without consulting His Holiness first. The Pope was much amused at the King's preposterous idea, and at the

* "Tambien nos ha dicho que el Rey de Francis le embiado un barber (*sic*) de su Camara con dezir que quiere bien à su st. (Santidat) y à sus cosas, y que asi tiene cuidado dellas."

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same time amazed, for the Duke of Albany, who happens to be 50, whereas the girl is only ten, was proposed and refused on a previous occasion, besides which he himself is now carrying on a law suit in France, and claims part of her property.

As Cardinal Santa Croce is not in Bologna the letter that came for him has not been delivered.—Bologna, 26th October 1529.

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign lord and master."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

26 Oct. **199.** The EMPEROR to his AMBASSADORS at ROME.

S. E. L. 1,555, f. 147. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 242.

Wrote last night from Piacenza. To-day, Monday, as We were going out of that city your despatch by Albornoz, the courier, came to hand. Glad to hear that His Holiness has arrived [at Bologna] in good health. To this end, and to inform him of our arrival at this place, We now send [Cardinal Santa Croce] to him.

Will be at Bologna on Sunday. Preparations for the coronation—Census of Naples to be paid to the Pope—The ambassadors are to ask for a prorogation, and if not obtained, have the same deducted from the Pope's debt to us, as We have at present no other means of settling that claim.

Arrival of the Admiral [of France]* for the ratification of the peace and Imperial oath; this was accomplished with the solemnity required in such cases.—Florençola,† 26th October 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

27 Oct. **200.** KING HENRY to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 224, No. 59.

Has ordered "Messire le Docteur Benet," his councillor, present bearer, to repair at once to the Emperor's Court [at Bologna] and join the rest of the ambassadors who have already started on their mission.—A nostre manoir de Greenwiche, 27th October 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

28 Oct. **201.** The EMPEROR to POUPET DE LA CHAUX and SECRETARY DES BARRES.

Lanz. *Corresp. d.* [*Kays* I., 350–5.

The French ambassadors arrived here [at Piacenza] on the 16th, and on the 18th, St. Lucas' Day, We swore to observe the peace concluded at Cambray. An act of ratification in due order has been handed over to them, besides two powers of attorney (*procurations*), one respecting the faithful observa-

* Philippe Chabot, sieur de Brion.
† Fiorenzola, in the duchy of Parma.

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tion of the said treaty and of the previous one of Madrid, the other to obtain from His Holiness the required dispensation of the oath, the whole according to the minute which you, Des Barres, brought to us.

With the regard to the oath itself, the Admiral of France (Mr. Brion), who is one of the ambassadors, having informed us that he had certain remarks to make on the part of his master, the King, and that he wished us to appoint one or two of our councillors to hear what he had to say on the subject, We at once named our cousin, Nassau, and Mr. de Granvelle to discuss at leisure with the said Admiral, accompanied by Mr. Dyverny (Du Verney ?) and L' Esleu Bayard, the points and articles of which We enclose copies, as well as the answers made to each of them by our said councillors in our name, which answers We have sanctioned merely to please the most Christian King and his ambassadors, notwithstanding that it might be suggested to them that the strict observance of the treaty so recently concluded was the best answer to their inquiries.

Among the demands made by the said ambassadors, one is that We should accept and receive at the moment of the delivery of the princes, one portion of the sum stipulated, and fix a time for the payment of the remainder; which request We have refused to comply with, it being exceedingly inconvenient for us, as you may understand. On the contrary, We think that the King of France, for his own convenience, and to do us pleasure in this respect, might very easily have advanced us on the amount of the ransom 300,000 or 400,000 crs., which as We have signified to his ambassadors, might have been immediately spent in war against the Turk.

The French having stated that they had no particular instructions on this point, and that in case of the King, their master, feeling disposed to advance that sum, some sort of security would be required, the Admiral suggested that if 600,000 crs. were paid at two months' date, on the delivery of the princes, We might perhaps accept the security of merchants and bankers for the remainder. Our answer to this proposition was, that We objected to make any innovation respecting the treaty, but that with regard to the clause relating to the delivery of the princes, We were willing to entertain and discuss any proposals that might be made in this way, provided the guarantees offered were satisfactory, and when asked what sort of security We wished to have, they (the ambassadors) were informed that the faith and signature of the personages now residing at our court, besides those of Madame, our aunt, and of the lords of the Low Countries, ought to be considered a sufficient guarantee. To this, however, the Admiral objected, and said to Mr. de Granvelle, among other things, that in case of his master agreeing to make the said advance, he would by far prefer retaining the town of Hesdin, the restitution of which, being as it were, the first article to be fulfilled in the treaty, would be a preferable security.

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In view, therefore, of these various proposals, as well as of the answers by us made to the French ambassadors, in which We persist, it will be your duty to procure from the King the advance of a sum of money offering, as above, the security of our aunt, and such of our subjects as the King may select, and, if necessary, ask Madame Margaret herself to interfere.

Respecting the place whereat the delivery is to be effected, the ambassadors at first seemed to have no choice, and said that it was quite indifferent to them whether it took place at Fuentarrabia, or on the frontier close to Narbonne. Since then, however, they have insisted upon the latter place, alleging that it is far more convenient and secure for the princes and for the Queen, that the roads are better, and besides, that Bayonne is just now afflicted by famine and plague. As these, however, are only transitory evils, which can be easily remedied, and, moreover, it has been agreed and settled that the delivery is to take place at Fuentarrabia, We have firmly declared our unwillingness to agree to any change in this matter, upon which the ambassadors, perceiving our determination, no longer insisted, and promised to write home. Should any application be made to you whilst at the court of France you know our way of thinking in this matter. As to the period of the delivery, the ambassadors said they thought it could not take place before the 1st of March, as the money could not be possibly got ready before that time.

With regard to the Duke of Ferrara, great stress has been put upon us out of consideration for the Queen Regent of France, who has strongly interceded in his favour. We have hitherto declined to state our reasons in writing; but enough has been said to the French ambassadors to show that We have hitherto treated the said Duke with generosity, notwithstanding We had plenty of means at hand to take another course, as We have been frequently solicited and requested to do. Should any mention be made of the said Duke and his affairs, you may answer in accordance with these our views, and in such a manner that We may proceed with less scruple on our journey to meet the Pope.

We have deemed it very strange that whilst the most Christian King of France has, by the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, renounced all rights he has, or might have, to the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, and declared that henceforward he will have no more to do with Italy, his ambassadors should now come to propose that We should make over for a sum of money the country of Asti, on the plea that their late king, Louis XII., incorporated it in the crown of France, and that it is hardly worth 400 ducats a year! This request of the French ambassadors makes us suspect that the King, their master, is far from giving up entirely, as he is bound to do, his ideas of intervention in the affairs of Italy, the more so that the Admiral proposed some time ago to a personage of this our court that, should We be willing to give him the duchy of

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Milan, he would help us forthwith to the recovery of Verona and other places, which the Venetians have usurped from our brother Ferdinand and from us, and would also assist with troops and money towards the Turkish war. We have no doubt that if such like overtures have been made you have refused to listen to them, as being quite out of the scope and limits of the last treaty. Indeed, it would be a very dishonest proceeding on the part of the most Christian King, if, for the execution of what he is bound to accomplish, he were now to stipulate and demand new conditions.

The Admiral, as it would appear, is sorry that the matter of the alliances should have been placed in Madame's hands. No sooner did he hear our answer on that particular than he began to speak in colder terms, alleging that the matter was not so very urgent; that the ladies will have no facilities to meet, and also that affairs of that kind could not be conducted and treated by people of small importance (*petits personnaiges*), &c. He gave us a letter from the King to that purpose, of which a copy is herein enclosed, as well as of our answer to the said ambassador.

Although the Admiral from the beginning had expressed a wish that the business for which he had come should be transacted as soon as possible, in order that he might return to his master, he now declared to us that he had been instructed by the King to do our pleasure in every respect, and to remain at our court or go away at our will. He said he had money with him to forward to Rance de Chery (Renzo da Ceri) at Barletta, that he might pay his men, and evacuate the place according to the articles of the treaty; but he said he found difficulties in sending the money, and hinted that the Venetians had been trying to get possession of the place. He likewise requested us, in order to bring about the more speedy surrender of that town, to pardon the Prince of Melfi (Caracciolo), and that if We thought proper he (the ambassador) wonld undertake to go as far as Venice and persuade the Doge and Council to give up the places they still retained in the kingdom of Naples, and accept our terms of peace. Also that he was very desirous of visiting Madame Renée at Ferrara, out of the respect and affection he had always borne her, and also for the love which he knew the King professed to her. In all these things, however, he was at our orders, and would do as We pleased.

Our answer was that, considering, from what We had heard, and he himself had told us at first, that he was in a hurry to return home, We had given strict orders that his business should be attended to with all possible speed. That We had read the King's letter touching the alliances, and would willingly have referred him to our Privy Council, and have the affair treated and discussed there in his presence, but as he could see We were ourselves on the eve of our departure for Bouloigne (Bolonia), and could not possibly delay any longer

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having promised our Holy Father to be there on a certain day. As it was, the Pope must already have arrived in that city at the moment We spoke, and We should have been at a loss how to account for making him wait so long. As to his own movements, We left it entirely to his choice to remain at our court or return home, as his master's pleasure might be. Respecting his proposal of visiting Venice in order to persuade the Signory to give up the fortresses which they still possess in Puglia, and come to terms with us, We told him that it was not worth the trouble, since they had been summoned in proper form, and had not yet consented to it, &c.

We must, however, recommend you to try and ascertain how far the King of France is willing to observe the last treaty, for his ambassadors here do not scruple to say, and have even declared openly, that they consider its terms very hard indeed, and that if the King keeps them, it will be merely for the sake of his sons, whom he wants to deliver from captivity as soon as possible, not for the sake of the peace itself.—Bourg St. Domingo (Borgo di San Donnino), 28th October 1529.

French.

28 Oct. **202.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 848, f. 110.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 244.

Thanks him for having sent Don Pedro de la Cueva to compliment him on his safe arrival at Bologna. Hopes to see him soon.—Bologna, 28th October 1529.

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

28 Oct. **203.** The KING of HUNGARY to MARTIN DE SALINAS.

S. E. L. 496, f. 67.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 245.

By Luis de Taxis on the 19th, and through other channels since, We have informed you of the retreat of the Turks from before Vienna. We again wrote from Lintz on the 23rd, requesting you to wait on the Emperor, and tell him in our name that with this retreat of the enemy there is no longer a necessity for his coming, and that he may defer his journey until the affairs of Italy are definitively settled.

We came to this city [Lintz] for the purpose of consulting various prince electors and other persons as to the best means for prosecuting our present undertaking, before the opportunity should be lost by the delay, since besides the Bohemians, and the forces of the Suabian League, and those of the dukes of Bavaria and others, which we have sent back home, amounting in all to nearly 70,000, there remain still at Vienna from 45,000 to 50,000 men of our own territorial dominions, and of those of the Empire, with whom We then meditated some good undertaking. Arrived here, however, We found the affairs in a worse state than they were before; for the lanskenets of our dominions, as well as those of the Empire, were in complete mutiny, more dishonest and impudent in their demands than ever, claiming five or six months' pay, when not a whole one

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was owing to them, alleging for their unreasonable demands the raids made by the Turks* and the booty they made, without taking into consideration that they themselves have occasionally done the same thing, besides which they pretend that what food they have consumed during their stay in this town should not be discounted from their pay, and that We ourselves should defray to the householders the cost made by them, amounting to a very considerable sum. They are so insolent that neither reason nor justice is available with them. Their captains and officers have absconded from fear of these devils, who have more than once threatened to kill them, going tumultuously through the streets of this city crying at the top of their voices and in their language "Blood or money," meaning that unless their cravings be satisfied they will sack Lintz. We need scarcely point out to you the many evils that may arise from the conduct of these lanskenets, for, in the first place, the enterprize against the Turk will be abandoned, and the opportunity of driving him off to his own territory entirely lost. The second, that these lanskenets are for the most part Lutherans or of those peasants (*villanos*) who took part in the last disturbances, and as they are all unprincipled men and without faith they bear great hatred to all Catholics, have lost all shame, and are burning to revenge themselves for their past defeat. After this (*despues de hecho este yerro*) they will become, if possible, more wicked than before; for knowing themselves to be criminal they will spread through the country for fear of punishment, and recruit numbers of their own sect, not only among the rabble, but among the highest classes of society, who did not like to declare themselves before. They will then destroy and waste what little the Turks have left, for they have within this town of Lintz a good many pieces of ordnance and other war implements. The third is, that the moment the Turk hears of this he is sure to return with greater force than ever, and accomplish perhaps what he has hitherto been unable to do. The fourth, that the Vayvod will become his natural ally, and do all the harm he can to our Hungarian dominions. And the fifth, that the Venetians cannot fail to be delighted at an incident of this sort, and will encourage the lanskenets to destroy the land to the very frontiers of the Signory.

On whatever side We look at this affair We see nothing but blood and misfortune, for the amount of money asked by these lanskenets is so enormous, that were We to sell the whole of our patrimonial estates We could not pay one fourth of their claims. The Count Palatine and other lords, who were to come here [to Lintz], to treat of the best means of meeting the threatening storm, dare not quit Vienna from fear of the mutineers, so that in fact We are much worse now than when the Turk was in front of us, for at any rate against this latter

* "Los saltos que los Turcos dieron, lo qual se suele entender quando ellos los dan."

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enemy there was a defence, whereas against these soldiers there is none at all that We can see. Besides the natural insolence and rebellious spirit of the lanskenets, which of itself prompts them to excesses of this kind, We have reason to think that the avarice of certain captains has also something to do with it; for they are known to have secretly and underhand incited them to ask for such premiums (*ventajas*), in order that on our refusal to grant such preposterous demands, their men may sack this city and they (the captains) remain with the property and in their own quarters (*posadas propias*). The first to institute such a claim were the Imperial lanskenets; those of our own estates and others soon followed the bad example, so that there is perhaps not one among them who is not of the same mind. The Count Palatine, perceiving our common danger, had of his own accord promised the Imperial lanskenets two months' pay, besides their arrears, and cost free of all they had consumed during the siege. We do not know whether they will accept this offer or not; but even if they do, the danger of this town being sacked and destroyed does not diminish, for there are among these lanskenets here many avaricious and wicked men, whom nothing will satisfy, besides which We have really not the means of paying those who are under our banners. May God help us all!

You will inform the Emperor, our brother, of all this, and entreat him to send us as soon as possible money with which to meet the demands of these people. Tell the Emperor that 100,000 florins now are better towards the prosecution of this enterprize, than 500,000 at a future time, and that when the Turk and the Vayvod have recovered and united their forces for a fresh attack it will be perhaps too late.

The last news from Turkey is that Solyman has sent part of his forces to Belgrade, and that he himself has gone to Buda, and placed a garrison at Attenburu (Altenburgh), the last place in Hungary, ten leagues from Vienna, which he has since given to the Vayvod to keep as a frontier fortress against Austria. It is not known yet whether Solyman will pass this winter in Hungary, or go home. We are very much afraid that, owing to the many enemies who surround us, and principally to the treacherous rising of the lanskenets, this country will be irretrievably lost, unless God and His Majesty the Emperor give prompt aid, because, as We have said before, We have not the means of defending our dominions against the Turk, even if We were not to pay what these lanskenets ask, much less if We are obliged to look out for the means of paying them.—Cremes, 28th October 1529.

P.S.—After the above was written, intelligence came that not only the Germans, who were at Vienna during the siege, are clamouring for their pay, but also the many thousands who flocked thither from our own estates, and that all have joined in the demand, declaring that they will not quit the town, or allow their captains to go out of it, unless paid in full.

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

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28 Oct. **204.** The Marquis del Gasto to Covos.

S. E. L. 1,438, ff. 4–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 249.

Wrote last to Commander Juan Baptista Castaldo begging him to report to the Emperor on the state of the army. Since then things have occurred to which he is compelled to call his (Covos') attention and that of the councillors. Would willingly have addressed the Emperor, but as no answer is returned to his numerous despatches he has a right to conclude that they are not read.

This army is more fitted to conquer its enemies by its past reputation than by its present efficiency and force. I mean that we maintain ourselves in front of this city, more with our name than our works, since we are wanting in all that is most indispensable for a besieging army. To begin by the men; our number is scarcely equal to that of the enemy inside. Money is absolutely wanting. True, that is no new thing with us, and we are used to it; but in this instance the remedy is not near at hand, and situated as the men are they must be fed or else die of hunger. There are besides many Italians in our ranks who have not, generally speaking, the endurance of the Spaniards, and who, if not paid their monthly stipend with regularity, are sure to go over to the enemy, from whom they get offers every day. The Germans may possibly not desert, but they will assuredly rise in mutiny and go home, for most of them have become rich, and wish to quit the Imperial service. At the end of this month their pay will be due, as likewise their period of service, and if by that time no money is given to them, and a new oath taken according to custom, they are sure to make a row. To the Spaniards two months' pay are owing, without counting the arrears, and they are in so miserable a condition that it is piteous to see them. If they do not mutiny and demand their arrears of pay, they must, in some way or other procure food in order to live. The same may be said of the men-at-arms and light horse, who for want of pay and food are actually forced, like so many robbers, to go out on the road and seize the provisions coming to this army.

I enter into particulars that Your Worship may see the impracticability of this army remaining as it is, and the scanty fruit to be derived. The Pope ought to give in, and a convention made with the Florentines through which the Emperor will get a good sum of money to help to the Turkish war and the Pope.

Signed: "El Marques del Gasto."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

29 Oct. **205.** Hernando de Alarcon to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 78.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 257.

The army is in mutiny. They have taken possession of the artillery and are marching towards Naples.

The inhabitants of Barletta, Trani, Monopoli, are arch-traitors; more Venetian than the Venetians themselves. It would be advisable to drive them out and repopulate those towns with Spaniards.—Andria, 29th October 1529.

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29 Oct. **206.** The Archbishop of Bari and Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 189.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 252.

As we informed Your Imperial Majesty by our letters of the 17th inst., the Pope, at our request, spoke to the Venetian ambassador, and pressed him to give a cathegorical answer, since he had full powers to treat. He strongly advised the Signory to accept at once the terms offered; for, if their reluctance in accepting those terms was only caused by a desire to gain time and wait for some untoward event unfavourable to the Emperor, the contrary might happen.

In saying this the Pope meant the retreat of the Turks, which has since been confirmed by letters of the 27th, and duly announced. When the intelligence was communicated to him (the Pope) he was so glad that he ordered immediately public rejoicings to be made, and, on Sunday, grand mass and thanksgivings, &c. He also added: "I am the more delighted at this happy news about the Turk, that I expect it will throw confusion into the hearts of those who expected food for their passion and particular avarice. I am now very glad that I was a prophet when I spoke with the Venetian ambassador, and I confidently hope that they will be more tractable (*blandos*) in future."—Bologna, 29th October 1529.

P.S.—This very morning, for it could not be done before, he (Merino) and Mr. Mai called at the Consistory, and delivered the Emperor's letters, which were read therein. As His Holiness, himself, was present at the reading, he failed not to speak in the name of all his cardinals, saying how disposed all felt towards assisting the Emperor in all matters, and specially in the Crusade against the Turk. We considered it our duty to make this manifestation, for fear they (the cardinals) should think that the retreat of the Infidel from before Vienna would dispense them from granting the Crusade and other ecclesiastical resources, for as Your Majesty very wisely intimates, this is the time to prosecute with vigour the war against the Infidel.

Have conversed with the keeper of the Emperor's jewels (*guardajoyas*), and it appears that many things are wanted for the approaching ceremony, as that official has no doubt by this time reported.

Beg His Imperial Majesty to answer as soon as possible certain questions contained in the despatches which Mr. de Praët and Albornoz took, especially those concerning the form and size of the standards, which is the most important.

Signed: "G. Ar[chiepiscopus] Baren[sis].—Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

29 Oct. **207.** Cardinal Gattinara to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 170.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 255.

Has just received his letter from Parma, and thinks that the journey to Bologna ought to be delayed according to the Pope's wishes.

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Cannot understand what the Imperial ambassadors mean by asking in the Pope's name for the "Bull of the Imperial election," nor to what bull they refer. If they mean "the decree of election," it does not seem necessary to exhibit it at the present moment; firstly, because it was once presented when dispensation was granted to His Majesty for holding conjointly with the Empire the kingdom of Naples; and secondly, because that decree (*decreto*) had its due effect by the coronation at Aquisgran, where it was duly exhibited. The decree, moreover, is not among the papers of the Chancery.

Respecting the crown of Lombardy, the Emperor refers him (Gattinara) to the letter written by the Imperial ambassadors to Covos; but as he has not seen it, he (Gattinara) cannot state his own opinion about it. Thinks, however, that there is no need of taking that crown, which is not Imperial, but Royal. The Emperor Frederic [Barbarossa] did not take it, and the ceremonial expressly says that it is not necessary.

Should have entered Bologna this very day had there been water enough in the river to float the barge. Most likely will not reach his destination till to-morrow evening—Safe-conduct to Francesco Sforza—The Emperor may address him to Bologna.

Was visited at Ferrara by the Duke, who showed great affection for the Emperor, and said he was daily expecting leave to present his homage.—At the Ferry, between Ferrara and Bologna, Friday evening.

Signed: "M[ercurino] Car[dinal] de Gattinara."

Addressed: "To the most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1 Nov. **208.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,454. f. 171.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 258.

Arrived at Bologna on Saturday last, before dinner. Received, shortly after, the Emperor's letter concerning the safe-conduct for the Duke Francesco Sforza. In his opinion, it should have been granted at once and without loss of time, on many accounts, and principally because, had the Duke applied to the Pope for it, that he might make sure of the Emperor, it would have been impossible to refuse it to him.

Waited yesterday morning on His Holiness, who received him with great affability. Had, however, no opportunity to treat of pending affairs, at his first visit. Was offered a room in the Palace, close to the Pope's own apartments, but declined to accept without permission from the Emperor.

Praët arrived yesterday. He, the archbishop, (Don Gabriel Merino) and Miçer Mai, met and communicated the instructions they had received. Has nothing to observe respecting them, except that, if the Turk has retreated into his own country, as asserted, the Emperor's journey to Germany is no longer a pressing business. It would, therefore, be advisable for the Emperor to take his crown at Rome, like his predecessors in

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the Empire. The ceremony might thus be performed with greater solemnity, and more to the reputation and glory of the Emperor, who might afterwards visit his kingdom of Naples, and apply a remedy to the evils there. As an excuse for the delay the Emperor might allege that he has sent to Germany for the acta of his election [at Worms], which the Pope himself asked for some time ago. This being done, and the affairs of Italy settled,—wherefrom more money can be got than the Emperor is aware of,—there will be plenty of time to attack the Turk, &c.—Bologna, Monday night, the 1st of November 1529.

Signed: "M. Card^{lis} de Gattinara."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

—— **209.** Loss of Portundo's Galleys.

S. E. L. 17 and 18. f. 32, f. 34. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 262.

Portundo and his six galleys have been lost. After having attacked, close to Formentera, a fleet of Turkish privateers under Cachadiavolo, that captain's galley was captured, and himself slain.*

Spanish. Original draft.

6 Nov. **210.** Diarium Consistoriorum et Conclaviorum. MDXXVIII.†

S. E. L. 2,015, f. 114. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 232.

On Sunday, the 24th of October 1529, about the 22nd hour, His Holiness Pope Clement VII. entered Bologna.

Tuesday, the 26th, there was a general congregation in the Apostolic Palace.

Friday, the 29th, a secret consistory was held in the same rooms, and the Emperor's letters announcing the retreat of the Turks from Vienna were read. Upon which His Holiness ordered a most solemn thanksgiving, general processions, &c.

Wednesday, the 3rd of November, there was a general congregation of cardinals, to which the most Reverend Hier[onimus] Sti. Thomæ in Parione, Diaconus Cardinalis de Auria, was admitted.

Thursday, the 4th, at the 22nd hour, the cardinals together, and "servato ordine," went out of Bologna by the gate leading to Modena (Mutinam), to meet the Emperor, whom they found near Monasterium de Acertosa,‡ when an

* The circumstances of this affair are fully described in Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos* 5°, ii., pp. 85-6, as well as by Guicciardini, Bugatti, Jovio, and others. It happened on the 28th of October. Cachadiavolo (Caccia Diavolo) was the nick-name of a celebrated corsair of these times, a native of Smyrna, by name Jayre-d-din, who had once been a captain under Barbarossa.

The letter itself was probably addressed to Miçer Mai by some official at Barcelona. It bears no date or signature, but from the place it occupies among other papers in the Archives of Simancas I consider myself justified in calendering it here.

† From the original preserved in the Vatican Library.

‡ "La Certosa di Bologna, a convent of Carthusians, two miles north of that city.

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address of welcome was read by the Dean of the College of cardinals (Farnese).

Friday, the 5th, at the 22nd hour, the Emperor entered Bologna, followed by a numerous retinue of dukes, marquises, barons, and other nobility, and escorted by a strong body of picked men (both horse and foot). When His Holiness heard of it he went out of the Palace, followed by the Sacred College of cardinals, and having ascended an eminence prepared for the purpose, in front of San Petronio, waited for the arrival of the Emperor, who dismounted, and, kneeling down, kissed first the foot and afterwards the hand of our Holy Father, when the latter made him rise and kissed him on the cheek in token of peace. After a short address from the Emperor, to which the Pope replied, and being first presented with a mass of gold weighing (as it is said) seven pounds,* the Emperor entered the church of Sant Petronio, accompanied by four cardinals, two presbyters, and two deans, and having said his prayers, all returned to the Palace together.†

Latin. Copy. pp. 5.

8 Nov. **211.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 24.

My despatch of the 25th ult° was in answer to two‡ letters received from Your Majesty. I then reported at full on the good and sincere intention which this king professed to have of helping in the resistance and repulsion of the Turk; on the mandate and instructions he had given on this point to his ambassadors now going to Bolognia (Bologna); on my conference with him, and on what he (the King) said respecting the pacification of Italy. I also acquainted Your Majesty with other news, such as the sentence delivered by the Royal Court of Justice (*la justice royale*) in the presence of most of the lords of this kingdom, by which sentence the Cardinal was declared traitor against the King,§ deprived of all his honours and dignities, his property confiscated and himself placed entirely at the King's mercy. I mentioned the appointment of

* Oblata prius per suam sanct. auri massa ponderis, ut asserebant, septem librarum."

† This copy was made by Berzosa for the use of Philip II. Juan de Berzosa, or Verzosa, as his name is sometimes written, was a native of Saragossa, in Aragon, and Secretary of Legation at Rome, first under Don Diego de Mendoza, the celebrated author of the *Guerra de los Moriscos de Granada* and other works, and afterwards under Don Francisco de Vargas. By the command of Philip, who in 1567 founded the royal Archives of Simancas, Berzosa was employed in making transcripts at Rome. He was also the author of a work describing that king's journey to England, when he came to be married to Queen Mary, of which, however, the title only is known, since the book itself, according to Latassa, *Biblioteca nueva de Escritores Aragoneses*, tom. i., p. 308, seems to have been irretrievably lost. We find it occasionally mentioned as follows: *Ioannis Berzosæ Cæsaragustani Regis Romæ Tabulario Præfecto à transitu Philippi II. Hispaniarum Regis in Angliam Annalium Liber Primus*, and seems to have formed part of a history of the reign of that monarch, which he was compiling at the time of his death, on the 24th of February 1574.

‡ Only one, that of the 28th Sept., No. 169, is in the Imperial Archives.

§ "Y assistant la plus part des grans du peys, par la quelle le Cardinal fust desclayré avoer mesprins contre le Roy."

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Mr. Thomas More to the office of High Chancellor, and gave the names of those who have now the management of affairs in this country; the expected arrival at this court of Mr. de Rosymboz, and the orders given by the King for the honourable reception and entertainment of that ambassador, in fact every occurrence of note up to that date. As I have no doubt that the said despatch, which I sent to Madame to forward, has duly reached its destination, I will not weary Your Majesty with a repetition of the same news.

Since then I have been given to understand that the King has again sent pressing orders to his ambassadors to make all possible haste on their journey, that they may be present at the meeting of Bologna, and it is generally believed here that they must already be in Your Majesty's presence, or very near it.

Tuesday, the 2nd inst., the King came from Grennis (Greenwich) by water, and landed at the house which once belonged to the Cardinal, where he has found handsome and well furnished apartments provided with everything that could be wished. Wednesday morning, being the first day for the convocation of the Estates, which they here call Parliament, an order was issued for another mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung in all the churches [of London]. The King went by water to that of the Preachers, where Your Imperial Majesty was lodged on his visit to this country, and he heard it accompanied by all the prelates and nobility of this kingdom with their dresses and "grans chappes" of scarlet cloth, only that the King's was of crimson lined with ermine. It would be superfluous for me to describe the order and ceremonies on this occasion, inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty knows very well how fond the people of this country are of such pageants.

After mass the King, as well as the prelates and lords of his suite, in order to escape from the throng of people there assembled, gentlemen as well as commoners, crossed over through a covered way from the convent to the King's house, close by, where similar propositions from the Estates are usually made. All those who had a right to be there having taken their seats, each according to his own rank, on a platform (*parcquet*) of the hall devoted to that purpose, the Chancellor rose, and began in a rather diffuse speech to explain the causes and reasons which had moved the King to convoke the assembly, the substance of which was to shew the good-will and affection the King had always borne the people, not only as a prince, but also as a good king and pastor: and that in order to obtain for his people the blessing of permanent peace and safety from oppression, he had spared no trouble or fatigue, and had also tried by every means to increase and prosper the trade of the country, since the wealth of England and the comfort of his subjects rested principally on this. All present knew how much trouble and fatigue he (the King) had undergone for the consolidation of peace, seeking everywhere for the means of

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ensuring the peace of Christendom, and establishing its union and repose, in which undertaking he had spent considerable treasure. He had now called them together to communicate several matters, and to ask them to advise with him respecting the welfare, advantage, and tranquillity of the kingdom, and principally the reform of justice. To obtain which latter object he had begun with the Cardinal, as chief defaulter, who having attempted and done many things against his royal authority, and to the detriment of the crown and kingdom, and having besides committed many acts of gross and flagrant injustice, of which they would be hereafter informed, had just been tried and condemned by a Court of Law, as they had no doubt heard.

After which the Chancellor (More) began to exculpate the King for having allowed the Cardinal to remain so long at the head of affairs. The fault, he said, was not the King's, but of those who knowing his wickedness had not informed him of it. He, himself, had not discovered until very late the Cardinal's bad propensities; and if he had taken him too much on trust it was merely owing to his many occupations in war and elsewhere, which prevented his looking as closely into the administration of public affairs as he intended doing henceforward. Besides which, obliged as he was to entrust the government of the kingdom to another, he might be excused if he had blindly placed confidence in an ecclesiastic of high dignity, as the Cardinal was, whom he naturally supposed to be honest and virtuous. The King, added the Chancellor, had been marvellously deceived in his expectations, and as a proof of his assertion* he went on enumerating the misdeeds of the Cardinal, and commenting, as it were, on the blazon of his armorial.

The Chancellor then went on to say that of all matters of State those concerning ecclesiastics needed most reform, especially in England, and that reform the King intended to undertake at once. He ended by saying that in order to begin the work and go into the question at once it was expedient that they should appoint one of their number, a person of note, to be speaker (*prolocuteur*), in the name of the said Estates there assembled, and gave them two days of term to do so, summoning them for the manor of Valmonestier (Westminster), which is their court of law and justice.

Thursday and Friday the Estates met, and elected at first the Archbishop of Canterbury to be their speaker (*prolocuteur*); but being a churchman he was not agreeable to the King, who rejected him on the plea that he was too old. After which another one was elected to the King's taste (*a' l'appetit du Roy*), they say that he is a man of learning (*sçavant homme*).

On the ensuing Saturday the King attended personally, and the speaker (*prolocuteur*) was sworn. To-day business is

* "En quoy s'estoyt grandement trompé le Roy. Et pour confirmation de ce propos, le dit Chancellier ne fallist de bien blassoner les armes du dit Cardinal."

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to commence, and the affairs under discussion are to be brought forward. I will inquire the particulars in order to keep Your Imperial Majesty au courant.

It is rumoured that among other motions one will be made to marry the Princess [*Mary*] *to the son of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Queen's mistress* [*Anne*] *to the son of the Duke of Buckingham,* for both which alliances, and especially for the last, many specious reasons are alleged, although I must confess that however desirable this last union might be for the better issue of the other affair (the intended divorce), I think it very improbable, and will not believe in its accomplishment until I see it with my own eyes.*

Sure as I am that Your Imperial Majesty does not care for mere speculation as to the future, which after all is an art for which I am not at all fitted, I will not venture upon prediction, as people do here, inasmuch as the projects, if there be any of that kind, will soon become public. Respecting the clergy of this kingdom, I may say without having recourse to the said art of divination, that they will be for certain both punished and reformed, fined and mulcted, for they are generally very rich, from which circumstance and hatred of the Cardinal they are an object of envy to the nobles and commoners of this country. Should there be no other opportunity at hand than this crusade against the Turk† it will certainly be made an excuse for bleeding them to death. As to the people themselves, it will not be so easy a matter to get money out of them, even on an occasion like this, and for so holy a purpose. They look, on the contrary, *as if they intended to ask the King to refund the large loans he has made from them at other times, and which amount to incalculable sums of money. I fancy, moreover, that the King will beg the Estates to remit the payment of the said debts, which will be no small advantage for him, even if they should grant nothing else.*

The Cardinal has furnished the King both the occasion and the means of raising large sums of money by way of composition from all those who, either through solicitation, money lent, advice given, or in some other way, have been instrumental in obtaining for him the legatine powers,‡ which he

* "Aucuns disent que l'on traictera entre autres choses de marier la princesse au filz du Duc de Norforcq, et l'amye du Roy au filz du Duc de Boquinguen, et a ce l'on allegue plusieurs raysons apparentes, speciallement quant au dernier; mais le desir qu'ay qu'ainsi fust pour la vuidange de l'autre cas ne me le laisse croyre que ne le voye pour effait."

† "Et quand toutes occasions faudront celle du Turq est assez souffisante pour lever l'argent de eux et les saignier à mort. D'en tirer du peuple [n'est] aussi facile mesmes pour cette occasion du Turcq. Il n'y a pas grande apparence, cart communement yl tiennent propos de demander au Roy les grans empruntz qu'il a fayt d'eux par cy devant que monte une somme inestimable. Je cuyde qu'il les pryera qu'il le tirent des dites debtes, que ne seront peu de chose si celle se pouvoit obtenir, bien qu'il n'accordassent autre chose."

‡ "Le Cardinal a donné moyen et occasion au Roy d'assembler force argent veuillant compouser ceux que se sont mesle ou par sollicitation ou prestement dargent ou par conseyl de fere obtenir au dit cardinal la bulle de sa legation."

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enjoyed. It is even reported that whoever in this country has treated or negociated with him as such Papal legate, and even favoured or consented to such negociations as regards dispensations for marriage, legitimisation of bastards, and so forth—in which class are included several bankers and merchants and other rich people—will be subjected to the same penalty. Respecting the ecclesiastical benefices, which he has conferred as such Papal legate, there can be no doubt that all such appointments will be cancelled, even if the parties themselves are not called upon, as it is feared they will be, to refund the money received, besides being condemned to a heavy fine, *all of which will turn to the King's profit, not to that of those who may succeed to the benefices.*

Another means employed by the Cardinal for increasing his patrimonial wealth was the confiscation of what was once Church property in the following manner. To found and build his college at Oxifor (Oxford), which was begun on the boldest and most sumptuous plan that can be imagined, the Cardinal two or three years ago caused more than 12 good abbeys to be pulled down, the fruits and revenues of which he applied to the building and foundation of the said college, wherein besides the scholars he intended establishing a number of canonries, better endowed than those of any other [church or] country whatsoever. Now it is rumoured that the King has very lately issued orders for all priests and ecclesiastics appointed by the Cardinal to quit the place forthwith, as part of it is to be demolished, were it for no other purpose than that of removing the Cardinal's escutcheon, which will be no easy work, as there is hardly a stone from the top of the building to the very foundations where his blazoned armorial is not sculptured. *As to the revenues of the college itself, it is to be presumed that, if the King only listens to the advice of his Privy Council, he will keep them for himself, for he would have enough to do to rebuild what has been destroyed, and besides there are already, as they say too many by half in this country. Perhaps Mr. de Rochefort and his daughter* [*Anne*] *will be of a contrary opinion, for they are at the present moment enjoying the rents of a very good bishopric.*

There has been some talk here of the Duke of Suffolk obtaining the seals of the Chancery and passing over his charge of Marshal of the Kingdom to Rochefort. This, it is believed, would already have taken place had not the Duke objected to the post of Chancellor being in such high hands. That was not the case with the other [Master More] *who has accordingly been named, the kingdom having lost nothing by the appointment.**

The Duke of Norfolk is now the personage who enjoys most credit and favour with the King, though this must be

* "Et cuyde l'on que celle fust fayt, si le Duc de Nolfolc y eust consenty; mais yl ne le vouloit en si grand mains, ausy n'estoit ce le cas del' autre, et moins du Royaulme."

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said in his praise, that he uses it as modestly as possible, and taking experience from the past dares not undertake too many things.

Mr. de Rosymboz has not yet crossed the Channel. He is anxiously expected here, and will be most honourably received; since, besides the preparations made for his reception, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my despatch of the 25th ult°, the King I hear deputed, three days ago, Mr. Guilleffort,* captain of the Cinq Ports in this country, to receive him at Douvres (Dover) with a guard of 100 men, all dressed in the same uniform (*accoustres tout d'une parure*). The rest of the gentlemen and courtiers will go 10 miles out of London to receive him.

The Queen has all this time stayed at Grinnys (Greenwich), but it is said that she is to remove to Richemont this very day, in consequence of a Franciscan friar (*cordellier*) having died there of pestilence. *The Princess is at Windsor† to the great sorrow of the Queen, her mother, who would wish to have her by her side. On that point, however, hardly a step has been gained. Of her business not a word is said, she has lately sent two of her secretaries, members of her Council, to confer with me, and shew a paper written in her defence, which, I must say, is very commendable. It is now being transcribed for me to send across the sea.*—London, 8th November 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Nov. **212.** Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 222 v°.

As he (Salinas) was closing his despatch of the 25th an Austrian courier arrived with His Highness' letter of the 24th ult° from Lintz, the contents of which were quickly deciphered, and submitted to the Emperor, who disapproves very much of the plan of sending Germans against Venice, observing that the soldiers of that nation very rarely fight without being paid, even when allowed to live upon the inhabitants (*comiendo á discreccion*). As he (the Emperor) has no money to give them, he will not run the danger of their mutinying or deserting. Should the Venetian territory be invaded this must be done with the forces now in Italy, not with fresh levies from Germany. Besides which the Signory has lately given signs of wishing for peace, and if they saw any preparations to attack them on that side they would naturally be exasperated, &c.

The Florentines, however, are as rebellious as ever, and the Emperor is determined to punish them.

* See his despatch of the 25th, No 194, p. 303. Guillerffort must be Sir Henry Guildford.

† "La Princesse est a Vinesor, et est ung de grant regretz que la Royne ait de non pouvoir tenir la dite princesse aupres d'elle; mays ce point la ne s'est peu gaigné; de ses afferes l'on n'en sonne mot."

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The letter concerning Mos. de Trento* was duly placed in the Emperor's hands, who said that this was not the time to entertain matters of that kind.

The letters for the Pope and cardinals which His Highness announces in his last of the 24th ult° have not yet come to hand.—Bologna, 10th November 1529, first quarter of the night.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

12 Nov. **213.** ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 179.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 263.

Has reported on the affairs of Naples up to the present time by a gentleman of his household named Rua. Has only to add that in spite of the worries of his charge, and frequent mutinies of the men under his orders, he (Alarcon) has so pressed upon Renzo de Chere (Renzo da Ceri), that the latter has at last sued for peace. Notwithstanding the help and assistance of the country people, who never ceased supplying him with provisions, though all those caught in the act were immediately hung upon the nearest tree, Renzo actually offers to capitulate, and has sent him (Alarcon) an officer of his army asking for a copy of the order which Briones (Philippe Chabot, sieur de Bryon), the Admiral of France, brought for the delivery of the fortresses. This he would have done long ago had it not been that the Venetians supplied him with grain from time to time, in consequence of the Imperial fleet not having yet made its appearance on this coast. Cardinal Colonna is of the same opinion, and says that had the Imperial galleys come to Naples the war would have been over already.

Firmly believes that His Imperial Majesty has been greatly deceived respecting the state of Italy in general. The intrigues of these people, and the number of men the Emperor has to feed (*tiene a cuestas*), admit of no delay. The Italians in general wish to give themselves up to the Emperor, some to enjoy what they have already gained in the last contest, others to negociate with greater ease and see what they can get. Begs, therefore, to call attention to the said object, which, after all, is the only sure one, because all others will not be taken into consideration by people like these, naturally ungrateful, and having no faith or law or charity Should the French Admiral, Briones (Mr. de Bryon), have arrived in Italy, as is generally reported, let him at once send an order to Renzo to surrender the fortresses he still holds, for fear there should be some intrigue in the field, for they are generally strong and well situated. Putting aside Trani, Monopoli, and Pulignano, which the Venetians still hold, and will only surrender under agreement, those castles and towns which France conquered and Renzo still holds in her name are very important, and ought to be surrendered at once.

* The bishop so frequently mentioned in these despatches, whose name was Bernardo Clesi. He was created cardinal in 1530.

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For it must be said that the Emperor's army in this kingdom of Naples is very disobedient and undisciplined (*suelta*), and most of its captains would be better by themselves (*solos*) than accompanied (*acompañados*) by their men, and in authority, because the liberties (*soltura y libertad*) which the Marquis del Vasto and Don Fernando de Gonçaga respectively have allowed them to take are so great that it will be impossible to restrain them except in course of time and by new government.—Andria, 12th November 1529.

Signed: "Fernando de Alarcon."

13 Nov. **214.** News from England.

S. E. L. 496, f. 197.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 265.

The Cardinal of England has fallen from the top of Fortune's wheel, has been deprived of one and all of his offices, is himself confined to prison, and his property confiscated. It is said that the property taken from him amounts to 600,000 angelots of gold, without including in that sum 300,000 more that he has spent in building houses and castles. It is likewise reported that he has lent the Vayvod, without the knowledge of the King, his master, 150,000 angelots; which the Vayvod passed over to the Turkish generals, that being the cause of the invasion of Hungary, which he (the Cardinal) thus promoted and helped out of envy and ill-will to the Emperor.*

Indorsed: "Copy of a paragraph of letter written by Herasmo, the merchant, to Juan Piquer, of Antwerp, 13th November."

14 Nov. **215.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 848, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 280.

If the delay in this matter of the General Council is against our wishes it is not in our hands to obviate it, for the Pope declares that he has sent for the governor of Bologna, and expects him daily, that he may go to Your Majesty and confer on the subject. The Pope, moreover, is much concerned about it (*muy entre si*), and holds daily consultations with Cardinal Ancona.†

He (Mai) has found some of the cardinals very discontented and envious at what the Emperor has bestowed on others in the shape of honours and pensions. They consider this an injury done to their honour (*lo toman por punto de honra*), and openly declare that whatever is given to them will be lent at usury (*dar a usura*).

The Pope asked him (Mai) if he knew anything respecting the church of Saragossa. His answer was that His Imperial

* "Que tiene administrado e emprestido al Conde Veyda (*sic*) sin lo saber el Rey de Ingalaterra ciento y cinquenta mil angelotes, el qual veyda los pertó (*sic*) a los capitanes del Turco, e por via de la dicha perta (*sic*) susceytó e monio al Turco a venir a Ungria."

† "Que si la dilacion es el contra de lo que deseamos para el Concilio, se tiene en la mano, por quel Papa dice ha enviado por el gouernador de Bolonia, y que le espera de dia en dia para que venga á V. Md. y que el Papa está muy sobre si y consulta con Ancona."

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Majesty generally made such appointments according to times and circumstances.* The Pope replied: "I think it will be given to Don George of Austria,† though here at Rome many imagine that Cardinal de Medici will be the person appointed."

Indorsed: "Copia de puntos de cartas de Miçer May (*sic*) y del Comendador Mayor."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

17 Nov. **216.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 26.

On Saturday, the 13th inst., at the dinner hour, Mr. de Mingoval arrived with letters from Your Majesty, having read which, and again referred to my instructions, I immediately sent to ask an audience from the King, which was readily granted, for although he was on the point of starting to return to Grinnis (Greenwich), he sent word to say that he would receive us [Mingoval and me] at 2 o'clock, for which hour he would also summon the members of his Privy Council.

Accordingly, we both went to the Palace at the appointed hour, when, after presenting to the King the letter from Your Majesty, and explaining also the commission whereof the said Mr. de Mingoval was the bearer, he (the King) began to repeat and make use of the very same words and arguments employed on a former occasion, when requested by me in Your Majesty's name to send his ambassadors to the conferences of Boulogne (Bologna). He again said to me that his kingdom was so far distant from Hungary that whatever diligence he might use in procuring succour for the emergency it would certainly arrive too late. No prince in Europe (he said) was nearer at hand, or had greater opportunities than Your Majesty, to fight the Turk, besides which there was a rumour afloat that the enemy had already raised the siege [of Vienna]. At any rate, whether the report was true or not, things were in such a state that within a very short time the contest would be decided one way or other, and it was impossible for him (the King) in so short a time efficiently to help Your Imperial Majesty. It was, therefore, no longer a question of applying to him for succour, and he wondered much why Your Imperial Majesty had been so long about it, and had not come sooner [to him]. The Emperor was bound to begin the undertaking as the person most interested in it. He went on saying many things to this purpose, thinking, no doubt, that for want of reply on my part he would remain, as it were, master of the field, that his excuses and arguments would have been accepted, and he himself considered to have given a fair answer to the requisition. Perhaps also he might, if much urged, have answered in the negative. Yet after a long discussion, and a reply to all and each of his arguments, as Mr. de Mingoval cannot fail to inform Your Majesty, the King declared that he was not prepared

* "Y el le respondió que V. Mt. hace estas provisiones con respetos."

† George of Austria, a bastard son of the Emperor Maximilian, about whom see part 1, pp. 323, 912; p. 2, 817.

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then to enter into a discussion of the subject, but would send the whole affair to his Council to deliberate upon and see what could be done.

On my leaving the King's room I met Mr. de Nolphole, (Norfolk) who inquired what news I had of the Turk, and whether it was true that he had raised the siege of Vienna and retreated. Informed him, as I had already told the King, that the intelligence I had received was that the Turk had actually raised the siege of that capital; but that I was afraid the retreat was only apparent, and for the purpose of strengthening himself against the king of Hungary, the more so that he still occupied the whole of that kingdom. I, moreover, exhorted him, in accordance with the sentiments expressed in our former interview, to exert his influence over the King to persuade him to join in so holy an enterprize, giving him to understand that all hopes were centred in him. He again promised to do his best. I then told him that if he allowed it I would call from time to time at his lodgings to remind him of his promise; but he observed that as long as the present Parliament sat he should very seldom be at home in the day, and that it was far preferable that I should send him a message whenever I had anything to communicate. Accordingly on Monday last I sent one of my own secretaries to inquire whether he had anything to say to me on the subject. His answer was that he was so much engaged with business of various kinds that he had had no time to speak to the King, or mention the affair in the Council, and besides, that according to letters received by the ambassador of France, confirming the fact of the retreat, of which I had spoken to him, the affair was no longer so urgent as before. He shewed to my secretary the copy of the letter, and promised to look into the affair this very day, so that I might have an answer on Saturday next. The Duke told him also that in celebration of these good tidings the King had ordered processions and bonfires to be made throughout the kingdom. I wonder whether the King and he (the Duke) intend to pay us out in smoke! However, it will not be for want of solicitations on my part if something substantial is not got out of them for such a holy purpose. I cannot guess what these people will do in future; all I can say is that whatever statements they have hitherto made in reply to my solicitations and arguments savour very strongly of the French school of diplomacy (*l'escole de France*). This I have clearly understood, and is more than notorious; it is evident.

On Monday last the above intelligence about the Turk came to the French ambassador, who, after communicating it to the King and to his court, called at the embassy after dinner, and shewed me the letters he had received. He was in very high spirits, and said that he had been the first, 12 days ago, to announce the arrival of Mr. de Mingoval, and what his commission was, and what answer he had got in France. Of his

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reception at that court, as well as of the magnificent promises made, as he said, by King Francis, the ambassador spoke to me in the highest terms, adding that he was very glad to hear that his master, at least, had declared his wish and intention to join in the undertaking, whilst there was danger to be incurred, for, had it been otherwise, and had he come forward after the retreat of the Turk [from Vienna], no one would have thanked him for his offers. Many other things did this French ambassador say, which the Sieur de Mingoval will faithfully report, since he heard part of the conversation. Upon the whole, the ambassador behaved very courteously indeed; for, having come to me in the afternoon, he remained until it was dark. He told me that he had not yet recovered the "fleur de lis." Madame has often written to say that I must help him in the recovery; but until I receive direct instructions from Your Majesty I do not intend to stir in the affair, the more so that when the ambassador called on me the first time he never mentioned the subject. His brother, Mr. de Langeais (Langeay,) who was the first to come here in demand of the said jewel, will return [to France] in a couple of days, and I fancy that he comes principally for that. If not otherwise instructed, I will, in obedience to Madame's mandate, assist Mr. de Langeais in his application; but will try all I can to gain time for Your Majesty's answer to come. The jewel was cleaned, polished, and mended some days ago.

Madame keeps continually asking me to try and win over the members of this new government to Your Majesty's adherence. I have done, and will do, all I can, though they all know the Italian proverb: "Non si passa la gatta." Your Majesty knows sufficiently well the condition of these people. I believe most of them to be partial to and fond of Your Majesty; but as to declare themselves entirely in our favour, very few will be found to do so from pure affection, and without some hope [of reward], as might be proved from the examples of most who formerly held the reins of government here.

The Cardinal (Wolsey) remains still where he was at the time of his sentence. No change has occurred respecting his person, yet last Saturday a verdict of a similar nature was issued against a priest on whom the Cardinal, in virtue of his legatine powers, had bestowed an ecclesiastical benefice. Neither has the Parliament, now meeting for the purpose of ecclesiastical reform and the reduction of taxes, taken yet any resolution in his case.

The agent of the Duke of Saxony (George), about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, has only come, as far as I can discover, to compliment and visit this king in his master's name, a thing which they do to each other frequently.* He has likewise come for the purpose of procuring certain horses and dogs; but if it be true, as I am informed, that the Duke, in a most affectionate

* See above, p. 305.

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letter to this king, speaks in very honourable terms of the Queen, and exhorts him to lead a conjugal life, it is to be presumed that the agent will not be successful in his mission, and that his master, the Duke, will go without his horses and dogs for the present.

Mr. de Rozymboz* has not arrived yet, at which people here are greatly astonished, and the courtiers deputed to meet and receive him not a little disgusted. The cause of the delay, however, seems to be that Mr. Jehan de Lescaux† has been obliged to go and attend to the recovery of Hesdin.—Londres, 17th of November [1529].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp.

— Nov. **217.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 848, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 281.

Letters lately received from France state that between the king of that country and that of England symptoms begin to shew themselves of no very great friendship.

The Pope is very thoughtful about this matter of the General Council, he is afraid it may turn out the contrary of what His Imperial Majesty thinks and expects. He says that, as far as he can judge from the Emperor's words and antecedents, he trusts in him and has no reason either to suspect France, but that he is terribly afraid of the King of England.‡

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de Miçer Mai para responder de V., XIV. y XVII. de Diciembre de 1529."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

24–28 Nov. **218.** Cardinal Colonna to Sanchez.§

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 142.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 266.

He and the Imperial treasurer had resolved to lay a tax of 200,000 crs. on the kingdom, but Naples is so exhausted and poor, owing to the excesses of the Imperial soldiers, that most people feed only on roots and herbs (*no comen mas que yervas*). Has decided to postpone the measure until after the harvest—Naples, 24th and 28th November 1529.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

28 Nov. **219.** Paragraphs of letters of Miçer Mai to be answered.

S. E. L. 848, f. 20.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 267.

Reports about the proposed General Council and the objections raised against it, and relates what passed between the Pope and Cardinal Santa Croce, the former having openly

* Pierre de Rosymboz, first "maistre d'hotel" and Minister of Finances in the Low Countries.

† Thus written in the original; his name was Jehan de Le Sauch.

‡ On the margin of this paragraph is a note, probably in the hand of Cobos, thus worded: "To thank His Holiness for what has already been done in the matter, and beg him to continue until the advocation of the suit to Rome be fairly accomplished."

§ Gabriel? the brother ofAlonso Sanchez, formerly ambassador in Venice.

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declared that if a Council was to be assembled he would take to the mountain (*se irá por los montes*), and leave those who remain behind to do what they can for themselves. Indeed, most people here say that although it has been resolved to convoke a General Council, yet they hope in the meantime that something may happen to prevent it,* and that the Capuan (Niccolo Schomberg) will go to the Imperial Court to represent the grievous inconveniences likely to arise from such a measure.

Money is wanting to pay the men. Very little hope is entertained about Naples contributing, notwithstanding the pressing orders and instructions sent to Muxetula thereupon. The Pope does not object to the Imperial army, after their quitting the territory of Siena, quartering in the Romagna for a few days.

The letter of the Cardinal of Magunzia (Maintz) was duly delivered to the Pope, who said he would do all he could in the affair, and in the meantime recommend it to the proctor (*procurador*) that he may help on the election.

Fabricio Marramao has disbanded his men as ordered.

Has seen a memorial of the Archbishop of Siena to the Emperor, wherein he speaks at random, and with little regard for truth, of late events in that city; certainly he (Mai) never said or did anything in the affair without communicating first with Don Fernando Gonzaga and Lope de Sorya (*sic*).

Julia Colonna has left the house of the wife of Salviati, under whose guard she was temporarily placed by the Pope, and is now keeping house by herself.† The Pope wishes for a speedy and favourable resolution in the affair of Luigo Gonzaga.

Marquis of Mantua and his marriage.

The King of France is sending 100,000 crs. to Switzerland to raise troops. The Italians at that king's court are very much disgusted, owing to a ban ordering them to quit the country immediately under pain of lashes. All the property restored to the heirs of Bourbon has been again taken from them.

The Bishop of Faença, whom the Pope sent to France as nuncio, has returned therefrom, saying that, according to some Frenchmen, he (the King) will do his best to get the duchy of Milan for himself with the Emperor's consent and leave; others think that he intends taking possession of it any how, and that he also wants to become lord of Genoa.

Miçer Scaramuza (Scaramucci), who had effected his reconciliation with the Duke Francesco, has suddenly started for France, annoucing that there will be soon great changes there.

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* This paper, which is apostilled in the margin by Eraso, one of the Emperor's secretaries, contains also the summary of answers to be made to each paragraph.

† "La Colonna, la qual ya es salida de casa de su muger de Salviati, y está en casa por sy."

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The Duke of Albany asks for an answer to the memorandum he presented on the best means of carrying on war against the Turk.

A certain Frangapani, who has been in France and in Turkey, wandering from place to place, and is presumed to be the soul of many an intrigue [against the Emperor], has lately gone to the Vayvod.*

The Pope has promised to proceed in the suit of the Queen of England without admitting of any further delay, though he says the king of that country is highly displeased at it and assumes a threatening attitude.†

King Henry has prorogued Parliament for no other purpose, as the Pope is informed by letters from England, than that of keeping the affair of the divorce in suspense, and intimidating the Queen. Among those who have counselled this measure to the King is one named Gabrielo, formerly a Jew, whom the King has sent for, promising anything he may wish, [if he will go to England]. Thinking that it would be advantageous for the Emperor's interest to prevent this man from going thither, special messengers have been dispatched to Escalenga‡ and to Antonio de Leyva, as well as to Andrea del Burgo at Trent, and likewise to Venice to the Imperial ambassador to have him detained.§

Has lately received from Spain fresh papers and documents with which to prosecute the defence of the Queen. Expects every hour the arrival of Dr. Ortiz.‖

Spanish. Contemporary writing. pp. 6.

28 Nov. **220.** Martin de Salinas to the Emperor.

M. Re Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 223.

His Highness' letter dated Grain (?), the 12th inst., came duly to hand on the 23rd, at a time when the Emperor was very anxious to hear the news of those parts. He (the Emperor) was pleased to learn that the mutiny of the troops had been put down. Besides sending bills of exchange for 55,000 ducats, the Emperor has written to the Pope a touching letter, expatiating at length on the imminent danger in which the whole of Christendom actually is. The Pope immediately appointed six of his cardinals to look into the whole affair, and see where and whence money could be procured. The cardinals have found the means of obtaining 40,000 ducats, which, the Pope sends word, will be ready in less than one

* Let this be shown to Mons. de Granvelle. *Marginal note.*

† "Siga," or let it go on.

‡ Scalenga, an Albanian captain in the Emperor's service who was taken prisoner in 1527. See part 2, pp. 59, 72. He was at this time governor of Asti.

§ Well done. *Marginal note.*

‖ Dr. Ortiz has taken his departure with all the deeds and papers that could be procured. *Marginal note.*

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month. No more help in money can be promised, for though it be true, as His Highness remarks, that the Emperor has lately received [from Spain] 100,000 ducats, they were all spent long before the remittances came.

The negociations with the Duke Francesco and the Venetians progress, though very slowly. Florentines still persist in their rebellion. Until matters are brought to a close and the Emperor has gone first to Rome for his coronation, and afterwards to Naples—which kingdom also requires his presence—there is no hope of His Imperial Majesty being able to attend personally to the affairs of Germany. All this will take some time. Meanwhile, the term at which the king of France has promised to pay his ransom will come, and there will be then plenty of means at the Emperor's disposal to drive off the Turk.

Of the negociations with the Venetians His Highness has no doubt been informed by Andrea del Burgo, to whom the Emperor's instructions to his own ambassador with the Signory have likewise been read, that he may act in concert with him.

Respecting the Duke Frederic, His Highness' commands have been punctually fulfilled. The Emperor was fully informed of his eminent services, and agreed that they ought to be rewarded somehow.

Delivered His Highness' message as he was ordered. Told the Emperor that on three different occasions artillery from the arsenal (*armamentario*) of Trent had been sent to the duchy of Milan, and that if any of it was no longer wanted His Highness would be glad to have it back.

Spoke to him about the investiture of Milan, which His Highness wishes for himself. The Emperor said such was his wish, only that circumstances and his desire of peace might perhaps prevent it. Should the Duke [Francesco Sforza] comply with the terms proposed, he (the Emperor) would be obliged again to give him the investiture, though in reality his treason and misdeeds have made him unworthy of it. Hearing this, he (Salinas) and Don Pedro de Corboba suggested that since the Emperor was to keep the principal fortresses in the Duchy as a security for the Duke's debt to the Emperor, it was almost certain that within a certain period of time the duke Francesco would shirk the payment or do something through which he would again forfeit his estate, when the Emperor might transfer it to His Highness. To this proposition His Majesty assented, adding that, even in the event of the estate being restored to him, everything shall be tried to invest him only for life, so that His Highness may not lose all hopes of becoming duke of Milan.—Bologna, 28th November 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

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— Dec. **221.** The Emperor's Instructions to Luis Sarmiento.*

S. E. L. 17, f. 18. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 292.

Is to inform the Empress and the President [of the Council] of all that has passed [here].

To bring back with him the greatest sum of money that can be raised in Castille.

Spanish. Original draft.

6 Dec. **222.** King Henry to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 22, No. 62.

Has made a full answer to the mission brought by the Sieur de Myngaval (*sic*), one of the Emperor's chamberlains. —A nostre manoir de Westmonstier, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

6 Dec. **223.** The Same to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 22, No. 63.

The Emperor's letters presented by the Sieur de Rosymboz by Chappuis, his Master of Requests, and by Mr. Jehan de la Sauche,† his secretary, have been duly received. Has fully understood the object of their mission, which is the ratification of the treaty of Cambray.—Westmonstier, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

French. Original. p. 1.

6 Dec. **224.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 28.

I should have thought, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my last despatch, that Mons. de Mingoval could not have been detained much longer here considering the alacrity with which, soon after his arrival, he and I were received, and the promise then made to us that our business should be immediately attended to. Yet up to this day nothing has been done, the King and the Duke excusing themselves with want of time, and pressure of other business, as if they wished to make us accept the meagre and unsatisfactory conference then held as a definitive answer to our representations. Notwithstanding all their excuses, I cannot help thinking there must be some other cause for the delay, and that most likely they have kept the said Sieur de Mingoval so long waiting for no other purpose than for him to witness the solemn ceremony of taking the oath on St. Andrew's Day, or

* The bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo (Don Gonzalo de Maldonado) was sent about this time on a mission to Spain, together with Sarmiento. The original draft of their instructions is without date, and is preserved at Simancas among papers of December 1529, at which time the Emperor was still at Bologna, where he stayed until the 22nd of March. Two captains of the latter family, one of the noblest in Galicia, served about this time in Italy; one *Diego* Sarmiento "captain *de' Bisogni*," or raw levies, as the Italian writers style them, who in 1530 took Empoli from Vitello and the Florentines; another, *Francisco*, who in 1536 commanded the Spanish infantry in Florence.

† Thus written *la Sauche*, though he generally signs his name Le Sauch.

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perhaps because they are expecting news from abroad. However this may be, it seems altogether a very mysterious affair, for if they had made up their mind as they said, as to the answer they were about to make in writing, why not have had it drawn up at once, and forwarded to Mingoval to take home? I have not yet been able to discover the cause of such unaccountable delay, but have no doubt that ere long something will transpire to clear up the mystery. At first I confess I was not at all sorry for it, and would willingly have waited a score of days in the hope of being able in the meantime to give information to those who take an interest in this affair,* and also wait for Mr. de Rosymboz, whose arrival with fresh instructions would most likely help to the better issue of the business in contemplation. The answer, however unsatisfactory, has come at last, and Mr. de Mingoval is to be the bearer of it. The King persists in his first resolution, still using the very same arguments, but adding occasionally new ones in support of his reasoning. But as Mr. de Mingoval will shortly take his departure, and cannot fail verbally to acquaint Your Majesty with all incidents and circumstances of this negociation, I shall limit myself to a short account of the transaction.

The very same day of Mr. de Mingoval's arrival the King's excuse at the audience was, as I have already informed Your Majesty, that he could not possibly grant the help required owing to the great distance of the countries invaded by the Turk, and besides, that affairs in Hungary, had come to such a pass, and the two armies were so close to each other that without fail the contest would be over, and the thing decided one way or the other long before any succour could be sent from other countries, and especially from England, which was far away from the seat of war. That was, he added, supposing the Turk had not raised the siege [of Vienna], for if he had, as reported, there was no longer occasion for help except it were for a formal undertaking against the Turk, to follow him up to his very dominions. This last, he said, was principally Your Majesty's concern, as the greatest prince in Christendom, an emperor, who had always his forces ready at hand, and in sight of the enemy; which forces, he observed, had much better be employed against the Turk than against the Christians, and for the defence and preservation of your own patrimonial dominions and those of your brother (Ferdinand). In this line of conduct there was both profit and honour to be gained, and therefore Your Majesty, he said, ought to lead the way. As to him, he was a small king in the corner [of Europe], far away from the rest of the Christian princes, and almost powerless to help in such enterprizes, for even if he did assist on this occasion to the utmost of his ability, the Emperor would find that without the concurrence

* "Tant pour informer ceux qu' estoyt necessayre." It is to be supposed that by *ceux* the king of Hungary and his ministers are meant, as the business alluded to is the enterprize and aid against the Turk.

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of some other Christian princes his succour would be of little or no avail. Besides, on no account would he be the first in an undertaking of this sort; though when other princes joined he would certainly not be the last. But if the Turk, as he understood, had raised the siege of Vienna, and retreated to his own dominions, the affair was not one to be treated individually and with such haste, but rather to be decided after mature deliberation, and with the common consent of all the Christian princes, so as to plan and concert a good undertaking against that Infidel. His brother, the king of France, had opened the way by his grand and magnificent offer of 50,000 infantry and a good number of men-at-arms, whom he proposed to lead in person, provided a decent sum should be deducted from the amount he is bound to pay by the treaty of Cambray, which offer, after all, observed the King, is not an offer to be disdained, and yet I know not that the Emperor has accepted it.

To these arguments I replied that his excuses were inadmissible. First of all, the distance could nowise be an objection since the succour asked from him was not in men but in money. He himself had told me upon a previous occasion that Germany was the country which could at all times furnish a greater number of men strong in frame, dexterous, and well trained to arms, and so it was; Your Majesty, therefore, did not want that sort of help. What he wanted was money, and that could be procured immediately by sound bills of exchange drawn upon bankers and merchants on the Continent. For that he (the King) had not far to go, since plenty of merchants would be found in this city of London willing to advance him any sums, however considerable. As to his excuse, that he had no money at his disposal, that was a sort of thing which I could not be brought to believe; he had always been considered the richest prince in Christendom, and it would be rather difficult to persuade people that he was not. Even supposing he had no money at present he had means at hand to raise any sum, however considerable, especially for such a holy undertaking as the Turkish war, were it only on the property of the ecclesiastics in his dominions, whom, as I perceived, he was treating with more than Papal authority. To say that Your Majesty ought to begin first and lead the way, as the Prince most interested in the affair, must certainly be granted, and that has been done in every way. His Majesty, the Emperor, I said, has already sent succour of every sort in men and money, so as to enable his brother, the king of Hungary, to resist the Turk. He himself would have gone much sooner to his assistance had it not been for the very many troubles and disturbances raised against him on all sides, as he (the King) was well aware. Indeed, the principal cause of Your Majesty's journey to Italy had been your wish to fight the enemy of the Faith, and pacify Christendom. No better or shorter road could have been taken to go to

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Germany and fight the Turk unless they wanted Your Majesty to fly through the air. The enterprize, such as it was, could not be achieved without landing in Italy first, and quelling its dissensions, for it would have been a very imprudent act to attack an enemy outside the house leaving another no less formidable at home.

As to his alleging that he was not to be the first and that others might and ought to begin, I had already stated that it was no valid excuse, for Your Majesty had in fact begun by sending men and money to his brother, and preparing to march against the Turk in person. The king of France had perhaps a more plausible excuse than himself for not contributing towards the expenses of the war, for after all, what with the losses he had sustained, and the sums he was bound to pay for the ransom of his sons, he could not be expected to have much money at his command. Even supposing that the Turk had retreated to his own dominions—of which I had no certain intelligence—that certainly ought to be no excuse for delaying his co-operation in the enterprize, for there was a strong presumption that, being master, as he was, of almost the whole of Hungary, the Infidel would not have raised the siege [of Vienna], or otherwise removed his camp, except to get fresh supplies of men, provisions, and all kinds of ammunition, with which to return again and make a fresh attack upon Christian territory. That being the case Your Majesty's brother might with some good assistance in money follow up his success, and surprise the enemy in their discomfiture, which after all is no small one, considering the losses they have sustained, their shameful retreat, their insolence, cruelty, and the ravages they have committed in the country, and which has rendered their very name hateful. So favourable are the present circumstances (I added) for taking the offensive against the Turk that one ducat now would be of more service than 100 at other times. He (the King) ought to consider that the force now collected in Germany, as reported, was very considerable; no larger one had been got together for the last 300 years. If dissolved for want of pay it would be rather difficult to persuade the men to serve again; the opportunity would pass away without any profit to Christendom, and when again wanted for a similar purpose the Germans might refuse to take up arms. The loss of such an opportunity as the present might, indeed, have the worst consequences for Christianity, and be in future a source of deep regret. True, time and mature deliberation were needed for an undertaking of this sort. Such was, I added, Your Majesty's private opinion, and as a proof you had sent me to request that the English ambassadors should proceed to Boulogne as soon as possible, there to discuss the matter and deliberate as to the best means of carrying the projected enterprize into effect. But great care should be taken by both princes lest, whilst discussing the plan of the future campaign

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the Turk should finally retreat into his own dominions, and become almost invulnerable, just as did the Romans, who, whilst deliberating about the relief of Saguntum, allowed that city to be taken [by the Carthaginians].

With regard to the offers made by the king of France that was not a thing of the moment, for his assistance, if required and accepted, could not be got ready in so short a time as wanted under present circumstances. Besides, if it were allowable for a lawyer, like myself,* to express an opinion on military matters, I should venture to say that, even in case of France allowing her king to take a personal share in this Turkish war—which is more than improbable—it seemed to me highly inconvenient and dangerous that there should be more than one general in command of the forces, for apart from Roman history, in which several cases occurred of battles being lost either through the dissensions of the two consuls in command of their armies, or because one of them, too ambitious for glory, chose to attack the enemy with his own forces without the co-operation of his colleague, I might quote several cases in modern times, as for instance that of king Wladislas of Hungary,† who was principally defeated, and lost his life [at Mohatz], owing to there being in his camp several captains commanding troops of various nations, and princes, each of whom wished to carry off victory by himself, thereby causing the ruin of all. As to the offer itself, I refrained from making any observations; he (the King) might consider whether it was acceptable or not.

The King could not help admitting that I was right in supposing that France would not easily consent to her king going personally upon such an expedition; and then, returning to his own allegations and excuses, said: "Bills of exchange cannot be procured and made out as soon as you imagine, and I myself have not the means. If the expenses incurred in the last war were to be a sufficient excuse for others not to contribute now towards the Turkish expedition, I ought certainly to be left scot free like other princes, for I have spent a good deal of money as did the rest besides the sums I have lent right and left. As to the ecclesiastics of my kingdom, I really believe that they will not consent to devote any portion of their property to that purpose."

In short, after a good deal of discussion on these points, the King summed up the above arguments and said: "I cannot well look to everything; I will communicate with my Council, and you shall have soon a definitive answer in writing." Upon which, after earnestly requesting him to attend to this business as the emergency of the case required, and his own royal dignity and reputation demanded, Mr. de Mingoval and I

* Literally a man of letters (*homme de lettres*), in Spanish "letrado," which at this time and long afterwards was the common appellation given to scholars bred at universities.

† The loss of the battle, where King Wladislas fell, is generally attributed to an imprudent attack made by one of his generals, a bishop in command of one of the wings.

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took leave of him, and prepared to leave the room. Then the King took my colleague apart, asked him whether he had anything more to say, and gave him all manner of messages and commendations for Your Majesty, which he himself will transmit verbally.

Whilst the King was thus conversing with the said Mr. de Mingoval, I approached the Duke of Norpholc, who was close by in the room, and who, as I have already informed Your Majesty, told me distinctly on a previous occasion that he was disposed to help us in this matter of the Turk. I reminded him of his promise. We then left the room.

The above conference took place on a Saturday. Next day the King dined with the Queen, and whilst at table alluded to the affair, saying: that if the Christian princes agreed to support this undertaking against the Turk, he (the King) would do wonders. But as to Your Majesty's application for assistance [in money], that was quite a different affair, as he considered it a foolish and highly improper thing (*simplesse et messeance*) for king Henry of England to remit money to Your Majesty and help him to keep no less than three armies in Italy, which, in his opinion, ought to be elsewhere. On the ensuing Saturday, the 20th ult°, at the hour of evening, Mr. de Rosymboz and Mr. Jehan de le Sauch* arrived, and were received as Your Majesty will hear from Mr. de Mingoval. They were summoned to Court on the eve of Saint Katharine's Day, that is to say, on the 23rd. After the customary commendations and compliments by Mr. de Rosymboz, and exhibition of credentials and letters by his colleague, Mr. Jehan [le Sauch], I addressed the King, and said that we begged to be excused for the ratification of the treaty [of Cambray] not having come [to England] sooner. One of the causes for the delay had been that it was not known [in Flanders] whether he felt disposed to sign it first, or wait until his ambassadors had reached Boulogne, so that the oath there and here might be taken at the same time. Also that Mr. Jehan de le Sauch had been occupied in the restitution by France of the town of Esdin (Hesdin). The King might easily see by the date of the ratification and that of the instructions that it had not been in Your Majesty's power to forward it sooner. There was no doubt (I added) that Your Majesty had always held his friendship and alliance, so long continued from father to son, in greater esteem than that of any other prince in the world, and the proof was that Your Majesty had been exceedingly pleased at the reconciliation or making up of matters, if I might so call it, which had lately taken place; for, although there might have been causes for mutual disagreement the affection of the heart was never alienated†, at least on Your Majesty's

* Written La Saux as in other despatches.

† "Tant plus avoit este joyeuse de ceste nouvelle reconciliation et racointement, si ainsy se peust appeller, veheu que les ceurs ne furent alienés de descointes, quelque facons de fere qu'il y aye eu ne quelque semblant, que ne penetra jamays jusques a' l'estomach, au moins du cousté de vostre Majesté."

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side, who had the same opinion respecting him. He, therefore, might feel sure that his ratification had been the first ordered to be got ready and drawn out for Your Majesty's inspection, and that had his ambassadors been present at Court Your Majesty would, without any further delay or waiting for the oath of the French king, principally concerned in the treaty, taken at once his solemn oath to observe the stipulations of the treaty. To this I added many other complimentary and flattering words, which I have no doubt Mr. de Mingoval, who assisted at the conference, will report when in Your Imperial presence.

After this, in pursuance of Madame's orders and according to the instructions lately brought by Mr. de Rosymboz and Le Sauch, and in which I was also included, I proceeded to inform the King that an agreement had been made at Cambray between the two ladies (Louise de Savoie and Margaret of Austria) independently, and, as it were, outside of the treaty, that in order to correct certain abuses in the shipping and barter of merchandize, it was desirable that he (the King) should send commissioners to Bruges, or some other city in Flanders, and that Madame should also send hers, that they might conjointly correct the abuses lately introduced, and do away with all causes of discontent which might hereafter give rise to dissension and misunderstanding between the two countries.

Having said this much, I again alluded to the Turkish affair, about which Mr. de Mingoval, who was also present, and we three hoped to get a less unsatisfactory answer than that given at former conferences. We were all mistaken, for having told him that the news about the retreat of the Turk were contradictory, and most likely invented by parties who wished to lull the Christian princes, so that they might not take offence, I shewed him an abstract of the letter which the king of Hungary had written in his own hand to Madame about it. I then begged his pardon for not having communicated the information in the first instance, and when the subject was noted at the first conference. It was no fault of mine or of Madame, who was always ready to impart any news that might interest him and the rest of the Christian princes: it was not from any diplomatic cause or because Your Majesty or Madame wished to conceal anything from him. The abstract came within a letter addressed to Mr. de Rosymboz, which arrived many days before that ambassador made his appearance in London, and which, of course, I dared not open and read until he came.

Upon which the King took the paper into his hand, perused it, and began in the most pleasing and agreeable tone of voice to discourse on the great satisfaction and pleasure this peace had caused him, which, he observed, was very advantageous for the whole of Christendom, and particularly for Your Majesty, and for him on account of the old friendship and the inter-

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course of trade between their respective dominions. With respect to the ratification of the treaty, he was ready to sign and swear to it at once in due form. Had I come to him sooner he would have signed immediately, for as soon as he heard of the ratification being already in Flanders he offered to take the oath, and do his duty in that respect without waiting for his ambassadors to reach the Imperial court. Respecting my assertion that Your Majesty never could imagine the slight differences which had once existed between them to have had their origin in hatred and ill-will, I had stated (he said) the plain truth. Had he been actuated by such motives he might have acted differently than he had done, as Your Majesty was no doubt aware. As to the Turk and the assistance demanded from him, he could only say that he wished his kingdom was so placed that he could employ all his forces against him, or lead his own army, in person, which was of all things that which he had most desired from his infancy. With regard to the money which Your Majesty had asked him to furnish, he could only say that he had consulted his Privy Council, and his Parliament also, and had found that he could not possibly grant it for three reasons. The first was that it might very well happen that the said monies, if furnished, would be turned to another use, and instead of being spent in war with the Turk would be employed to feed or promote discussion among Christian princes. The second was that both he (the King) and his Privy Council and Parliament also thought it very strange that an application for help should be made to him and other Christian princes at a time and in a matter which concerned principally, if not exclusively, your own brother the king of Hungary, and your patrimonial estates. Your Majesty, he added, was the head of Christendom, the most powerful prince [in Europe], he who has most means at his command to furnish such aid, and yet up to the present no signs had been given that it was your intention to afford any such assistance and help, which, in his opinion, would have been far more profitable and honest a course to pursue than to continue waging war on Christians, as Your Majesty was still doing. The third, and last, was that so much money had lately gone out of his kingdom in various ways that there was none left now to apply to the said purpose, as his Parliament had lately represented to him; besides which, the clergy of his dominions had already contributed on many occasions with large sums, in the shape of annats, to be spent as it was said in the Turkish war, and therefore it was for the Pope, who had received the money, to refund it, and get ready the assistance now required.

My reply, after using some expressions of reciprocal courtesy concerning this last peace, was that I was sorry to see by his answer that he had completely misunderstood me, or rather that I had not expressed myself clearly enough. I never meant that the money applied for was to be sent directly to

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Your Majesty, as I saw by his answer that he understood, but to Hungary, not elsewhere. As to his fear that it might be used against Christians, none could be entertained on that account as long as your army remained in those distant quarters; besides which, such misappropriation of his funds, as he seemed to fear, might easily have been avoided by deputing accountants and other fit persons to deliver the said money, and see that it was spent according to his own wishes and intentions. To his observation, that Your Majesty, notwithstanding his protestations, had not yet given any signs of his readiness to assist your brother of Hungary, I could not help replying with what I had said before. Your Majesty had hitherto done all you could for the pacification of Italy, without which, as the king of France had lately observed to Mr. de Mingoval there present, it was impossible for Your Majesty to go to your brother's assistance, as you fully intended, for were you to do so and leave an enemy behind you greater risk might be run than was generally thought. That this last consideration, and perhaps also the hope that at the conferences of Boulogne something might be done in favour of the enterprize, had influenced Your Majesty to stay in Italy longer than was at first anticipated; otherwise you would be already in the heart of Germany, whither Mr. de Mingoval had been directed to return with the answer. In short, that though Your Majesty had not yet been able to go thither in person at the head of your armies, the help in money had not been wanting, for since my departure from Spain no less than 400,000 or perhaps 500,000 ducats had been remitted; which assertion could be easily proved by the fact that the King, your brother, would never have been able with the sole revenues of his kingdom, which were by no means considerable, and without your aid, to support the expenses of this war. As to the annats, or first fruits, it was a well known fact that they were first instituted to defray the expenses of expeditions against the Infidel. To ask the Pope to refund the money received for such a purpose would be unjust and unreasonable, for he might allege that he had spent it all at the instigation of the confederates in the last Holy League, which would be a sufficient excuse for him, and an accusation against those who made part of the said League, and also against him (the King) who, though not named in the treaty, virtually belonged to it. In future some provision might be made to prevent the funds so collected from being spent otherwise than in war against the Infidel, but at present the urgency was such that no appeal to the Annats' Chamber would be of any use.

Hearing this the King seemed inclined to reply and sum up his argument, but perceiving, no doubt, that reason was entirely on my side, whilst he only had on his unwillingness to grant our demand, he concluded by saying that he would soon give a full answer in writing for Mr. de Mingoval to take to Your Majesty.

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With regard to the intercourse of trade, the inspection of the documents relating to the ratification, and other like matters in hand, the King referred us to his Chancellor (Thomas More) and to the Bishop of London (Tunstall), who, he said, would attend to our business. Accordingly on the following day, which was St. Katharine's, Mr. Jehan de le Sauch called at the Chancellor's lodgings, and met there the Bishop of London and a doctor, who was one of the King's secretaries. After a minute inspection of the papers, some objection was raised as to the form of the ratification, which, however, we were told would be no impediment to the King's signing and taking his oath on the following Sunday, provided we pro mised to produce afterwards the ratification deed under a different form. As the alterations which they wish to introduce affect more the form than the substance of the ratification we have consented, and written to Mr. de Granvelle to acquaint him with the fact.

With regard to the intercourse of trade, the Chancellor and his two assistants, the bishop and the secretary, told us that in their opinion there was no necessity to make any change, for traffic had been carried on according to certain provisional rules of very long standing, and if the said rules had been observed for many years past, and had worked practically well--notwithstanding that the princes themselves had not always been on the best terms—it was natural to suppose that, union and friendship being re-established between them, no dangerous innovation or abuse would be introduced that could not be immediately removed, and no wrong done to private individuals that could not be repaired on either side by application to a court of Law without the trouble of establishing fresh rules or making a new commercial treaty, now that a good and solid peace had been concluded, and every pains been taken to put facts in their true light. Were a new treaty to be made (they observed), people might murmur and say that the friendship between Your Majesty and the King, their master, could not be very firmly established—as befits relations and allies—if it required to be strengthened by new commercial treaties. Our answer was that neither Your Majesty nor Madame intended to express any doubts about their friendship or their willingness to keep to the letter of the treaty of Cambray ; what they had done and said hitherto had no other object than the confirmation and maintenance of that friendship and alliance so as to ascertain and define the rules by which the subjects of the two nations were to live on friendly terms with each other, and carry on their mutual trade in future. For, on this matter of trade, we observed, there had been, and were still, many complaints made by Flemish and Spanish merchants, which if not attended to opportunely might have serious consequences, principally in times of peace. Formerly, and whilst the neutrality to which they had alluded lasted, it was natural that traders of both nations should be

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content with the existing regulations, from fear of breaking through that same neutrality; now that peace was made there was no such fear, and all looked to their private interests.

A few more things did I say to those gentlemen on the subject of the intercourse of trade and the necessity there was of its being at once established on an equal footing, but perceiving that my arguments made no impression upon them I did no longer insist, considering that enough had been done in letting them know what were Your Majesty's and Madame's wishes on that particular point. Besides, I thought at the time, and I think still, that it will be far more advantageous for Your Majesty to have this negociation postponed than commence it now, for out of consideration for the present peace it might be thought necessary to make them certain concessions, and perhaps also increase instead of curtailing the privileges of their merchants. On this account I deemed it best to leave matters as they stood, and therefore no resolution was taken one way or the other.

Sunday the 28th of October, having previously been summoned and conducted to Greenwich, as Your Majesty will hear from Mr. de Mingoval, all of us witnessed the solemn ratification of the treaty by the King, who swore faithfully to observe it, as is customary in such cases. The papers and documents relating to the whole transaction go by this post. The ceremony over, the King, who had hitherto been rather thoughtful, and by no means gay, changed countenance all of a sudden and seemed in much better spirits than I had ever seen him. Everyone present remarked it, and certainly one could see by his countenance beaming with satisfaction and joy, that he was content with himself, as if he had done a good day's work. He then came towards us and said he was marvellously glad at what had just taken place, and that it was desirable in the interests of both royal families, Your Majesty's and his, thus to ensure the tranquillity and welfare of your respective dominions, whose commercial intercourse was not only necessary but mutually indispensable, and that he hoped that since the principal part of the work was done, the remainder, if anything still remained unsettled, would be soon arranged to the common satisfaction of the parties concerned. As to himself, he would spare no trouble or fatigue to make things go straight, and if possible improve (*aller de bien en mieux*). Our answer was that he might be sure that Your Majesty's satisfaction and joy would be equally great, and that whatever efforts should be made on his side for the preservation of peace would not, and could not, surpass those of Your Majesty, for in such matters you recognized no superior, having always cherished more than any other prince in the World the benefits of peace, as he must have found by experience, and will no doubt find again hereafter. After which the King began to excuse himself for his past behaviour towards Your Majesty, meaning no doubt the defiance and challenge

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made by his herald at Burgos, adding that he had been so pressed and circumvented that he had had no escape left, but that now not even sheer force should compel him to act as he had done.

The dinner at the King's table, to which we together with the French ambassador and Papal Nuncio, were invited, was a splendid one, as Mr. de Mingoval will inform Your Majesty. The King was very familiar and jovial with all of us, and never ceased, except when the music of several instruments sounded, to address us on all manner of subjects, starting questions to draw us, especially us, the Imperial ambassadors, into conversation. He asked us what news we had received of Your Majesty, and having told him that the latest we had were of the 9th of October, he said he had just received some still fresher, which advised him of Your Majesty's triumphant entry into Bologna, which he said had been one of the most solemn and magnificent that could be imagined, the Pope having received Your Majesty dressed in full pontificals, at the door of the church, accompanied by a host of prelates ; among whom Your Majesty had failed to recognise the Bishop of Tarbes, owing, no doubt, to his not being dressed as an ecclesiastic, but as a civilian. That to describe the solemnities and ceremonies used on the occasion, as well as the numerous and gorgeously attired suite, who attended on Your Majesty, would take him too long, and that whoever attempted it would have enough to do. Our answer was that had his ambassadors been present at the ceremony Your Majesty would on many accounts have considered their attendance of more value than the presence of 2,000 men, with which flattering compliment the King was so much pleased that he retorted: "I am very sorry indeed that my ambassadors were not in time for the ceremony of the coronation. I think, however, that they must be in Bologna by this time, and if not I have no doubt that those I have at Rome have done their duty in this respect and paid their homage to the Emperor."

After this he began to speak about the late king Philip, Your Majesty's father, of whom he said he was never tired of talking,* as he had been singularly attached to him whilst alive. "I have now," he said, "his likeness in one of my rooms called Philip's room after his name, which room I prefer to all the rest in my palace, not only on account of its name, but because the said king was my godfather."

He then asked if we had any news of the Turk, and we told him that we had letters dated Nuremberg, the 11th of November, containing advices similar to those sent by the

* This paragraph, which is rather obscure in sense, and evidently deficient in some of its sentences, stands thus : "En apres vint a parler du Roy don Philippe (que Dieu absoulve), pere de vostre Majesté, du quel et de l'amytié qu'il luy portoit, yl ne se pouvoit souler d'en parler, et qu'il l'avoit dans sa chambre nomme Philippe. Le quel tant pour le nom [qu'il portoit] que pource que'il fust fillieulz du dit seigneur Roy yl anoit (*sic*) singulieremant."

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king of Hungary to Madame and differing considerably from those circulated by the French ambassador. He also inquired whether the day for the delivery of the hostages had been definitively fixed. We answered that it was to take place on the 1st day of March at the latest, and that if it could be possibly accomplished before Your Majesty would be very willing, and do everything towards it as the best course for both parties to follow under all circumstances. Upon which the King observed that he felt a particular interest in one of the French princes, not only on account of his being his godson, but because he had heard much of his precocity and talent. He had been much grieved when he heard of his dangerous illness in Spain, perhaps as much as his own father the king of France was, for this latter had an inestimable consolation in the shape of a third son. The King also spoke about the Pope, the cardinals, and other ecclesiastics, a subject to which he returned after dinner, expressing himself in rather disrespectful terms, as Your Majesty will hear hereafter. The rest of the conversation turned on the music of his chapel, both vocal and instrumental.

The dinner over the King took all of us three, namely, Mr. de Rosymboz, Mr. Jehan [de le Sauch], and myself, to a window of the Hall, and there, his countenance actually beaming with joy, began to say that as regarded the Turkish campaign he did not boast of what he might and would do; he was not one of those who made great promises and spoke very high, and when called upon to fulfil their words fell back; he invariably did more than he promised. He always imagined that Your Majesty would have taken both his crowns at Bologna—which seemed to him the fittest place for that ceremony--but in his opinion it would have been a highly meritorious act had Your Majesty declined so many vain and superfluous ceremonies as were performed on that occasion. Would to God the Pope and his cardinals had been more chary of such magnificence, and less prone to that inordinate ambition, which had been the cause and excuse for so many wars, discords, and heresies! For had they observed to the letter the precepts of the Gospel, and attended to the traditional sayings and exemplary conduct of the old fathers of the Church—several of whom the King mentioned in the course of his argumentation—they would have led a very different life, and not have scandalized by their acts and manners the whole of Christendom. In so far as this matter Luther had only told truth and preached with common applause. Had he limited himself to inveighing against the vices, abuses, and errors of the Clergy, instead of attacking the Sacraments of the Church and other Divine institutions, everyone would have followed him, and written in his favour. He, himself, should have been one, and instead of taking the trouble of refuting his arguments, would willingly have taken pen in hand

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in his defence. Nevertheless, though the said Luther had evidently mixed up a good deal of heresy in his books, that was not a sufficient reason for reproving and rejecting the many truths he had brought to light. As to him and the reformation of the Church in his dominions he hoped to be able, little by little, to introduce reforms, and put an end to scandal. He had already begun to do so, and had no doubt but that ere long he should accomplish his object by imposing law and establishing rules to that effect. He considered that Your Majesty, as the greatest prince in Christendom, was bound to do the same, and to promote the general reformation [of the Church]. True it was (he added) that in his opinion Your Majesty must delay the execution of this project until matters were more settled than they are now.

We thanked the King for his good counsel, and assured him that such was Your Majesty's confidence in him that in any matter, even more important than the present, you would not fail to follow his advice. Again did the King return to the subject of the Clergy, as if he wished to assert that which constitutes his chief ground of complaint against them, and is the cause of his present animadversion, for he exclaimed, addressing all of us at once: "Now, I ask you, how can the Pope grant a dispensation for an ecclesiastic to hold two bishoprics or two curacies at once if he will not allow two women to one man? for here is the point (this he said rather between his teeth): all doctors say that a dispensation in the former case is as necessary as in the other." Our answer was, that reformation was undoubtedly much wanted, and would be the best thing in the world, if accomplished in such a manner as proposed and required [by Your Majesty], and seconded by a prince like him, who to the good qualities with which he was endowed joined considerable learning in Church matters, and of whom it could not be suspected that in so doing he wished to derogate from the authority of that same Church in matters of its jurisdiction, whether of dispensation or of any other sort. He replied, and maintained that the only power which ecclesiastics had over laymen was the absolution from sin, and he went on in this manner speaking against the Pope in terms very similar to those above stated.

After which, Mr. de Rosymboz asked permission to pay his respects to the Queen, which the King willingly granted at once, though the duke of Norpholc (Norfolk) and the rest [of the councillors] made some difficulty. The permission being granted, we all called at the apartments of the Queen, whom we found in great sorrow, so much so that she could hardly suppress her tears in our presence. We told her that, according to Your Majesty's letters, Mr. de le Sauch, there present, had consulted on her case with several of the Parisian doctors, all of whom had given their opinion that it was quite impossible

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to dissolve the marriage, and that neither the king of France himself nor any other prince in the World had the power of making the university give a contrary opinion. This assurance, and the hope and trust which the Queen has in Your Majesty's exertions in her behalf, somewhat relieved her from her anguish, and her conntenance gladdened; but as there were many in the room she dared not say much, nor did we venture to speak to her on the subject. She, however, promised to write or let me know her wishes by private and verbal message.

And so she did, for on the following day she wrote me a letter through her physician [Fernando Victoria], explaining the King's behaviour towards her, which, she says, is still the same, and begging me to report upon it, and particularly to recommend her poor case to Your Majesty, earnestly entreating, now that you are with the Pope, to have her cause determined judicially or otherwise, that the state of tribulation and anguish in which she lives, and which (she says) has lasted far too long, may be put an end to at once, and begging also that for the love of God, and regard for Your Majesty's honour and reputation, no further delay be made in a matter which might give rise to serious inconvenience and danger for the future. Notwithstanding that her letter to Your Majesty—which goes also by this post—is full of the same prayers and commendations she has conjured me to write, as I do, in her favour.

On St. Andrew's Day, the Queen having dined with the King, said to him that she had long been suffering the pains of Purgatory on earth, and that she was very badly treated by his refusing to dine with and visit her in her apartments. The King replied: "That she had no cause to complain of bad treatment, for she was mistress in her own household, where she could do what she pleased. As to his not dining with her for some days past, the reason was that he was so much engaged with business of all kinds, owing to the Cardinal having left the affairs of government in a state of great confusion that he had enough to do to work day and night to put them to rights again. As to his visiting her in her apartments and partaking of her bed, she ought to know that he was not her legitimate husband, as innumerable doctors and canonists, all men of honour and probity, and even his own almoner, Doctor Lee, who had once known her in Spain, were ready to maintain. That many other theologians were of the same opinion, and, moreover, that he was only waiting for the opinion of the Parisian doctors, to obtain which he had lately sent Dr. Stocler (Stokesley), the same about whom I wrote to Your Majesty in my despatch of the 25th ult°. As soon (he added) as he had obtained those opinions, and others well founded upon right and canonic law, he would not fail to have them duly forwarded to Rome, and should not the Pope, in conformity with the above opinions so expressed, declare their marriage null and void, then in that case he (the King)

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would denounce the Pope as a heretic, and marry whom he pleased." The Queen replied that he himself, without the help of doctors, knew perfectly well that the principal cause alleged for the divorce did not really exist, "cart yl l'avoit trouvé pucelle," as he himself had owned upon more than one occasion. "As to your almoner's opinion in this matter," she continued, "I care not a straw; he is not my judge in the present case; it is for the Pope, not for him, to decide. Respecting those of other doctors, whether Parisian or from other universities, you know very well that the principal and best lawyers in England have written in my favour. Indeed, if you give me permission to procure counsel's opinion in this matter I do not hesitate to say that for each doctor or lawyer who might decide in your favour and against me, I shall find 1,000 to declare that the marriage is good and indissoluble."

After a good deal of talking and disputing on these matters the King left the room suddenly, and, as I am told by some of those present, was very disconcerted and downcast, so much so that at supper the Lady Anne noticed it, and said to him reproachfully: "Did I not tell you that whenever you disputed with the Queen she was sure to have the upper hand? I see that some fine morning you will succumb to her reasoning, and that you will cast me off. I have been waiting long, and might in the meanwhile have contracted some advantageous marriage, out of which I might have had issue, which is the greatest consolation in this world; but alas! farewell to my time and youth spent to no purpose at all."

Such, I am told, was Lady Anne's language to the King on the evening of the day that he dined with his Queen, and disputed with her as to the legitimacy of their marriage, but as Your Majesty will no doubt hear all these particulars from Mr. de Mingoval, as well as the influence the Lady exercises, and the credit she has with the King, I shall say no more on this subject, and will leave to that ambassador the care of reporting thereupon.

As Dr. Lee, the royal almoner, has positively told the King that except Your Majesty, no one else in Spain cared a straw whether this marriage was dissolved or not, the Queen wishes me to say that she would be grateful if you would make the Spanish universities write in her defence; also if the Empress [Isabella] could be persuaded to write a warm letter in her favour to this King. She thinks that were Your Majesty to give commission to the Archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) to procure the conclusions of the said Spanish universities, her case might be considerably improved. She has written again to Madame begging her to have the same thing done at Louvain, and wherever else it may be considered expedient, as she thinks that all these measures, and others that she could suggest, are now much wanted to stop the King in his course; for he is so blind and passionate in these matters, that it is much to be feared that one of these days he

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will take steps which may perhaps induce his people and the Commons, on the plea of the various and contradictory opinions obtained in this matter, to consent to the divorce, though if a favourable conclusion has, as Your Majesty writes, been obtained in the Paris University, it is hardly to be presumed that anything of the sort will be attempted.

Yesterday, after dinner, Messieurs de Rosymboz, de Mingoval, and [Jehan] de le Sauch went to take leave; I accompanied them, and saw the King, who made us many flattering speeches, as is his wont; no doubt Mr. de Mingoval will report them. Among other news he communicated to us was this, that he had issued orders for the reform of the Clergy in his kingdom, whose claws he has already clipped to a considerable extent, taking away from them several taxes imposed of their own exclusive authority upon his (the King's) subjects. He was (he said) about to undertake the annats, and prevent ecclesiastics from holding more than one benefice at a time, and he concluded by making us the most splendid offers, saying that there was nothing in his dominions of which Your Majesty and Madame [of the Low Countries] could not dispose at once if you only took the trouble of asking for it. These same offers he afterwards repeated to Mr. de Mingoval in particular, as he himself will no doubt inform Your Majesty.

I forgot to mention the arrival at this court of an envoy from the Pope, whom I met yesterday in the street as he was coming from the King. He said he wanted to see me, and would call in a day or two to communicate affairs of importance. He had not yet been able to do so owing to his many engagements and the important business he had in hand. I do not yet know the exact purpose for which he comes, but this I can say for certain, that whatever his mission may be he has certainly arrived under a bad constellation.

Parliament was yesterday prorogued till after Easter. Its chief occupation has been to legislate against all classes of the Clergy, and also to remit about two millions of money which the King had borrowed. The Bill has actually passed, though it is to be apprehended that some mischief may come of it. The Cardinal, as I informed Your Majesty in my despatch of the 17th ult°, remains where he was. His son, a student at Paris, who enjoyed several ecclesiastic benefices to the amount of more than 15,000 ducats, has also been deprived of all except one of about 1,000, and the remainder has been bestowed on other people.—London, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed; "De l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre, VI° Decembre, par Mingoval."

French. Original. pp. 9.

6 Dec. **225.** KING HENRY to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 62.

Has answered Mingoval's commission in a manner that will shew his desire for the welfare and prosperity of the Christian community at large, as he (the Emperor) will see by the

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report which his ambassador takes back with him.—Escript à nostre manoir de Westmonstier, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

Countersigned: "Tuke."

French. Original. p. 1.

6 Dec. **226.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 63.

His letters of the 29th August brought by the Sieur de Rosymboz, his chamberlain and councillor, by his Maistre des Requêtes Eustace Chappuis (*sic*), and by Secretary Jehan de la Sauche (*sic*), his ambassadors, have come to hand. According to his wishes, the treaty concluded at Cambray between the Archduchess of Austria, duchess and countess of Burgundy, dowager of Savoy, &c., and Madame Louise de Savoie, Queen Mother of France, has been duly ratified.—Escript à nostre manoir de Westmonstier, 6th December 1529.

Signed: "Henry."

Countersigned: "Tuke."

French Original. p. 1.

8 Dec. **227.** DON MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. de Hist., c. 71, f. 224 v°.

His Highness' letters of the 16th ult°, dated from Lintz, have come duly to hand, as well as the copies of those written by the king of France. All have been shewn to the Emperor, and the answer is being prepared for Mons. de Bredan to take back. This present one could not be ready before, owing to Mons. de Laxao (La Chaulx), who went to France for the purpose, not having yet reported on his mission.

The 40,000 ducats which the Pope has offered as help for the Turkish war are daily expected. The bankers by whom they have been accepted engage to pay the money at Lyons, as they say it is more convenient for them to do so. No money can be procured nowadays in Italy at short dates, besides which bills of exchange on Germany are more easily procured in Lyons than here. As soon as the bills are cashed the money shall be sent.

News has come that the Empress Isabella is confined of a daughter.* The Emperor purposes writing about it in five or six days, as soon as the answer to His Highness' last letters is ready.

(*Cipher:*) Spoke again to the Emperor about the ordnance and ammunition. Told him that if his intention really was, as publicly announced, to restore the Duchy to Francesco Sforza, care should be taken that he should not profit by it. The Emperor answered that the ordnance was to remain for the present in the fortresses retained as security. When the

* The Infanta Doña Maria, who became in time the wife of Maximilian II.

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Duke's debts were paid, and the fortresses disengaged, it would be sent back to Trent.

There is no fear of the Emperor changing his determination. As soon as he is completely disengaged he will start for Germany.

(*Common writing:*) Miçer Andrea is laid up with the gout. —Bologna, 8th December 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

9 Dec. **228.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. 29.

On Tuesday morning, the eve of the Conception of Our Lady, Messieurs de Rosymboz and de Mingoval left this place [for Flanders]. Soon after their departure I received a message from the duke of Norfolk, inviting me* to supper at a house not far from my lodgings, where I was to meet other members of the present government, and high functionaries of State. And although I was not very well at the time, I accepted the invitation, firstly, to please and do honour to the company there assembled, and secondly, to complain, together with the French ambassador, of certain wrongs and injuries done to foreign merchants [in England], which it was urgent to redress before the meeting of Parliament, for the Bill once there the measure was irrevocable. As the remedy lay entirely in the Duke's hands, and depended much on his good-will, I would not let the opportunity pass, and consequently, though I did not feel very well, decided to attend the meeting. Went to the Duke's lodgings, and found him playing at the game of "la première"† with his guests. When he saw me enter the room he got up and left the game to come to me, saying that he was ready to attend to my business as he had no doubt I had other affairs to engage me, or perhaps was not in the habit of keeping very late hours. I begged him not to move from the table, but to go on unhesitatingly with the game, saying there was nothing so pressing either in the business I had with him or in my own habits as to make me forget the common rules of courtesy. I would leave it altogether for another occasion, and look on with great pleasure at the game in which he and the company were engaged, and I could also converse with the Papal Nuncio (Casale) there present, as I had to ask him for Italian news; upon which the Nuncio and myself retired to a corner of the room, and began discoursing about Italy. Perceiving, however, that the Nuncio went on telling me things and details of no importance, which I knew already, I stopped him short, and said that my object in taking him apart was not to inquire news of Italy, that was only a pretence; what I

* "Peu après leur deslougiement je fus *convoyé* pour le soer de me trouver en une mayson non loingtaynne de mon lougis pour collationner avec le Duc de Norpholc." Convoyé is no doubt an error for *convyé*, invited.

† The game called *pharaon* by the French and *monte* by the Spaniards, in which that card which comes out first is the winning one.

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wanted was to hear the revelations, which, according to the promise given at St. John's, and of which I informed Your Majesty at the time, he was to make concerning his mission to the King. He answered immediately, and without my pressing him any further: That Your Majesty was the principal cause of his coming over to this country, not only to help on the Turkish enterprize in contemplation, and induce the King to join the same, but to procure, through the Pope's means, a true amity, and close intelligence between Your Majesty and the King. He (the Nuncio) had accepted this confidential mission at the request of his own brother, Sir Gregory [de Casale] who, he said, had always been sincerely attached to the Imperial service. It was he (Sir Gregory) who hearing that Your Majesty, to judge from the overtures made by the Admiral of France (Philippe Chabot), did not attach much faith to the preservation of the peace by the French, had conceived the idea and communicated it to the Pope, who approved of it. In Sir Gregory's opinion there was no better way of persuading the French to abide by the treaty of Cambray, and fulfil every one of its stipulations, and consequently of establishing a good and lasting peace, than to re-establish (*reddresser*) the old league and alliance between England and the Empire, and render it, if possible, still more binding. I asked him whether he had been charged to make express and particular overtures to that purpose. He told me he had not, and that the Cardinal [of York] at that time still High Chancellor of England, had told him to communicate with me without hesitation, as he had no doubt that I would advise and help him in the matter.

Perceiving, however, that he had brought no letters for me, and that the commission he said he had was not sufficiently well grounded, or else that he had not thoroughly understood its meaning; considering also that it was highly improbable that Your Majesty would have entrusted the management of such affairs to the Pope, who is more hated in this country than one might suppose, I avoided entering further upon this subject; but begged him (Casale) to communicate to me, after he had spoken to the King, what his answer was, that we might deliberate and decide upon the line of conduct to be followed, promising him not to fail on my side to apprize him with whatever came to my knowledge, or assist him in the negociation with all my power.

Perceiving that our conversation was at an end, the Duke got up from the gaming table and came to me, the Papal Nuncio retiring to a corner of the room. He was soon followed by the French ambassador, and by several foreign merchants, also present in the room, who, knowing what the subject of our conversation was likely to be—they having been expressly summoned for the purpose—approached and formed a circle round us. I then represented to the Duke the many oppressive measures against the said merchants, the principal article of which, I said, affected all of them in general, and the rest the French merchants in particular. Respecting the

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former article, of which I had already spoken to the King in the presence and by the advice of Mr. de Rosymboz—who had brought that special charge from the Low Countries—the Duke stated that the English had tried by all possible means to have it passed through Parliament, and made into a constitution and law of the realm, but that he himself had hitherto done everything in his power to oppose it, and would hereafter prevent as much as he could any innovation. That the Chancellor, to whom the King at our solicitation had committed the supervision of the whole affair, had not yet brought and read his report to the Privy Council; but that as soon as he did he (the Duke) would attend to it, and see that the merchants were treated as favourably as possible.

With regard to the other article, the Duke said that the ordinance of which we complained was of old standing, and had been observed for a great many years. It had been established for the purpose of preventing the larcenies of the Custom-house officers, as otherwise* out of 50,000 ducats the King would not get ten. If detriment there was in the measure it affected the English rather than the foreign merchants, for they bartered more merchandize than all the rest put together. As to him, he could not help saying in his official capacity as Lord High Treasurer of England that he found the measure just and would support it. Many other things did the Duke say to this purpose, the detail of which I omit not to weary Your Majesty, and also because I have reported thereupon at length in my despatches to Madame. Perceiving therefore, notwithstanding his show of affectionate friendship, that the Duke was determined not to grant our request, and also that the case concerned the French and other merchants as much as Your Majesty's subjects, I gave up the point and made room for the ambassador of that country to come forward and plead his cause. That he did in very warm terms by appealing to the treaty of perpetual peace between the two countries, and threatening that if the French merchants in England were dealt with in that manner the English would be similarly treated in France, or else that their own (the French) merchants, would not be allowed to come to England at all, to which the Duke replied: "Such a treatment of the English in France is unwarranted by any constitution or custom previous to the peace made between the two kingdoms; if attempted you know well what it may lead to, and where lies the remedy.† Respecting your threat of not allowing English merchants to trade with France, I maintain that the measure will be profitable rather than otherwise to our merchant." Matters were growing warm and might have become very unpleasant between the two, had I not at this moment interfered out of *politeness, though, to say the truth, I*

* "Pour obvier aux larrecins que l'on faysoit aux coustumes et gabelles."

† "De traytter ainsy les Angloix en France, s'il n'estoit par coustume ou constitution faytte avant la paix perpetuelle, que lon sçavoit asses [ou] que cella emportoit et le remede pour ce."

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*should have liked to see them quarrel.** The Duke, however, cut the matter short by turning towards me and begging the French ambassador to retire as he had to entertain me in private. One could easily perceive from the ambassador's countenance when he received the above intimation that he was as little pleased with his dismissal as with the excuse alleged. However this may be, the Duke and I went to a corner of the hall and there, leaning against a sideboard (*buffet*), began to exchange civilities, the Duke saying a number of flattering things about my person and services to Your Majesty, and I reciprocating in the same strain. He told me, among other things, that he was exceedingly sorry that I was not Your Majesty's ambassador in England at the time when a Scottish ship was seized and condemned by the court of the Low Countries. He (the Duke) had been a heavy loser by it as it had cost him upwards of 150,000 angelots of his own money. True it was that at the request of the Dean, who resides now at Your Majesty's court, a letter had been written in his favour from Toledo, but the letter was so long coming that the ship was condemned and sold long before it arrived. Great was his regret (the Duke added) when he heard of the iniquitous sentence pronounced in his case, which had made him very angry, not against Your Majesty—of whose gracious interference in the affair he knew, nor against Madame, who had done him many favours in that as well as in other affairs—but against the judges, who, he said, had given a most iniquitous sentence. I told him in answer that there was no occasion for regret, sure as I was that if he was as willing to do Your Majesty's service as he professed, he would be soon indemnified for all his losses. After this he said to me: "I had forgotten to tell you at first, as I intended, that the Kimg commands me to say in his name that you must not think it strange that the Flemish ambassadors who have left this court have received the customary presents on parting, whereas you have received none. It is no fault of the King, or of his ministers; but the custom in this country is to give such presents only at parting." Without, however, allowing him to finish the sentence I interrupted him by saying: "I thank the King for the cordiality he shews me, and I feel most grateful to him for not sending me any present, for had he done so I should have been in great perplexity, lest by refusing the gift I should hurt the King's feelings, or by accepting it, displease the Emperor, my master. Let us put this matter aside. I can assure you that the best present the King can make me, and that which I shall esteem most, is his continuance of the affection and friendship which he professes towards the Emperor, my master."

The Duke then proceeded to say that he was in duty bound to do service to Your Majesty for the reasons stated at our

* "La matiere alloit desia ung peu chaudemant, si n'aves je garde de me mettre entre [les] deux, encoures me desplaysoit y'l qu'il acheverent si briefz leur dispute."

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previous conference, and especially now that Your Majesty had granted him two privileges, of which one was of great value to him, whilst the other was beyond all price. The first was his pension of 1,000 ducats, of which he had already received one term or two. The other was the appointment of captain-general of the Imperial forces by sea and land, which important charge he said he prized more than all the rest of his property (*le reste de ses biens*), as his descendants would see that he had this high title at the same time from Your Majesty and from the King, his master; I assured him that Your Majesty had the will as well as the power to gratify him in matters of much greater importance, and that whoever could have seen through the mysteries of politics might have known that there was a time when he could have had not only the title of captain-general but the command of the Imperial forces, with actual possession of the office. The Duke said I was right and that I could thereby form an idea of the state in which the affairs of the kingdom were, and how the country had been governed before his time.

After this the Duke said to me: "Knowing your good intentions and your desire for the maintenance of this peace, as well as of the friendship and union between the Emperor and my master, I would willingly make a revelation to you were I not afraid of your repeating my words or writing to His Imperial Majesty." My answer was: "Unless what you have to say to me concerns principally the Emperor, my master, and his various estates, you may be sure that it will be as secretly kept as if you confided it to that sideboard (*buffet*)." His reply was that the matter was one in which his master, and principally Your Majesty, were so deeply concerned, that he hesitated to inform me of it, and would not communicate it for fear of my betraying his secret.

At last, after many entreaties on my part, the Duke said, as if he were only yielding to my importunities: "I place myself in your hands for this once. I protest (he said) on my honour and conscience that in what I am about to tell you there is no other motive or sentiment but the Emperor's sole service, for if the thing were feasible, you would fly from the King not as from a friend, as he is, but as from your bitterest enemy. The thing is for the Emperor to permit my master to divorce the Queen, and take another wife; for I see no other remedy left if the reasons previously alleged be attended to. The King's scruples of conscience instead of abating are on the increase, chiefly owing to the opinions of men who think as he does in this matter" (as I had the honour to write to Your Majesty by Mr. de Mingoval), "and there is nobody in this world capable of turning the current of his passion or fancy in this particular case."*

I remonstrated strongly against such a proposition, and told

* "Cart si cella se pouvoit fere vous fuieriez du Roy non point comme d'ung vostre amy, mays comme d'ung contrayre, etplus si [se] pouvoit."

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him many things which the hasty and almost immediate departure of the messenger, bearer of this despatch, prevents my giving in full detail; hearing which, and having meditated for a while, he said: "Now let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the remonstrances you have just addressed to me are well grounded, what will happen when the King, as he will most certainly do, takes another wife?" My reply was that such conduct could not be believed or even dreamt of, and therefore that it would be foolish on my part to tell him beforehand what the consequences of such a step might be in the end, for he (the Duke) had wisdom and experience enough to consider the case in its true light, so much so that I thought that ere long, when he had sufficiently weighed the matter, he would be the first to dissuade the King. "I really cannot see (retorted the Duke) how that can be effected, for I believe that neither time nor counsel can deter the King from his determination." After this he took me by the hand to conduct me to the supper table, and during the repast shewed me a letter from his son in very good Latin, which he desired me to read and give my opinion upon, adding that he was much pleased with the youth's proficiency and advancement in letters, as it was a very good commencement for a project which he had, and would declare to me later in the evening. And so he did, for about midnight, on my leaving the house where the French ambassador and Papal Nuncio still remained, he also left, and though there was a much shorter road to his hotel, insisted on passing by my lodgings and accompanying me thither. In the course of conversation he said to me: "I told you that I was on many accounts delighted to see my son making so much progress in his studies, and following the path of virtue, and since it is but proper that friends should communicate to each other their most secret affairs and thoughts, I do not hesitate to tell you my ideas on this subject. The King has entrusted to me the education of his bastard son, the duke of Richmond, of whom my own son may become in time preceptor and tutor (*incitateur*), that he may attain both knowledge and virtue, so that a friendship thus cemented promises fair to be very strong and firm, and might well be further consolidated by alliance; for the King wishes the Duke to marry one of my daughters, the other one having already been united by his command to the highest and most powerful lord of his dominions, whose name is the Sieur d'Alby (Derby). He also told me that, according to the uses of this country, the King had sold him a very rich damsel to be his son's wife.*

Upon which, and in order to ascertain, if possible, what truth there was in the report of the Princess's intended marriage, about which I wrote to Your Majesty on the 8th,† I told

* "Il me dit pareillemant que le Roy a la coustume d'icy luy avoit vendu une bien riche damoyselle pour son filz."

† See page 325, No. 211.

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him that in my opinion his son would hardly consent to such a blameable act as buying a wife, when he could find plenty of nobler damsels willing to buy him.* To this remark, however, the Duke made no reply, for we were just then at the door of my lodgings; it was very late, and he had to go a good half league before he reached his hotel.

Respecting the Queen, matters can hardly be worse than they are at present, as Your Majesty will more fully understand through her letters and my own report which Mr. de Mingoval took to Court. Such is the blind passion of the King for the Lady [Anne] that I fear one of these days some disorderly act will take place. They will no doubt employ the means which I pointed out in my despatch of the 6th inst., perhaps, too, they will proceed in a shorter way, and without waiting for the answer from their ambassador in Italy—whose province it is to look after this business at Rome—may bring it under the discussion of this Parliament, *in which I am told the majority of the members has been bribed and gained over in favour of the King.* If so, whatever may be the issue of the trial at Rome, the King will go on; and if he can only obtain the consent of the Chamber on the plea that has been brought forward, he will consider himself secure and justified on all sides. I consider it, therefore, of the utmost importance that Your Majesty think at once of such expedients as it may be advisable to adopt under present circumstances. In my opinion, the best step to take would be that the Pope, now that Cardinal Campeggio—who must have perfect knowledge of the whole affair—is at Rome, should summon the theologians and doctors now at Bologna or Rome to his presence, and cause them freely to discuss before a consistory of cardinals this most important matter, in which not only the interests of the Queen, but the authority of the Holy Apostolic See are seriously compromised, so that it should be at once determined and concluded. There is no other way, it seems to me, of solving the difficulty, for should the Pope, or any other judge, without having the matter fairly discussed as above, pronounce in favour of the Queen, these people are sure to turn round and say that the sentence is unjust, for besides the suspicion and ill-will they have of the Pope and other ecclesiastical judges, they will allege that it is in their (the ecclesiastical) interest to do so, and to maintain that the Pope (Julius) could rightly give dispensation for the marriage, in order to increase by these means the authority of the Pope, and procure him money by such dispensations.†

If, moreover, the opinions of some universities [in Spain or Flanders] could be obtained and forwarded so as to be

* "Je luy dis que son filz ne voudroit avoer telz reproche, qu'il eust acheste une famme, comme sil ne pouvoit trouver de bien grandes maystresses qui l'achetteront luy mesme."

† "Cart oultre la suspicion et malveulliance qu'il ont contre le pape et autres juges ecclesiastiques il diront qu'il se agist de leur prope interest, et qu'il maintiendront tousjours que le Pape peut dispenser affin que par ce moyen yl luy attribuent plus d'autorité, et qu'il aye de l'argent par telles ocasions."

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exhibited here (*de par deça*) it would greatly help us to success. I have written to Madame, who will no doubt procure shortly that of Louvain.

*I must say that up to the present it never crossed my mind that the King's blindness (aveuglement) could be so great. One of the reasons besides a thousand more I had for not thinking so ill of him was, that I fancied the duke of Norfolk, as I was given to understand, was aiming at the hand of the Princess for his own son. Yet he has evidently avoided recommending such a course, no doubt the better to court Your Majesty's favour, and also for fear of the other [lady] having male children, which would deprive his son of the succession to the kingdom, all hopes of which, as Your Majesty knows, have been for a long time lost. Nevertheless, as far as may be conjectured from the above, such a consideration does not actually exist; perhaps too they intend treating the daughter as badly as the mother. Everyone sees the King so much bent upon that unfortunate union that no one actually dares contradict him, and so in order to countenance the intended alliance the father of the Lady was yesterday created an earl.**

The Princess is still at Windsor, and, people say, not very well treated considering her rank and birth. For the last week I have had no news from the Queen. She sent me lately a message to say that she was thinking and planning how I could go to her apartments without being noticed. I am waiting for her orders, but as to going thither openly and by daylight there is no chance just now; I should greatly displease the King, and what is more it would not profit her or Your Majesty.

The King yesterday created three earls with great solemnity; one was Mr. de Rochefort, as above; the other Milort Fualtre†, who has married the daughter of the duke of Boquinguien (Buckingham), Norfolk's sister-in-law, and a third whose name escapes me at this moment.

To-morrow a motion is to be made in Parliament, as I have been secretly informed by the duke of Norfolk himself, that all naturalizations of foreigners granted by the Cardinal (Wolsey) without the King's sanction be revoked, which is greatly to the prejudice of those who have paid very dear for them. Also, as there seems to be a scarcity of gold in the kingdom, they want to make a law that no payment in that specie be made to foreigners, and that no Englishman leaving this

* "Il na voulu conseyllier ung tel cas, tant pour gagner la faveur de votre maieste que ainsy pour crainte que lautre neust des enfants, que luy osteroint la succession du Royaume, la quelle yl ne fault avoer de lautre couste, cart lexperance den avoer de long temps en a este perdue. Toutesfoys par ce que dessus lon peut cognoystre que ce respet ny est point, et que par avanture quil voudront ausy pauvremant traytter la fille que la mere. Tout le monde voit tant incline le Roy a ce malheur quil ny a nul contredisant et pour autoriser lalliance le pair (*sic*) fut hier fayt conte."

† Robert Ratclyffe, Lord Viscount Fitzwalter, created earl of Sussex on this occasion.

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country be allowed to carry away gold or silver of more value than two crowns, which seems to me the best expedient that could be invented to drive away foreigners from this island, and put a stop to trade, which, after all, is not the worst thing that could happen to their neighbours.*—London, 9th December 1529. Eustace Chapuys.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

French. Holograph. pp.

10 Dec. **229.** The EMPRESS to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 17–18, f. 15–16. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 274.

The Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo† has delivered his message and asked urgently for money. It is almost impossible to obtain any in Spain, but every effort shall be made.—Madrid, 10th December 1529.

11 Dec. **230.** HERNANDO DE ALARCON to the PRINCE of ORANGE.

S. E. L. 1,438, f. 16. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 270.

Renzo da Ceri has been so long about surrendering Barletta, Molfetta, and Jovenazzo, besides the Montagna di Sanctangelo, that had I not granted all his requests, and perhaps more than he expected, I really think that he would have been two months about it. This persuades me that there is some intrigue in the air, and that the Venetians are at the bottom of it, because during the progress of the negociation, he (Renzo) has been asking me first for one thing then for another, each day inventing a new want, until I decided to grant all and every one of his demands rather than give cause for any new plot. To-day, Saturday, he has surrendered Barletta, but so destroyed and in such a state of ruin that it is hardly worth keeping. His men before surrendering set fire to four-fifths of the town. It is true that I had reduced them to such an extremity that had not Renzo's orders for the surrender come I should have made them see the stars at mid-day (*les huviera hecho ver las estrellas á medio dia*). On the other hand, the Neapolitans (*los del Reyno*),‡ before my coming here, had been continually helping them with provisions, so much so that I was obliged to hang 50 or 60 of them who were caught *in fraganti*, and to provide myself besides with light cavalry to scour the country all round. As it was I could not effectually stop the supplies, so great is the affection these people bear the French and Venetians.

As Renzo's capitulation stipulated that we were to furnish him with ships to take his men home, and there were not enough to be freighted, I have decided that about 1,200 of his men shall go by land, as there are no ships to convey them.

* "Que n'est le pire que peust advenir á leur circonvoysins."

† Don Gonzalo Maldonado, from 1525 to 1530.

‡ By "los del Reyno" the *fuorusciti* or emigrants are here meant.

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Each man will be provided with a ticket (*boleta*) for the purpose of crossing the frontier.

Barletta and Brindisi ought to be fortified.

Jovenazzo and Molfetta are two very strong places on this coast (*ribera*). They were given to the duke of Termini in exchange for Sansevero, which he himself had bought for 40,000 ducats. This last estate, however, is not worth one half of either of the other two, besides which Jovenazzo and Molfetta are close to Bitonto, Bari, Gravina, and Altamura, the best land districts in this part of the country. The dowager duchess of Termini should be written to and instructed to keep the said estates with due vigilance. Let her take back San Severo and abandon the other two places, or else erect in each of them a good castle for the defence of the place.

The most Reverend Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) has suddenly taken a dislike to me, for which I can in nowise account, unless it be that he has really done me an injury by procuring for himself the post of first lieutenant in the government of this kingdom;* or else that having written to me that his nephew, Marcio Colonna, was not a fit man for the post of chief of the customs (*Guardia de la Duana*) I accordingly made another appointment. He then wrote to say he had been pleased to name the said Marcio Colonna to that post and to undertake the conquest of the Montagna, [di Sanct Angelo], at the same time requesting me to dismiss the other. This I naturally considered an injury to my honour, and I called upon the Cardinal and complained; words ensued, and ever since then we do not speak. Now, as I can be of no possible use here I beg Your Excellency to have me removed to another place where I can be of more service, and to let my military command be given to the Cardinal, who, as I am informed, wishes to become a soldier at the same time that he is a churchman.

I am waiting for Your Excellency's orders. In the meantime I have resolved that the Spaniards and the cavalry shall remain here, whilst Fabricio Marramao and Marcio Colonna go to Your Excellency.

Most of the Spaniards at Naples are discontented, because little by little they are being deprived of what they so justly earned. As the lawyers are not generally the friends of soldiers, hence it is that in Your Excellency's absence many Spaniards are despoiled of what was given to them in remuneration for their services. Cardinal Colonna ought to be told to put a stop to these proceedings, and I for my part take the liberty of recommending the son of Captain Miranda

* "Ha tomado cierta fantasia conmigo sin darle yo causa ni razon para ello; sino solo el fin de quel se ha ofendido de procurar con V. E. de quedar en capite." Cardinal Pompeo Colonna was lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Naples until the death of the Prince, whom he finally replaced as viceroy. He died in 1533.

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from whom the magistrates have taken what little his father left, and Captain Theodoro Buscet.

One tax collector (*perceptor*), who was of this province, Campanil by name, was deprived of his office owing to certain defalcations. Now it appears there is a talk of reinstating him, which seems to be a very bad example in the administration, besides taking the office from Francisco Moles, who paid once a very high price for it. He (Moles) is the brother-in-law of Mossen Carbonel, and a very worthy man.

With regard to the Venetians, Your Excellency must bear in mind that without a fleet it is quite impossible to expel them from the towns they possess on this coast, because the Signory has always two galleys and some lighter vessels at Trani, with which they supply those fortresses with reinforcements and provisions. Besides Trani they have in the neighbourhood Monopoli, Pulignano, &c., which they keep fortifying, and against which we can do nothing without a fleet. Had the Imperial galleys, when they came to Naples, gone through the Adriatic all this might have been avoided.

Renzo da Ceri is at Trani, six miles from Barletta. All my efforts to persuade him to go somewhere else have been unavailing, though I offered him other quarters until the vessels should be ready to transport him and his troops. No, he would go to Trani. I cannot help thinking that France and Venice understand each other now more than ever, and that Renzo has chosen that place as the most suitable to carry on an intrigue.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 8.

11 **231.** HERNANDO DE ALARCON to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 188.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 275.

The same as his letter to the Prince of Orange, though omitting the paragraphs relating to his dissension with Cardinal Colonna.—Naples, 11th December 1529.

Indorsed: "Copia de Relacion de carta de Alarcon al Emperador."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

13 Dec. **232.** EUSTACE CHAPUEYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 50.

After my last despatch of the 9th inst. was sent off I received the Imperial letters of the 15th ult°, of which, as well as of Your Majesty's earnest desire to do everything to assist the Queen in her trouble, I duly and at once advised her that she might receive some of that encouragement and comfort which she now needs more than ever. Indeed, she has daily more and more ground for complaint, the King's indifference to, and neglect of, her increasing rapidly, in proportion to his passionate attachment for the Lady. At no time was his love of this latter more apparent or his intention to carry out the unrighteous and scandalous act of forsaking her, and taking

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the other for his wife more manifest. As I have had occasion to inform Your Majesty, it is to be feared that he may do this sooner than is anticipated unless God inspire him with repentance, or Your Majesty interfere actively to prevent it, *for, as I said before, the King thinks of nothing else but accomplishing his purpose*, and, as the duke of Norfolk declared once to me, *there is nothing the King would not grant Your Majesty were he to obtain your consent for this divorce and new marriage, even to becoming Your Majesty's slave for ever.*

It is entirely in view of this that certain relatives of the Lady were lately created earls, for it was considered *essential that before her being raised to the rank of Queen* her own family should be somewhat *exalted.* In fact all the newly created earls are nearly related to each other, or close allies of the duke [of Norfolk]. When the ceremony took place Monseigneur de Rochfort* had double honour, for he was the first created, and had besides two earldoms given him, one in Ireland and the other in this kingdom, whilst the others had only one title each. Indeed, his prerogatives on the occasion were not small, for the day after, the King wishing no doubt to make it appear that the honours conferred upon the new earl were entirely owing to his daughter's favour, gave a grand fête in this city, to which several ladies of the Court were invited (among them queen Blanche and the two duchesses of Norfolk, the dowager and the young one), the Lady Anne taking precedence of them all, and being made to sit by the King's side, occupying the very place allotted to a crowned queen, which by the by is a thing that was never before done [in this country]. After dinner there was dancing and carousing, so that it seemed as if nothing were wanting *but the priest to give away the nuptial ring and pronounce the blessing.* All the time, and whilst the carousal was going on, poor queen Katharine was seven miles away from this place holding her own fête of sorrow and weeping.

The King's demoiselle (*fillie dame*) has, moreover, been the chief cause and instrument of Cardinal Wolsey's ruin, for she was heard to say a few days before that *it would cost her a good* 20,000 *crs. before she had entirely done with him, and that if she had any influence over the Pope he (the Cardinal) would have none of it.* This may be considered certain and that she will do all she can here *to deprive the said Cardinal of his annats*, as well of all or the greater part of his ecclesiastical authority in this kingdom.

The reform [of the Clergy], about which I wrote to Your Majesty, is partly owing *to the anger of these people at His Holiness' advocation of the divorce case to Rome.* Although many causes are assigned for it, there can be no doubt that this last is the real one, and that having begun the said

* Written Rocchefort, and lower down Rocchestre by mistake.

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reform, they will go on with it as quickly as they can, and this for many evident reasons. *First of all because they will get large sums of money by the sale of Church property,* and a judicious investment of the same. Secondly, because as nearly all the people here *hate the priests,* they may perhaps gain them over and pursuade them *to consent to this marriage* and declare that *the Pope has no power to grant dispensations in marriages or in other matters and that no more of their substance shall go to Rome in future.* Indeed, it is evident that if the English [in this affair] have no other guidance but respect for the Pope they will not care much for him, and that if this state of things should last there will be no more obedience shewn to the Pope here than in Germany. Neither the leaders nor the rest [of the party] can now refrain from slandering the Pope. The other day *the duke of Norfolk* said openly to me that the Pope himself had been one of the first to perceive the *invalidity of this marriage, and had written to say that it could in nowise stand good, and that he would declare so himself or have it legally declared,* and yet that in consequence of his alliance with Your Majesty, and of his being, as it were, under your power, that same Pope *now would have the case tried and determined only as Your Majesty wished.* I am, moreover, much inclined to think that one of the reasons why the King *was so anxious for Your Majesty's departure for Hungary, was his thinking that he might during your absence* [*from Italy*] *do what he pleased with the Pope.*

In the event, however, of the divorce case being brought forward in Parliament, as there is every reason to fear, I am persuaded that *the Queen will want me to offer some sort of opposition or present a protest in Your Majesty's name.* Not having received special instructions upon this point, I should very much like to know how I am to act. My own impression is that some means ought and might be adopted with the Queen's approbation *to weaken the action of Parliament, or at least to defer it* as long as possible. Were I to propose, as if it came from myself, that *since these people are so very suspicious of the Pope and of the Queen* they should consent, before any confusion arises, *to refer the case to Cambray,* as they themselves proposed once, or if this should not meet with the King's approbation, that he should *send to Paris persons free from suspicion to represent him* [*at the Sorbonne*] *and there dispute the case with the doctors and divines appointed by the Queen,* I really think that some good might be done ; for the proposition, if accepted, would in my opinion answer the purpose of checking the deliberations of Parliament, and affording time for Your Majesty's late instructions on this business to be carried into effect.

I likewise deem it advisable to try, in my own name of course, *what can be done with the duke of Norfolk,* and see whether we could not gain him over to our cause by means

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of some promise of help and assistance in the marriage of his son to Princess Mary, which is so much spoken of here that I consider myself perfectly justified to urge it on by pointing out the mutual advantages to be derived from it, as well as the troubles and anxieties it would remove. I have no doubt that such motives would strongly work upon the Duke, and yet there is ground for fearing that such a plan, if proposed, will be rejected; for *should the Queen regain her influence and position before his son's marriage* takes place she is sure to have it broken off, and besides injure the Duke in many other ways; for he knows well that the Queen has never forgiven him some angry words which he and his wife, the Duchess, said *on the occasion of her not allowing the latter to take precedence of her mother-in-law,* by which both were much offended, especially the Duchess, who belongs to the house of Lancaster. The other motive of anxiety for the Duke is that *should the King return to his duty towards the Queen, his lawful wife, and the Lady be consequently dismissed from Court, the Cardinal would in all probability regain his influence,* as there is good reason for thinking *owing to his uncommon ability and the King's readiness to restore him to his former favour.* Indeed, everyone here perceives that the King bears the Cardinal no real ill-will, and that in acting towards him as he did, it was merely *to gratify the Lady in this particular.* Should, however, the King's affection for the Lady abate in the least, the Cardinal would soon find means of settling this business [of the divorce] in a manner which *would not only cost the opposite party their lives,* but as they suspect, make the Queen, who has lately shewn some pity for the Cardinal's fall, help his return to power. It is, therefore, highly probable that they will all look more to their own immediate advantage or risk than to any chance for the future. Nevertheless, should the Queen approve of this plan of mine I will try my best with the Duke; no harm, in my opinion, can result therefrom, and in the meantime Your Majesty may carry out the suggestions conveyed in my despatch of the 9th inst.

I must add that when the King heard, as I failed not to assure him, that Your Majesty was fully convinced that all his steps about this divorce were merely owing to his scruples and to the wish of relieving his conscience, he shewed great satisfaction.

I am not sure that Your Majesty will believe what I am about to state; but it is a fact that in spite of all that has been said, preached, and circulated in this country [about this divorce], they have never been able to convince the people of its righteousness, for they know very well that it was *the Holy League that first inspired the King's enmity towards Your Majesty, and that he has ever since become more blindly and passionately fond of the Lady.* People, therefore, say that it is only *the King's evil destiny* that impels him, for had he

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as he asserts, only *attended to the voice of conscience, there would have been still greater affinity to contend with in this intended marriage than in that of the Queen, his wife,* a fact of which everyone here speaks quite openly.

Lately one or two preachers have been suborned to preach publicly that the Pope (Julius) had no power to give dispensation for the marriage of the Queen, and that it was contrary to Divine law, over which popes have no control. There are not wanting preachers who, without any other motive than the love of justice and truth, have refuted [from the pulpit] the aforesaid proposition, but the former have not yet replied. It now remains to be seen how they will make their case good. For my own part, I imagine that they will probably keep silence, knowing that the best and most learned among the English prelates have written in favour of the Queen, and that the King himself and the noblemen of his party have declared that the prelates and divines, who hold for the Queen, are indeed good and respectable men, only too much self-opinionated.

Your Majesty must have heard from Mr. de Mingoval how the ratification of, and swearing to, the treaty of Cambray was effected here. The King was very much vexed that the ambassadors he sent to Your Majesty on this occasion should have delayed so long on the road, as he wished them to have arrived sooner at the Imperial Court, and there to have taken the oath in his name, as likewise to have been present at your entry into Bologna, and assisted in the deliberations of the assembly there convened for the purpose of repelling the threatened Turkish invasion and negociating other matters.

Having lately written at some length to Your Majesty as well as to Mr. de Mingoval, concerning the members of the government here, I will only add that the duke of Norfolk's influence and power are daily increasing, a fact of which Your Majesty's servants and subjects will be soon aware and glad, should he (the Duke) continue as he has begun; for I do not hesitate to say that in everything in which I have applied to him, whether verbally or in writing, he (the Duke) has always shewn every desire to please us, favouring the Spanish and Flemish merchants much more than the French, of whom he seems just now as if he would be glad to rid himself. In proof whereof I can say that only yesterday he (the Duke) did them a bad turn in the shape of an ordinance forbidding French caps—of which there is a large importation into this country—to be sold for more than about one-half of what the English ones cost, though superior in quality. This measure seems to be the beginning of the practical working of the measures which the Duke himself announced to the French ambassadors on the eve of the Conception of Our Lady, namely, that England would dispense in future with French commerce altogether.

The Cardinal (Wolsey) is still living at the house where he

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was when the seals were taken away from him, leading a very devout life, saying mass daily, praising God for having afforded him this opportunity of acknowledging his errors, and saying to everyone he meets that he never enjoyed greater peace of mind than at the present moment, and that even if the King would restore him to his former position, as well as give him the entire administration of the kingdom, he would not willingly resume the charge of it. I hear, moreover, that the King allows him to retain one of his bishoprics. The vestments and other Church ornaments, which he once presented to his college at Auffort (Oxford), have been brought here [to London], and I hear from an embroiderer, who lives opposite my house, that some chappes and chasubles that were sent to him for the purpose of having the Cardinal's escutcheon removed therefrom were worth full 40,000 angelots, and that this was but a quarter of what he had elsewhere.

As regards the "fleur de lis" about which Your Majesty writes to me, it will be found by the contents of my previous despatches that I have done all that was wanted in that business. I have always maintained that the King and his ministers were quite right in thinking that Your Majesty would much prefer these valuable jewels to remain in the hands of these people than in those of the French. As this, however, was only a private and personal idea of mine at the time, unwarranted by Your Majesty's instructions to that effect, I will at a proper time acquaint the King with Your Majesty's wishes in this respect. I believe that they would much prefer sending it on through Your Majesty's people to delivering it to the French; but should this last expedient be adopted, I shall at any rate witness the delivery of the "fleur de lis" attended by an expert so as to have it compared with the inventory. It has been lately reset and polished, as I am told, and should have been brought to me for inspection, had I not been too much occupied of late with affairs of another sort. I will, however, take care that it is properly examined before delivery.

During the last fortnight they have been trying to close this session of Parliament, and prorogue it until February next; but they have been unable to accomplish it. Indeed, yesterday the sitting was the busiest of all, so much so that the leading members had actually no time to take any refreshment until very late at night. I cannot learn that any fresh Bills have been passed since my last despatch. Commercial measures chiefly are now under consideration, the London merchants wishing to have heavy duties imposed on all foreign goods imported, that traders not English by birth should be compelled to quit, and not reside in this country, taking, as they say, the bread out of the mouths of the natives. I think, however, that now that the King has obtained from Parliament the loans he wanted, the session of that body would be soon over, were it not for two measures which the King

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wishes to bring forward, one of them being to bleed (*donner la saignee*) the Clergy, and the other to lay before the members the opinion of the Paris University on the divorce case, which, they say, is daily expected. It would be a very fortunate thing if such opinions should prove upon the whole in favour of the Queen, as regards the value and number of voters.—London, 13th December 1529.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 8.

15 Dec. **233.** The PRINCE of ORANGE to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* iv., f. 355. Lanz. *Corresp.*, &c., i., p. 357.

Cardinal Colonna has sent him a copy of the report which the Neapolitan deputies who came [to this camp] have addressed to the Collateral Council of that kingdom. The statements therein contained of his conversation with them is either completely false or grossly exaggerated. What he told them in plain words was: that he wondered much how they could write home such horrible falsehoods; that he could at any time, when required, prove that they had told lies on many points, and principally with regard to the sums of money, which they pretend have been levied upon the kingdom, as His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to inform him. To this the deputies replied that the Council had not alluded to me in their reports. Upon which I said to them: "I cannot believe the Emperor to be so bad a master as to allow any of his servants to tell an untruth; even if he should allow it, I am a man of honour, and will break the heads of all of you put together. Meanwhile, I intend asking the Emperor to have an inquiry instituted on my administration, and see whether the Council tells truth or not." Their reply was that they had not alluded to my person in the least, but only to administrative affairs in general, and to the many robberies and impositions that had been, and were daily, practised upon private individuals, of which they had considered it their duty to inform Your Majesty for the good of the kingdom. To this I replied that they were perfectly justified in doing so if the abuses they complained of really existed, but that they ought to tell the truth and nothing but the simple truth in such matters. Your Majesty would, I had no doubt, make exemplary justice of the guilty parties, and if necessary have them all beheaded; but, at the same time, were it found upon inquiry that the accusation was unfounded the calumniators, in my opinion, deserved an equal punishment. "Since you know (I said) who the guilty parties are, why not tell me at once? I might already have made summary justice of them, for I will not suffer any one of the Imperial officers, whoever he may be, to rob the Emperor, my master, or his subjects." There was then some talk about Secretary Martirano, of whom they say many things, as likewise of Moron. Respecting the

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former I told them that they had him at Naples; he was, in my opinion, an honourable and upright man, who, if accused, would know how to defend himself, and prove his innocence. I firmly believed (I continued) that Moron could do the same, or at least that the charge against him could not be sufficiently substantiated, inasmuch as the sums which he is said to have appropriated seemed to me incredible. I do not pretend to say that the parties above named may come out entirely innocent of the charge. I will not put my hand in the fire for either of them, suspecting, as I do, that many of the public officers in Naples have been guilty of peculation; what I mean is that if there has been anything of the kind it has taken place without my knowledge.

These are in substance the words that passed between the Neapolitan deputies and myself. There may have been more or less said on the same topic, and perhaps some portion may escape my memory now. If so I shall be glad to be reminded of it, and in any case will tell the truth. I recollect telling them also by way of remark that Your Majesty was more indebted to the foreigners, who had saved your kingdom from the enemy, than to those for whom they now came to implore mercy, and who were the very people who had placed their own country within the verge of ruin. Their answer was that among the nobility and barons of Naples some had remained faithful and done their duty as good vassals. I assented, and said: "Those who have done so will be treated by the Emperor as reason and justice demand."

The Cardinal's letter, of which a copy is enclosed, adds that the Council had in due time received an answer from Your Imperial Majesty to the effect that the whole affair would be properly attended to. Now I beg Your Majesty's pardon if I dare express my feelings of astonishment and sorrow at such an answer, for being then in Naples, filling the duties of my responsible charge, I do not hesitate to say that it was to me, not to the Council, that the Emperor's wishes and representations, if any, ought to have been conveyed. Indeed, Your Imperial Majesty may believe me when I say that no greater kindness could ever be shewn to me than the immediate communication of any sayings or remarks concerning my personal and official duties, for I am not afraid of the councillors or any of them being able to bring any real charge against me, provided, however, they speak the truth: if they tell lies, God has given me both a tongue to contradict them, arms and legs to defend myself with. I shall never feel at ease until Your Imperial Majesty has had those accounts, which I forwarded, carefully examined, that it may be ascertained who is right in this case, whether these three Neapolitans, whose words are set up against mine, or Your Majesty's viceroy in Naples. They profess to tell the truth, I maintain that the facts mentioned in the memorandum which was sent to me from Court are a downright falsehood. As to

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other particular points I will say nothing, no allusion having been made to them in the councillors' report.

The bearer is particularly instructed to beg and entreat Your Majesty in my own name as well as in that of all the accountants, treasurers, &c. of Naples, to order a minute inquiry into this affair, and if the reporters should be found at fault to have them punished as they deserve, that honest men like myself may henceforwards be safeguarded in their honour and reputation. For, Your Majesty may believe me: the very gift of a kingdom like that of Naples would not be as great a boon and proof of confidence as the order for that judicial inquiry, which I beg for as humbly as I can, and indeed demand for my own personal satisfaction. Nor were Your Majesty to deprive me suddenly and at once of everything I possess in this world should I be as much disappointed and annoyed as I shall be if these councillors are allowed to spread lies about me with impunity. For to say the truth I do not think that my acts in the Imperial service have hitherto been such as to deserve a treatment of this sort.

I humbly beg for Your Majesty's speedy answer, that I may communicate at once with the Cardinal and the Neapolitans, sure as I am that if the deputies have told untruths, or otherwise exceeded their instructions they are too reasonable and too honest not to offer a reparation to my wounded honour.

At my departure from Boulogne His Holiness promised that by the 15th inst. I should receive 60,000 crs. for the pay of these troops during the month of November. I was further instructed by Your Majesty to persuade the captains of these forces in front of Florence to wait a fortnight more for their money, which they promised to do. Up to the present, which is the day fixed for the payment, no money or letter has come [from Rome], and if the soldiers, as I fully expect, come to me and ask for the fulfilment of my most solemn promises I really do not know what to say to them, except that I am hourly expecting the Marquis Dugast (del Vasto) and Mr. d'Escaygne (?) with the money. Indeed, as I am writing this some one calls to say that the captains have actually met for the purpose of appointing a deputation. I beg and entreat Your Majesty as earnestly as I possibly can to put a stop to this state of things, which is sure to bring on the complete ruin and destruction of this army, for, by my faith, if the money does not come in four or five days I consider a mutinous rising of all the soldiers indiscriminately as inevitable, and I shall be obliged to fly, or else they will cut me to pieces for the non-fulfilment of my promises.—At the camp close to Florence, 15th December 1529.

Signed: "Philibert de Chalon."

French. Original.

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19 Dec. **234.** ACT of RENUNCIATION by FRANCIS of his pretended rights to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and Asti.

S. Pat. Re. Nap., L. 1, f. 567, No. 30. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 282.

Donne en la cite de Boulogne la graçe (*sic*), le dix neufvieme jour de Decembre 1529.

Indorsed: "Instrumento autentico de la renunciacion del Rey Francisco Iº."

French. Original. pp. 1½.

23 Dec. **235.** TREATY with the DUKE of MILAN.

S. Pat. Re. Milan, L. 1, f. 20. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 283.

1. Although the Duke [Francesco Sforza] can shew that he has been unjustly accused he prefers throwing himself entirely upon the Emperor's mercy.

2. The Emperor recognizes him as lawful duke of Milan.

3. The Duke shall pay for the investiture of the same 300,000 ducats; namely, 50,000 ducats at once;

50,000 more within one month from the date of this instrument;

50,000 more in the month of March;

50,000 in May;

50,000 on Lady Day;

50,000 on All Saints;

making in all 300,000 ducats over and above the 600,000, which the same duke promised, and did not pay, for his investiture by the treaty of Toledo, 1526.

4. For the security of all and every one of these payments, Como shall remain in the hands of Lorenço Manuel, and the castle of Milan in those of Captain Joan de Mercado.

5. The Duke to pay the Imperial soldiers and furnish provisions for one year at Milan. The expenses at Como to be defrayed out of the public revenue.

6. The 600,000 ducats, or what may remain of them, to be paid by yearly instalments of 50,000 ducats each, beginning in January 1531.

7. All the governors of castles and fortresses in the duchy of Milan will swear fealty to the Emperor, and bind themselves to deliver the same to him or to his successors in the Empire in the event of the Duke dying without legitimate issue.

8. The "fuorusciti" or exiles to be allowed to return.

9. All those who have faithfully served the Emperor to be rewarded as follows:—

Antonio de Leyva to have the town of Monza with a revenue of 7,000 ducats;

The Marquis del Gasto (Vasto) 1,000 ducats a year;

For the rest of the Spanish captains conjointly 20,000 ducats.

10. In all other respects, and especially as far as the duchy of Bari and the sale of salt are concerned, the treaty of Toledo

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to remain in full vigour. Its clauses have not been altered by that of Barcelona.

11. On these conditions Francesco Sforza is included in the treaty of Barcelona.

Concluded and ratified at Bologna on the 23rd of December 1529.

The foregoing articles were read to Francesco Sforza by the Grand Chancellor, Mercurino marquis of Gattinara, in presence of Louis de Flandres, seigneur de Praët, of Nicolas Perrenot, seigneur de Granvelle, and of Francisco de Los Covos. They were all approved by Francesco Sforza, who acknowledged that he owed his life and estate to the Emperor's magnanimity.

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

— **236.** The same TREATY in SPANISH.

S. Pat. Re. Milan, L. 1, f. 21.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579.

Bologna, 23rd December 1529.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

25 Dec. **237.** LUIGI ALAMANI to the REPUBLIC of FLORENCE.

S. E. L. 851, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 284.

(*Cipher :*) Wrote last on the 14th. Has received this morning one letter from the Florentine consul at Lyons, dated the 15th inst., and two more from the Court [of France], one from the ambassador and another from Giuliano Buonaccorsi.

The Bishop of Como, of the house of Trivulzio, Papal Nuncio in France, has got scent of the bills of exchange for 30,000 ducats drawn upon Florentine bankers, and lately remitted [to the king of France]. The latter complains that this is against the treaties, and has requested the Florentine ambassador, as well as Buonaccorsi, not to press him too much until he has got back his sons, who, it is said, have already arrived at Vittoria, together with his Queen (Eleonor) and the Emperor's treasurer. The King promises to do wonders as soon as he is in possession of his sons, although his chancellors and ministers cease not representing the exhaustion of his finances and the poverty of the kingdom. To describe the fair words and fine promises of the king of France on this occasion, I am told, would require many sheets of paper.

The Consul at Lyons says he has had letters from Francesco Barchi,* the consul in England, advising that the Florentine

* In Bergenroth's abstract of this letter the name of this individual is always written Barchi as printed, but I am inclined to think that his name was *Bardi*, *i.e.*, Francesco de' Bardi, one of the 80 captains, whom, according to Benedetto Varchi (*Storia Fiorentina*, p. 299) the Florentines appointed in 1529 for the defence of their city.

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merchants in that country had collected some money. As they are few, and by no means rich, the subscription amounts only to 1,060 scudi, which sum they at once remitted to our consul at Lyons. When advised he (Alamani) will not fail to draw upon the Consul, and employ the money in the same manner as the last 4,000 scudi.

But what is of much greater importance under present circumstances is the information conveyed by Francesco Barchi in his letter to the Consul at Lyons. He saw the king of England and had a long conversation with him about our affairs. The King had listened to what Barchi had to say with as much interest and pleasure as if he himself had been a citizen of Florence. He spoke very highly of the courage and devotion of the Florentines, and very disparagingly of the Pope and Emperor, shewing great enmity to the one as well as to the other. Nor is it to be wondered at, for the King sent some time ago the father "of the dame," to use the exact words of Francesco Barchi,* on a mission to the Pope about the divorce, which he asserts had been positively promised to him† on a previous occasion. The ambassador, however, had been so badly received and dismissed with such an answer that he had returned immediately to England. It is impossible to describe the discontent of the King and of the dame at such a decision, so great is it that nothing is thought of in England but of so conducting ecclesiastic matters that they may no longer be in need of the Pope either for filling up vacancies in the Church or for any other purpose. All this is discussed at great length in Barchi's letter to the Consul.

The same Florentine consul in London adds that having had occasion to speak to king Henry about the great hardships to which "our poor city" is now exposed, he observed that were it not for his ardent wish that king Francis should get back his sons, nothing in this world would hinder him from upholding our Republic's rightful cause and opposing the iniquitous designs of two such princes as the Pope and the Emperor. As soon as the sons of France are restored to their father he (Henry) will be prepared to shew what his plans and views respecting Florence and Italy are.

The Consul further adds that were the Republic to subscribe obligations for a sum of 40,000 or 50,000 ducats he has no doubt he could raise that money or perhaps more [in England]. Thinks that the sons of France would soon be delivered from captivity were a person of quality to be sent secretly to that court, for the fact once made known that Florence had an ambassador residing at the English Court the liberation of the princes would be hastened; otherwise the

* "Il patre della dama."

† "Del divortio che gli era stato promesso sicuramente."

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affair will not be settled so soon, and perhaps will be conveniently delayed.

Has considered it his duty to communicate all these particulars contained in the letters from Lyons and London. If the Republic cannot despatch a secret envoy he (Alamani) will do everything in his power to procure the money in the above-mentioned manner. Begs them not to think him over presumptuous.

Doria with his fleet will sail shortly for Barcelona as an attack from Barbarossa upon Catalonia is much dreaded. Will be at liberty to leave this place* as soon as he (Doria) has set sail.

Begs for an immediate answer, especially in what concerns England.

Indorsed: "From Luigi Alamani," 25th December 1529.†

Italian. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

27 Dec. **238.** Martin de Salinas to King Ferdinand.

M. Re. Ac. de Hist., c. 71, f. 227.

On the 8th inst. a courier was dispatched with the answer to His Highness' letters of the 17th ult°. On the 10th another courier came with the glorious news from Hungary, and the letters for the Emperor of the 27th, which filled us with joy.

Count Felix [of Wurtemberg] is constantly requesting the Emperor to allow the grand children of his brother to inherit his estate, as he himself has no male heirs. His grand nephews are two children born of a daughter [of his brother] and

* Probably Genoa, the letter was intercepted.

† Luigi Alamanni, who signs this letter, was the son of Piero, once a staunch partizan of the Medici. Benedetto Varchi in his *Storia Fiorentina*, Colonia 1721, in folio, says of him (p. 106) "Era di piacevolissimo aspetto et d'animo cortesissimo, a sopra ogni cosa amantissimo della Libertà." In 1527 he delivered in the Pratica or Senate the remarkable speech which that historian prints at full length (pp. 107–10), and was shortly after appointed commissary of the Republic at Leghorn (Livorno). He was one of the four young men who, in 1528, each in his own quarter, addressed the Florentines, and instigated them to rebel against the Medici (p. 191), in consequence of which he was declared traitor, and obliged to take refuge in Venice (p. 197). On his return to his native city he proposed to forsake the alliance of France, and offered to go to Barcelona, which he did, in order to conciliate the Emperor, and obtain better terms for his Republic (p. 218). After the Emperor's departure from Barcelona and subsequent landing at Savona—which he was the first to announce to the Gonfaloniere Francesco Carducci—he formed part of the unsuccessful embassy to Genoa, described at a pages 167 and 188, of this present volume, and continued to reside in that city, as Florentine agent, with a salary of two florins of gold every day (p. 358). He then went to Lyons, and afterwards to Pisa, having obtained from king Francis the payment of 20,000 ducats, which that monarch owed to the Florentine merchants. Bernardo Segni in his *Storie Florentine*, Augusta 1723, fol., and principally in the *Vita di Niccolo Capponi il Gonfaloniere*, published as a supplement or appendix to that work, represents him as the intimate friend of Andrea Doria, and as having tried, though in vain, to persuade the "Dieci" of Florence to make their peace with the Pope. "Questi si fatti ragionamenti, ed incitamenti mossi per Luigi Alamanni alla città nostra, i quali furono discorsi da lui et da altri nelle segrete Pratiche con molta considerazione, non ferono altro effetto senon che gli sviscerati amatori della libertà nostra cominciarono aver Luigi per sospetto della Libertà, e per uomo che sotto quest' ombra facesse in Firenze i fatti del Papa." *Vita de Niccolo Capponi, pp.* 26–29.

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of a son of count Osorno,* now here at Court. The Emperor, knowing that there exists some sort of convention between Count Felix of Werdenberg, and the house of Austria, shuns granting the permission until His Highness be consulted thereupon.

Question of precedence between the English ambassador and Mons. de Bredan, representing the king of Bohemia and Hungary [at Bologna].

Spoke again to the Emperor on the subject of Count Felix, His Imperial Majesty said that he had been so much pressed of late, that without waiting for an answer to his letter, he had granted the required permission, as he saw nothing in it detrimental to His Highness' interests.

With regard to the Bishop of Trent (Clesi) and his petition† no progress has been made, the Emperor still insisting that it is not yet time to speak to the Pope about it.

According to His Highness' memorandum, the Imperial lansquenets (*los lançacanetes del Imperio*) have received one more pay than they were entitled to. This is no doubt a trick (*bellaqueria*) of their own, for which they ought to be made responsible. Perfectly agrees with His Highness that this business must be taken up with vigour, and the lansquenets chastized for it, as they were once in the times of Emperor Maximilian, yet the Emperor's opinion is that as he will soon go to Germany, it would be advisable to suspend every kind of judicial inquiry, lest discontent should thereby break out among the people.

With regard to the ordnance, he (Salinas) did not like to press the subject any further, as the Emperor says that it is wanted now for the fortresses that are to remain in his hands as securities for the Duke's debt.

His Highness thought, no doubt, that the duke of Savoy was here [at Bologna], and that he might instantly order the promulgation of the Papal bulls through his estates, but the fact is that he is not here. An application, however, has been made to his ambassador residing at this court, who has promised to write to his master, &c.

The Emperor was pleased to hear that the castle of Altenburgh and the city of Strigonia (Gran) with its district had been reduced. Then came the glorious news of the 10th inst., sent by the bishop of Trent, about the taking of Sant Martino, and how Valente‡, the Turk, one of His Highness' captains

* Don Garci Fernandez Manrique, third Count of Osorno and Duke of Galisteo, who was married twice, first to Doña Juana Henriquez, and second to Doña Maria Henriquez de Luna. Of this last marriage he had sons, Don Alonso and Don Alvaro, and three daughters Mariana, Maria, and Theresa, none of whom became connected with the family of Werdenberg. *See* Lopez de Haro *Nobiliario*, &c., vol. i., p. 320–30.

† For a cardinal's hat.

‡ "Despues Mos. de Trento ha escripto de x deste en que nos haze saber que tenia letras de v. a. como el exercito avia ganado el monte de Sant Martino, y que el Turco Valente, capitan de v. al. en la Transilvania, avia muerto quatro mil raciani (*sic*)."

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in Transylvania, had slain 4,000 Russians, and how his light cavalry were in pursuit of the Vayvod, who had actually fled from Buda. They hoped to overtake him, as well as the son of Andrea Gritti, the Doge of Venice, who had taken the road to Turkey.—Bologna, 27th December 1529.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4.

28 Dec. **239.** Secretary Covos to the Empress.

S. E. Cart. L. 2, ff. 341-2. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 288.

A messsenger arrived with the letters of the 10th inst., just as the Emperor was about to dispatch another; which circumstance, coupled with our expecting every hour the report which the President of the Council of Regency* was about to send three or four days after, has been the cause of the present bearer, a servant of the Duke of Escalona,† being detained until this day.

There is, however, nothing to report except that the Emperor continues in very good health, and that we all are very much engaged at present in negociation with Venice and the Duke Francesco Sforza. (*Cipher:*) Enclosed is a summary of the terms proposed by the Emperor, which, when accepted, as there is little doubt they will be, and ratified by the Emperor, will ultimately restore peace to Italy. Negociations are likewise being carried on with Ferrara, and it is to be hoped will soon be brought to a conclusion. Florence only remains, which is to be closely invested by the Imperial army, lately reinforced with Germans, Spaniards, and artillery. If necessary, the Emperor himself will march thither in force, and encamp at some convenient place not far from the city, so as to press on the siege (*dar calor*) and help the undertaking, though it is presumed that when the Florentines perceive that peace has been made, and that they remain isolated, they will hasten to give in their submission.

Respecting the coronation, the Emperor has not yet decided where it is to be.

Barletta and other towns in Naples, which the French held, have been already delivered into the hands of our commissioners. So have the county of Asti and Hedin (Hesdin), so that hitherto the French king has faithfully fulfilled the terms of the treaty. May he do the same with the rest!

Mons. de Praët is to leave to-morrow for France, to replace Laxao (La Chaulx) the ambassador, who has been very ill, and has not yet entirely recovered.

From Hungary, the news is what the Emperor writes in his own hand.

P.S.—Begs leave to inform Her Majesty that during these Easter matins (*estos maytines de Pascua*), which were said before His Holiness and the Emperor, after four or five cardinals

* "At this time the president of the Council of Castille was Cardinal Don Juan Tavera, archbishop first of Santiago, and afterwards of Toledo. When the Emperor left for Italy he was appointed president of the Council of Regency.

† Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, third duke.

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had finished reading, His Imperial Majesty rose from his chair, took off the dress he had on, and put on another that had been prepared for him, and over it a choir-cope (*capa de yglesia*), and at the side a short sword (*estoque*) which His Holiness had presented to him. After the usual ceremony, having received the Pope's blessing, the Emperor, like the rest, said jube domine benedicite, and began reading.* One of the cardinals then came to the Emperor's relief and finished the lecture. In short, nothing was wanting but Your Majesty's presence to witness the ceremony.

By a courier, who is to leave soon [for Spain], Your Majesty will be duly informed of what is passing.

Signed: "Covos, Comendador Mayor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

29 Dec. **240.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 225 v°.

Luis de Taxis was to have started for Germany with the letters patent for the convocation of the Diet, but as in the meantime the negociations with Venice and the duke of Milan have been brought to a close, he has been detained until the Emperor's letters, explaining the whole affair and the nature of the agreement made with the Duke, should be ready. As the letters themselves will sufficiently show, the Emperor had no other alternative left but to restore the Duchy to Francesco Sforza under certain conditions, or prosecute war against the Venetians. Has no doubt that when His Highness reads the Emperor's memorandum he will approve of the arrangement.

With respect to the Imperial Commissioners at the forthcoming Diet, and His Highness' wish that one of them should be Monsieur de Prat (Praët), he (Salinas) spoke to the Emperor, but the thing could not be done for when the letter arrived that diplomatist had already been sent to see about the liberation of the sons of France and the execution of the treaty of Cambray. Since then the Emperor has been looking out for proper persons to represent him at the Diet, but as no one has been found their names have been left blank in the letters of convocation, that they may be filled up at His Highness' pleasure and will.

As to the monies to be paid at Naples, Antonio Muscetola has drawn up the order in conformity with the copy sent to His Highness by the last post, but Salamanca has written to say that up to the date of his letter no order had reached the Imperial treasury.

It would have been the Emperor's wish that the same officer who held the castle of Milan for the marquis del Gasto

* "Y fecho con el estoque la cerimonia que se acostumbra tomó el Emperador su bendicion del Papa, diziendo como los otros 'jube, domine, benedicite,' y començó su lection. Socorrió luego un Cardenal que la acabó. No faltava alli otra cosa sino que Vra. Magd. lo viese."

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should have been appointed governor, but this the duke [Francesco Sforza] would never accede to, and therefore the post was offered to Juan de Mercado,* who refused at first, but, knowing that it was His Highness' pleasure, and persuaded by him (Salinas), has accepted at last.

The keeping of the castle of Como has been entrusted to Don Lorenço Manuel.—Bologna, 29th December 1529.

Addressed: "To the King my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

31 Dec. **241.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.†

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 225, No. .

In my despatch of the 9th inst. I informed Your Imperial Majesty of an introductory conversation (*prologue et propos*) I had with Messire Paul Casale, Papal Nuncio in this kingdom, who however left [for Rome] yesterday, the 15th, without saying a word about his business here, or telling me what he had discovered, as he promised to do. He kept his departure a secret until the evening before last, when he sent a verbal message to the ambassadors of France and Venice, informing them thereof. Next day, a few hours before he actually started on his journey, one of his secretaries, a Florentine by birth, came to me and said that he had orders from the Nuncio (Casale) to call at the Imperial embassy as well as at those of France and Venice, to announce his master's departure; but that something had occurred all of a sudden which had made him forget his errand. The Nuncio himself arrived soon after to take leave and make his excuses for the Florentine's forgetfulness; the King's pressing orders had prevented him from waiting upon me sooner. The King (he said) wished him to go as soon as possible; but he (the Papal Nuncio) hoped that the journey he was about to undertake would be entirely to Your Majesty's profit and advantage, since it was for no other purpose than that of better cementing the friendship and alliance between Your Majesty and this king, and knitting it into a league closer and firmer than the past, as he (Casale) would explain on his return, which he thought would take place shortly. I then asked him whether he had anything to say which I ought to know, the better to pursue during his absence the plan which had formed the subject of our former conversations. If so, I begged him to inform me thereof, that Your Majesty's service might be better done. He answered that he was in a hurry and had no time to spare. He had come to see me on horseback, and the master of the vessel in which he was to cross had sent him pressing messages to say that the tide was going out.‡ I should hear all he had to say at his return. So, as Messire Paul had previously said to me

* A son of Don Juan Manuel, formerly Imperial ambassador at Rome.

† Wrongly placed in the Imperial archives under 1531, whereas it is evident from its contents that it must have been written two years before.

‡ "Et que pieça le marignier crioit apres luy à cause que la marée s'en alloit."

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that he was going straight to Your Majesty, I restrained my curiosity and made no further inquiries; otherwise I might perhaps have found the means of detaining him for some minutes, and learning something about his journey and commission.

*This, I hear, has no other object than to obtain the divorce once attempted, and bring about this wretched marriage with the Lady; and I have not the least doubt that both the Nuncio and his brother, Messire Gregoire, will pursue the affair heart and soul; for this king, as I am told, has promised the latter a very fat bishopric in this country in case of success. Should, however, the affair turn out otherwise than they expect, it is to be presumed that neither he nor his brother will get any reward, as was the case with Cardinal Campeggio, to whom one had been promised, besides a wonderful sum of money, as I am informed, if he gave sentence in favour of the King. And no wonder, if the latter thus promises bishoprics right and left to gain his object, for, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in my despatch of the 9th inst., he (the King) would not have hesitated to part with a good bit of his kingdom, or become, as the duke of Norfolk said to me, Your Majesty's slave, had you only consented to the divorce.**

My despatch of the 9th must have acquainted Your Majesty with a portion at least of the means of persuasion which the said Nuncio is likely to employ to attain the King's object [at Rome]. That is the reason why, fearing lest this my despatch should arrive in Italy after the Nuncio—since it is forwarded by way of Flanders, a much longer route—I would willingly have entrusted to him the duplicate, which was ready, together with a brief account of events up to this day, had not the Nuncio's precipitate departure and great haste prevented me from preparing such an account, as likewise from entrusting to him the said duplicate. I hope, however, that Madame [Margaret] will take measures for the said despatch to be in Italy almost as soon as the Nuncio, who, it would appear, intended to make dupes of both the French ambassador and myself,† for he said to the former that the Pope had recalled him, whereas he distinctly told me that this king was expressly sending him with a message to Your Majesty, and orders to return as soon as possible [to England].

Three or four days before Christmas the French ambassador brought me letters from Messire de La Chaux and Messire

* "Et s'il n'en viennent au bout peult estre qu'il en demoureront comme le Cardinal Campegio, à qui premierement elle avoit esté promise en cas qu'il donna sentence en faveur du Roy, et encoures avec la diste eveschée yl heust heu de l'argent une mirable somme, à ce que l'on dit par icy, et ne se fault esveyr si le Roy pour ce affere prometz d'esveschés, cart comme je rescrivis à votre maiesté par mes dites lettres du ix. yl voudroit avoer donne une bonne piece de son Royaume, et si votre maieste y eust consenty, voyre comme me disoyt le Duc de Nolphole, il se vouldroit faire votre esclave."

† "Il se voulust gaudir de l'ambassadeur de France ou de moy, cart il me dit comme dessus que le Roy l'envoyoit expressement et pour retourner, et au dit ambassadeur yl dit que le Pape l'avoit reuocque et rappelle."

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Guilliaume des Barres, in which they expressed their fears that soon after my arrival in this country I should be committed to prison, which warning, though already given to me [in Flanders], they now thought fit to renew.* The letter contained nothing else save a paragraph relating to the "fleur de lis," the substance of which paragraph agreed exactly with what Your Majesty had previously written to me on the subject. It was couched in ambiguous and obscure language, from fear, no doubt, of its falling into bad hands, and of people thus becoming aware of Your Majesty's real intentions. After reading the contents of the letter, I said to the ambassador that, having reported home on everything connected with the said "fleur de lis," and what had been said and proposed about it, Your Majesty had sent me orders, in general terms, to help and assist in that as well as in any other matter connected with the strict fulfilment of the treaty of Cambray; in other words, to do and sanction anything which I considered necessary and convenient for the preservation of peace. With regard to the letter which he had just brought me, I observed that it was couched in ambiguous terms, without specifying or declaring how I was to act in that affair. I would, however, compare the two letters with the words of the treaty, and then decide on the best course to be followed in pursuance with Your Majesty's commands. Upon which the French ambassador requested me to try and have the jewel delivered into his hands, that he himself might quit England with honour, and have the opportunity of presenting it to his master in France. I told him that he might be well assured that I would do everything in my power for him to gain his object, yet, considering the difficulties and objections raised, and the danger of accident, I could not make up my mind to assume the responsibility. "Were I in your place," I said, "I would no longer insist upon having the 'fleur de lis;' I would try another expedient, which in my opinion will have the same effect and bring you most honourably under your master's notice, as you desire, without putting you under an obligation to these people, and at the same time will relieve you from a position of danger and anxiety. I propose that you ask His Highness, the King of England, to deposit the jewel into the hands of some honourable and trusty person† of your own choosing to accompany you in your journey to France, to be the bearer of the jewel, and to deliver it

* The paragraph, as it stands in the original, is almost unintelligible: "Troys ou quatre jours avant Noel l'ambassadeur de France m'apporta des lettres de Messire de la Chaux et Messire Guilliaume des Barres dont *d'arriver m'aseurra ne seres empoysonner*, cart oultre la creance que l'on m'en auroyt fayt, encoure yl n'avoit oblie la refere içi." The words I have underlined offer no sense whatever, unless they be altered as follows: "*dont à l'arrivee* [*il*] *m'asseura que serez emprisonne, car oultre la creance qu'il m'en avoyt fait, encoure yl n'avoit oblié la refaire ici.*" Readers must be aware by this time that Chapuys' French is none of the best, and that his orthography is detestable.

† "A quelque honneste personnage du quel yl se peust fier pour la porter en sa compagnie."

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into the hands of the Emperor's commissaries at the time of the delivery of the King's sons. His Imperial Majesty would then give a proper receipt (*quittance*) for it, which could not well be done before the actual restitution of the pledge. In my opinion it is highly improbable that these people will ever consent to the surrender without obtaining first from the Emperor a formal receipt or a most solemn attestation on my part, which I am not sufficiently empowered to grant. Were I to act otherwise I should get into a scrape, which I sincerely wish to avoid, and therefore propose the above expedient as the only one reasonable and likely to meet both ends. In the meantime, however, your brother, Messire de Langey, will come to England, and some other means of obviating the difficulty may be yet thought of."

I could very well see, to judge from the ambassador's face, that my proposition had not been agreeable to him, though he hopes that by his brother's arrival everything will be put to rights. He told me that he had no other news save that Your Imperial Majesty had entered Bologna; of the coronation he had no advice yet. The Venetians, he said, had upon one occasion almost accepted the terms offered to them, but the negociations had been suddenly broken off. He then went on to speak about the present which Your Majesty had lately offered to the Admiral [Brion], and which he said was handsomer by one half than that bestowed upon the Grand Master of France [Anne de Montmorency] the last time he was here [in England], when the Cardinal [of York]* shewed but little recollection of what he himself had been presented with two months before in France. Whilst on this topic the French ambassador observed that the Cardinal's annual pension in France amounted to 25,000 crs. without the extras, of which not one "livre tornoix" was owing to him at the present hour. His son, now a student in Paris, had also received some gratuity from the King, besides great expectations and promises for the future. The French are no doubt very sorry for the Cardinal's ruin, but they console themselves with the idea that they will have no more pensions to pay him, or promises to fulfil, and above all that he was the cause,† as they say, of the peace [of Madrid] not being kept, and of Monsieur de Lautrec and the rest of the French nobility meeting with their death [in Italy].

With regard to the Queen's business, she is aware that the English ambassadors at Rome have written to their king that it was impossible for them legally or in any other way to obtain what he wished, and that they saw no other way open than that of persuading Your Majesty by some good means to consent to the divorce, or at least not to take an

* "Ou Monseigneur le Cardinal monstre avoer petite souvenance de ce que deux moys devant l'on luy avoit donné en France."

† "Qu'il fust cause comme yl dient, que la paix ne se tint, et que Monsieur de Lautrec et la reste da leur (*sic*) noblesse moururent par sa dite cause."

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active part in the proceedings against it. The same means were to be tried with respect to the Queen, who (they said) ought to be treated differently from what she had been hitherto. That was, in the opinion of the English ambassadors, the only way of obtaining Your Majesty's consent, as well as of bringing the Queen herself to that conclusion, for to act otherwise in the affair was like knocking one's head against the wall. The Emperor, they added, was not to be won over by rigour or by worrying the Queen, but by fair means and mild persuasions.*

The King, as it would seem, would fain take the advice of his ambassadors, for at these last rejoicings and entertainments he has decidedly shewn the Queen more consideration than was his wont, and the Lady [Anne] herself did not make her appearance. Yet one might easily perceive that this apparent cordiality was rather simulated than hearty, for, as Your Majesty will hear by the Queen's own letter, the King was unable to disguise his disappointment in words if he did in manner.† In fact, His Most Serene Highness the King of England may feign and dissemble as much as he likes, but he must indeed be a clever wizard (*negromantier*) if he presumes to be able by such empty compliments (*par ses bonnes chieres*) to change the opinion of the Queen, who has been warned beforehand of the trap (*pippée*) that has been laid for her.

Notwithstanding all the warnings that have been addressed to her from time to time, the Queen never could think that her affairs would fall so low as they are at present. She always fancied that the King, after pursuing his course for some time, would turn away, and yielding to his conscience, would change his purpose as he had done at other times, and return to reason. Now, considering the King's great obstinacy, his long and stubborn adherence to his former plans, and the things he told her a short time ago, she has lost all

* "Touchant l'affere de la Royne ella sçeu (elle a sçeu) comme les ambassadeurs que le Roy tient aupres du pape ont escrit au dite Sme. Roy que par rigeur (rigueur) et train de justice yl estoit impossible qu'il pervint à chiefz de ce qu'il pretendoit, et qu'il ny avoit autre expedient que de gaignier votre majesté par quelque bon moyen pour la fere condescendre à ce diuorce, ou au moins affin qu'elle se desportast de fere partie formelle en ce proces, et fere le mesmes a l'endroyt de la Royne, a ceste cause qu'il estoyt neccessayre de changer rolte (route ?), et de trayttе[r] la Royne de tout autre sorte que l'on n'avoit fayt jusques içy, tant pour le consentement de votre maieste que pour induyre la Royne à ceste conclusion, cart d'y aller autrement avec votre dite maieste sur la Royne, c'estoyt vouloir donner de la teste contra la murallie, et qu'il vous falloyt conduyre par doulceur et amyableté non point par rigeur ou a force d'ennuyer la Royne."

† "Le Roy s'est voulu parforcer de mettre le dit conseil en practique, et ces festes yl a faict de visage quelque peu de meillieur semblant que par avant, seullement que la dame n'y fust. Et quelque semblant qu'il sçeust fere si se pouvoit l'on bien apperçevuoer que cella ne procedoit [de] guayeté de ceur mais tant seullement par dissimulation, la quelle dissimulation yl n'a sçeu tenir si bien en parolles comme en gestes ainsi que verra vostre majeste par les lettres que la Royne luy escrit." The letter alluded to in this paragraph is not in the Vienna Archives.

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hope of bringing him to a sense of right and duty.* So much so, that unless Your Majesty continue, as hitherto, to help and assist her, she considers her case as irretrievably lost, the justice of her cause being of no avail unless strengthened by the countenance, favour, and authority of Your Majesty, for the King has distinctly told the Queen and others that in this affair, should the Pope send a refusal, he should not heed it; it was enough for him to obtain within his own kingdom such an opinion as might set his conscience at rest; and he prized and valued the church of Canterbury in England as much as the people across the sea did the Roman.†

As the Queen has already informed Your Majesty of these particulars and I, myself, have alluded to them in my two last despatches, I may perhaps be dispensed from dwelling any longer upon this matter. I must, however, add that most of the prelates and learned doctors of this kingdom have written in favour of the Queen, and as a proof I send by this post the allegations of two of them considered in this country as the most learned and worthy of the Clergy; one is the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), the other that of London (Tunstall). The said allegations are meant to be communicated to the Papal Consistory, or wherever else it may be thought expedient to present them. They will be marvellously adapted to the case should His Holiness, as I had the honour to announce in my despatch of the 9th, wish for an assembly of theologians to dispute and define this matter, as they (the Roman doctors) will find the case carefully debated and explained therein, and it will save much trouble and time to those engaged in the discussion. As regards the King no man of learning has been found to write in his favour or defend his unjust cause, except one Doctor [Stockley], who has lately been sent to France on a mission along with the brother of the Lady (George Boleyn) lately created Lord Rochefort. This same doctor at the beginning of this difference maintained the Queen's part and swore publicly that she was in the right. Now the King says that the doctor was at the time almost out of his senses (*forcené*) but has since recovered his reason, and that having studied and pondered the case he finds that he was quite wrong in his opinion and therefore now affirms the contrary. There was a

* "La Royne quelque chose que [on] luy en aye tosiours dit et pronosticqué n'a jamays pensé les afferes tomber à ce qu'il sont. Et ne creust jamays autremant sinon que le Roy, apres que ce train qu'il tient auroit dure quelque temps, qu'il s'en tourneroit, et mettant la main sur sa conscience qu'il changeroit de propos ainsy qu'il avoyt fayt autresfoys, et se reduyroit à la rayson. Maintenant, considerant la grande, longue et tres aveugle obstination du Roy, et les propos qu'il luy a tenu puys peu de temps en ça elle a perdu l'expoer de la cognoyssance et discretion du Roy."

† "Cart le Roy a clerement dit à la dite Royne et autres que en ce affere, en cas de reffus yl ne se soucioit du pape, et qu'il luy bastoyt (*sic*) assez qu'il eust soufizante opinion en son royaume que fust satisfactoyre à sa conscience, et qu' autant estimoit en son royaume l'esglyse de Conturbery que l'on fait della de la mer la Romayne."

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time when the King trusted much to the written opinions which this said doctor was to have procured at the Paris University and to bring back with him; but I hear that the result has fallen rather short of his expectations, in consequence of which the King has been heard to say rather sharply that he cares not for the opinion of the Paris doctors nor of other universities, and that he knows how to act, &c., as the Queen has informed Your Majesty by her letter. I am told besides that the King has particularly tried to feel the pulse of this present Parliament, and see whether there was any way of making its members declare in his favour, but he has not found one foolish enough to bring forward the motion and for that reason the plan has been abandoned.*

On Christmas Day a courier arrived here dispatched by the English ambassadors at Your Imperial Majesty's Court, and now with the Pope [at Bologna] bringing news in date of the 13th inst. of the honourable and good reception which Your Majesty had caused to be made to the said ambassadors, of the solemn swearing to the peace, and of their (the ambassadors) being at table dining with Your Majesty, when the happy news arrived† of the birth of a new prince, upon which Your Majesty had welcomed and congratulated them (*en congratula leur venue*), observing that never had English ambassadors come to your Imperial court without most happy news being received at the same time. And I must add further that the intelligence forwarded by the English ambassadors on this occasion has attracted the greatest attention in this capital and caused an amount of rejoicing among the people that could not really be surpassed. Indeed, the duke of Norfolk sent immediately to apprize me of the general pleasure and satisfaction which this intelligence, as well as the re-appointment of the duke Francesco [Sforza] to his duchy of Milan had caused in this country. He also sent word to say he had not yet had time to peruse all the letters brought by the courier; when he had he would lose no time in communicating all news, hoping I would do the same if I had received any.

The day after Christmas the ambassador of France (Langeay) went to Grinnuys (Greenwich), where the Court is at present, and did not return until next day about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Immediately after his return he came to see me and stayed until nine. I asked him: "What news have you from Bologna? for I have been told you have letters from that city, and besides the circumstance of your going to Greenwich makes me believe in the report." He seemed to hesitate and

* "Il a bien tasté particulierement en ses estatz, à ce que l'on m'a dit, s'il y avoit ordre ou moyen qu'il se vousissent desclayrer en sa faveur; mays yl n'y a trouvé nul fous pour quoy l'on s'est despourté de mettre le cas en avant."

† After the birth of Philip, which took place on the 27th of May 1527, the Empress had another son called Juan, who died shortly after, on the 29th of March 1528, as well as a third named Fernando, who lived only a few days. *See* Florez' *Reynas Catolicas de Espanã*, vol. i., p. 856.

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to drag out the words as if he did not know what to answer. At last he owned he had received two or three large packets containing chiefly letters and despatches for the Papal Nuncio (Paolo Casale), who had already left, and for other persons. There were none for himself, he said. His journey to Greenwich had no other object than a private visit to the duke of Suffolk.* It was not his intention to wait upon the King, but whilst his own secretary was going to the Duke's to make an appointment, the King saw him (*l'entrevist*) and inquired where the French ambassador was. The secretary answered that he was actually in Greenwich, but that not having his court dress† with him, and being besides scantily attended, he dared not present himself. The King then gave orders that he should go to the Palace without ceremony of any sort, which the ambassador did forthwith. Once in the King's presence (he said) he tried to excuse his brother's delay, but forgetting that at the beginning of our conversation he had positively denied having received letters by that courier, this much escaped him: "I told the King that my brother [Jean] had lately written from France advising me again to call on him and renew the application about the 'fleur de lis,' which I did accordingly. The King's answer was, as on a former occasion, that he desired nothing so much as to deliver up the jewel in a manner acceptable to the Emperor, and that he wondered that his own ambassadors at the Imperial court had not written a word about it, which circumstance (he added) made him suspect that the letter he had written in his own hand and given to Mr. de Bayonne [Jean du Bellay] to be forwarded to Your Imperial Majesty had miscarried." The ambassador continued: "I replied: it must be so, for the King, my master, has written to me that the Emperor in answer to the said letter had signified his will to Monsieur de la Chaux, who no doubt had communicated it to Mr. Chappuys."‡ Hearing which, the ambassador went on to say: "the King declared that whenever you, the Imperial ambassador, should let him know His Majesty's wish respecting the 'fleur de lis' he (the King) was ready to give it up."

The French ambassador further said that he had reason to believe from what he had seen and heard there, at Court, that I should soon be summoned to Greenwich were it for no other purpose than that of congratulation on the above happy news received by the King and his ministers. He had, therefore, come to remind me of the whole affair, that I might think of the "fleur de lis" when at Greenwich.§ He had (he said) called

* Thus in the original, but perhaps Sufforcq, as Chapuys writes, might be a *lapsus calami* for Norforcq.

† "Pour non avoer son rocchet."

‡ "Le dist ambassadeur luy respondut que se (*sic*) estoit, et que le Roy son maistre lui avoit escrit que votre maieste en responce d'icelle [lettre] en avoit signiffie sa voulente a monsieur de la Chaux, que m'en debuoyt avoer aduerty."

§ "Il m'estoit bien voulu venir remantoner affin que ne l'obliasse quant ires en court, et oultres ce qu'il estoyt voulentiers venu à moy pour me donne[r] part des nouvelles qu'il avoit entendu a la court, et pour ce fayre yl estoit venu à telles heures affin qu'il fust le prevenant."

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on me at this late hour for the purpose of imparting certain intelligence he had heard at Court, and that he might also be the first to announce it. Which intelligence after all turned out to be the very same as that received by the King, namely, the reception given [by Your Majesty] to the English ambassadors, and the appointment of the duke of Milan. How Your Majesty expected to receive the advice and counsel of the princes of Germany about the coronation ;* how Gregory Casal, in a postscript of the 13th, had written to acquaint this king with the news lately received at Bologna respecting the Lord Ranzo (Renzo da Ceri), and his having surrendered L'appulie (Puglia), and all the ports of the coast into the hands of your commanders, in consequence of which many people who used to take a high tone, now spoke with low voices and bowed heads.† Casal did not give more details; he said nothing about Barletta in his letter, nor did he point out who the people were who had lowered their tone of voice (*qu' avoint baysse le cacquet*). He writes, morever, as the French ambassador asserts, that a rumour was afloat in Bologna that the Pope intended going back to Rome for the festivals (*pour tenir ses festes*). As for a journey to Naples, the ambassador could assure the King, as one who knows the truth of the case, that His Holiness had never thought seriously of going to that kingdom for fear of Your Majesty going thither also, and that if the Pope has ever said anything about such a journey, it must be only for the sake of disguising his real intentions, and getting Your Majesty's thanks for the offer (*ou pour en avoir le bon grey*), in case of a visit to Naples having been decided upon.‡

The French ambassador (Langeay) having told his news I asked him what he thought of the proposed meeting of the Pope, of Your Majesty, and of his master, the King, at Thuringen, whereof he had once spoken to me, and which I found also reported in this country; also what was this king's opinion on the subject, and what he had said about it. His answer was that he thought Mr. de Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) had gone to France principally for the purpose of bringing about the said interview, and as to the king of England, that he saw nothing in the proposed conference that was not at once natural and very commendable (*louable*). "I fancy," he added, "that this king will not see the meeting with displeasure, inasmuch as he thinks that by this means the terms and conditions of the treaty at Cambray may be considerably amended, especially that relating to the money to be paid for

* "Comme votre Maieste pour sa couronation attendoit l'advis et conseil des princes d'Allemagnie."

† "Dont plusieurs gens que soulvint (*sic*) parler hault bayssoint la teste et le cacquet."

‡ "Plus escrit le dit Gregoyre que le bruyt courroit la que le pape vouloit aller tenir ses festes a Romme, toutesfoys qu'il pouvoit bien asseurer le Roy comme celluy qu'en sçavoit la vray verite que le pape n'avoit nul tallent d'aller au dit royaume pour non donner occasion que votre maieste y vousist aller, et que ce que le pape en aura dit sera esté pour dissimulation, ou pour en avoer le bon grey s'il sçayt que votre maieste[a] resoulu de fere le dit voyage."

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the ransom of the sons of France, about which, as I have frequently informed Your Imperial Majesty, this ambassador (Langeay) has oftentimes spoken to me. This, moreover, would be the means of preventing Your Majesty's visit to Rome, which he (the King) considers under the light of a pompous, vain, and ceremonious act rather than otherwise. That is also the reason why this king has always recommended Bologna as the place for the coronation, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty by the Seigneur de Mingoval, in which opinion, however, this king is as much alone, and by himself, as he is in the divorce affair, most of his courtiers maintaining that Rome would have been a much fitter place not only to remove all scruples, but also for the reputation to be gained against the Turks in times like these, and the dread, which however powerful, these last have of Your Majesty."*

After some familiar talk (*familiers propos*), the said ambassador (Langeay) went on to say, though far away from the topic of our conversation, that it might well happen that many jealous people, envying Your Majesty's friendship towards France, and the irresistible power which union of this sort is likely to give you both, would presume to invent and forge malicious reports, and raise scruples for the sole purpose of creating mistrust and ill-will between you two; but it would be found in the end (the ambassador observed), that the King, his master, plays fair (*n' y va que a bon jeu bon compte*) and that it will not be his fault if the friendship between Your Majesty and himself does not last and increase, as behoves two such princes, and time and circumstances require.

I really thought that having entered on this topic, the ambassador would go on with it, and that by way of commentary upon his misgivings he would have pointed out facts or afforded proofs in confirmation of his apprehensions. Had he been so inclined I would certainly have furnished him the means of doing so, but I was mistaken; he suddenly dropped the subject and passed to other matters. Some time after I brought him back on the subject by saying to him: "You must have heard something to induce you to make this

* "Apres les dites nouvelles je luy demandis quesse (qu'est ce) qu'il entendoit de l'assemblee que devuoyt estre a Thuring du pape, votre maieste et le roy son maystre, dont autresfoys yl m'avoit parle, et le bruyt en courroit par icy et qu'en sembloyt a ce roy et quelle chose yl en disoyt. Il me dit qu'il pensoit que monsieur de Terbes fust venu en France principallement pour ce effait, et quant a ce roy qu'il ne le trouvoit que bon et louable. Je cuydes asses le dit serenissime roy n'en seroit desplaysant, cart yl se pense que par ce moyen l'on pourroit traytte [r] de rabbatre beaucopt (*sic*) du contenu au traytté de Cambray, speciallemant de la somme des deniers, de la quelle, comme ay çi devant plusieurs foys escrit a votre maieste m'a maintz propos tenu. Aussy c'est le moyen d'empecher le voyage de Romme, que luy semble plus pompe, vanite, et seremonie que autre chose, e a tosiours plus louve la couronation de Bolougnie, comme escrivis a votre maiesté par la Sieur de Mingoval. En quelle opinion yl est icy presque ausy seul que en celle de son divorce, cart la plus part de la court luy desbattent estre plus louable et plus convenable à Romme que ailleurs tant pour esviter tous scrupules que pour la reputation que en ce temps n'a defally de passer par la Turquie, que leur augmentera la peur que certainement, quelques puyssants qu'il soyent, yl ont de votre maiesté."

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confidence, or else you would not have spoken as you have done. Now if you would have the kindness to communicate your intelligence, it might be that our mutual affairs would go on better." His answer was that what he had just told me was a mere conjecture of his own, for it was to be presumed the Italian powers would not be over glad of such friendship and alliance.

The ambassador said likewise he had heard that the Turk had defied the king of Hungary, and that if the report were true he would undoubtedly return this summer [to Europe], and again invade that country. But he rather thought the news to be an invention of the King in order to persuade the princes of Germany to contribute towards the defence of the country, and make other military preparations (*preparatoyres*).

He (Langeay) is only waiting for his brother [Jean du Bellay], who travels by short stages and in a litter, in consequence of his having hurt his leg, to quit London. Nor will his brother, when he comes, make a long stay here, for (I hear) he has already asked to be replaced by Jehan Jocquin, the man whom the French king generally employs whenever there is any important negociation to be set on foot.*

As above stated, the ambassador went on Sunday last to Greenwich. As he was about to return to London in the evening he was retained, as well as his host, for a game at cards, for the latter thinks of nothing else. He gambled with the lords and gentlemen [of the Court] till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning of Monday. That very day he was with some of the King's Privy Councillors to settle certain disputes and claims arising out of piracies committed by vessels of both nations on each other. He also tried, as I have been told by one of the councillors, to amend one of the articles in their last treaty of perpetual peace, which says that in case of the king of France, within three months after an act of piracy on English merchant ships has been committed at sea, not restituting the property or causing the same to be restituted to its owners, he shall be obliged to pay the amount out of his treasury with interest, and costs. I cannot say whether the French ambassador will obtain the modification of this article, or what other business, if any, he has at Court, but I am told that he has been as honourably received as he was before, which is enough to make his mouth water (*luy donner la bonne boche*) at his departure. Nevertheless, I received on the day of the Holy Innocents (28th December), a letter wherein it is stated that the good reception made to this ambassador springs from another cause, although I must say that the reason assigned has not, in my opinion, a solid foundation or probability, and I really believe that this game has been

* "Celuy qu'a accoustume de faire les explanades de quelque bonne practique."

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played by the consent of the King or his ministers in order to promote the object they aim at. I have, however, considered it worthy of mention, since it is far better in this, as well as in other matters, to write many superfluous things than omit one that may be of importance.

The letter I allude to has no signature or address, but it is evident to me that in order to guard against discovery the above precautions have been used. It is in Spanish, and was forwarded by the Queen's physician* [*Victoria*]. *Among other things of less importance, the letter says what I am going to transcribe most faithfully:†* "*Sir, last night a gentleman of this household feigned to be unwell, and sent for me. After my inquiring about the symptoms of his disease, he made me swear that I would never reveal his name, and then said to me that for the love he professed to Christianity and to the Emperor he was about to reveal certain secrets that they might come to the Emperor's knowledge, and that since your Lordship was here the intelligence might easily be transmitted wherever the Emperor was. The king of France (he said) has written to this king, and concerted with him by means of his ambassador in this country to give money and help to the German princes so as to make the whole country rise against him, shake off his allegiance, and elect another emperor. It is said in the letter that the Emperor is still in Italy, that he favours the Pope, and is his confederate, having promised to defend and uphold him in the state in which he was* [*formerly*]. *This king has willingly approved the proposed plan, remarking that since the Pope has not been so favourable to him in this matter of the divorce as he (the King) should have wished, he is willing to enter into the plan, which is entirely the French king's invention. He said more; he was afraid that in the end both would become Lutherans, and that the divorce and new marriage would take effect in disobedience to the Pope.*"

The Queen's physician further says in his letter that his patient assured him that what he told him was as sure as the Gospel of St. John, and that I was to forward the information written in cipher, for if it ever came to be known that the

* "Pour jouer plus à la seure quelque pris que nous soyons."

† "Señor: anoche fingió ser enfermo un cauallero desta casa y me llamó y luego que se gabló (*sic*) de su enfermedad me tomó juramento para que no descubriese quien era el que me dixo las pallabras seguientes, deziendo me que por el amor que tenia á la Christiandad y al Emperador me las dezia para que veniesen a noticia del Emperador. Y pues V[uestra] S[eñoria] estaua acá las podria escreuir para donde él está. Dixome como el Rey de Francia a escrito á este Serenissimo rey y procurado por el embaxador que acá está, y este rey se ha concertado con el para reuolver toda la Alemaña contra el Emperador dandoles dineros y favor para que no obedescen (*sic*) al Emperador y para elegir otro, deziendoles como el Emperador está agora en las Italias, y fauoresce al Papa, y está confederado con él, y que le a promettido de guardarle y defenderle en el estado en que era y está. Dice se ha hecho de buena voluntad de parte deste Rey, deziendo que pues el Papa no le ha sido tan favorable como quesiera en este su negocio, que assi quiere [él] hazer, y el que lo inventó es el Rey de Francia. Mas me dixo que se temia á la postre se harian Lutheranos, y tambien este casamiento sin obediencia del Papa."

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above facts had been communicated to Your Majesty through me, they would very soon suspect and find out who had revealed the secret, since very few persons [*at Court*] *knew of it.*

Immediately after the receipt of the above anonymous letter, I sent for a man here who holds frequent communication with the Germans residing in, or who come occasionally to, London, especially with one Laurens Sçavre (*sic*), a native of Nuremberg, and this king's pensioner, as also with another German, who came some time ago in behalf of the duke George of Saxe, and inquired from him what was their business in this country. His answer was that as far as he knew the latter had only come to procure horses and dogs (*acquences et dongues*), and that the King had already given him two of each sort. The said agent and his companions (he added) took good care not to speak in his presence, knowing that he (my informer) frequented my house, though at times they talked about Your Majesty's journey to Germany, which seemed not to be to their taste. Respecting the other German, Sçavre, who is residing* here, he said that for the very same reason he refrained from telling him news, but that on the second day of Noel, being with Sçavre at his lodgings, there came a man of honest appearance, who had just arrived from Germany, and whom immediately after dinner he (Sçavre) conducted to Court, and that in his opinion they must be now concocting and brewing (*traginer et brasser*) something together. What this could be my informer could not tell, as he had perceived no symptoms of it before. He, however, promised to be more on the alert in future, and try whether he could not procure information about their doings.

To-day Brian Tuck came to pay me a visit in the duke of Norfolk's name, and to shew me letters from the English ambassador in Venice; also to inform me of the contents of others the Duke had received on Christmas Day. Although the information communicated by Brian was no novelty, the substance being the same as that which I heard on a former occasion, his visit had, however, the effect of confirming my opinion on the two points above alluded to; for he said to me that the duke of Norfolk was really astonished that I had not visited the King on these recent festivals; he thought the King would have sent for me; if he had forgotten to do so I was not to stand upon ceremony but go at once to Court, as if I belonged to the Royal Household (*familierement*), just as the French ambassador had done. I told Brian that Don Iñigo de Mendoza had observed to me that it was not the custom for foreign ambassadors [in England] to go to Court

* "Quant au dit scavre quest icy demoure, il me dit que par la [mesme] rayson que dessus yl s'esconduyt de luy communiquer nouvelles." *Demouré* and *demourant* are often employed by Chapuys in the sense of "resident," as I have translated, but in this case the word used might imply that he had formed part of a former mission, and "remained" in London.

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unless under a special invitation. Many people had since told me the same. It was that, not the etiquet or Court ceremonial, which had prevented me from calling. The French ambassador had informed me that whenever His Highness the King had notice of his own ambassadors having been well treated in France he never failed to send for him or them, as it might be. I should never have stood on ceremoney had I been sure that my visit would be agreeable to the King. True, the French ambassador had gone to Greenwich, but perhaps he had the King's permission for it. In short, I was ready to appear at Court when agreeable to His Highness, hearing which the said Brian Tuck, who certainly preserves his attachment to Your Majesty, and has much good-will for your service, said: "You are right; I advise you to wait until the Epiphany, and see whether the King will send for you or not.* Should he not, my opinion is that you ought to present yourself on that day." I propose following his advice.

No sooner had the said Brian Tuck left me than I had a visit from Messire Augustin Scarpinello, the ambassador of the duke of Milan [Francesco Sforza], who, among other things, spoke to me on the Queen's business in the very same terms contained in the ciphered paragraphs of this present despatch, adding that, as far as he (Scarpinello) could gather, these people allege the Queen's sterility [as a reason and excuse for the proposed divorce]. Had she, they say, from the very beginning been declared unfit for marriage, owing to some natural impediment, it is evident that her marriage would have been invalid. Now that all hope of succession, which is one of the blessings and principal objects of that Sacrament, has vanished, the Pope, even supposing the dispensation for the Queen's marriage to have been legitimate and valid, might and ought to have allowed the dissolution of the said tie and the contracting of another. Should this give rise to scruple or bad example, the King would willingly atone for and repair the fault by contributing as many men and ducats as should be demanded of him for this Turkish war, which, after all, would be a move far more beneficious to all parties than his continuance in this marriage.†

* "Le dit Brian Tuck, que certainemant continue à la bonne voulente qu'il a tosiours heu de fere service à votre maieste, me dit que le pregnes bien et que le pouves attendre jusques à jour des Roys."

† "Et entre autres deuises yl tumba a parler de l'affere de la Royne en conformité de ce qu'ay signifié au premieres chiffres de la presente, et que pour le divorce, a ce qu'il avoit entendu, qu'il [s] alleguent la sterilite de la Royne, et que comme si doys le commancement elle heust este [declaire] inhabile a estre marié pour quelque empeschement naturel, que le mariage n'eust riens vallu; ainsy estant perdue l'apparence d'avoir succesion de la dite Royne, qu'est l'ung des biens et des principalles intentions du dit sacrement, que le Pape, quant bien la despense heust este bonne pour le mariage de la Royne, maintenant deburoit permettre qu'il en print une autre, et que s'yl y a quelque scrupule, ou mal example que le Roy voudroit recompenser la faulte contribuant et gens et argent tant a que l'on demanderoit pour aller contre le Turc, que redunderoit a plus gros bien que la perseveration du dit mariage et qu'a son aduis une partie de la charge du Nunce est fondee sur cella."

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Scarpinello told me besides that he had heard from the French ambassador that the King had disapproved of Mr. de Tarbes'* journey to France, and formed certain suspicions about it. He had said to the French ambassador [who resides here] these or similar words: "Had it not been for the implicit confidence I place in my brother, the most Christian King of France, there would be plenty of occasion now for thinking slightly of him, for certainly to treat of such important affairs [with the Emperor] without letting me know is not honest behaviour." Upon which the said ambassador (Du Bellay) invented the following excuse: he said that he (Grammont) had gone to France merely on his own private business and that of Chancellor (Du Prat.)† His brother [John] had certainly written to him of the King's displeasure at that ambassador having quitted [London] without taking his orders; but he could assure the King that the negociations were not so far advanced as he had been led to expect, and that his own brother, Monsieur de Langez (*sic*) would soon bring to England a true account of all the affair and how matters stood, in order to hear his advice and pleasure thereupon.

The Queen now has neither the leisure nor the means of writing to Your Majesty as fully as she might otherwise have wished, but she has just sent me a message to request me to forward to the Imperial court a copy of her own letter to the Pope. I have accordingly written to Mr. de Praët that he may wait on His Holiness and commend her affair to him.

Parliament has been prorogued (*licenciado*) until the 26th of April. Enclosed is a note of what that assembly has done hitherto.—London, 31st December 1529.

French. Holograph. pp.

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2 Jan. **242.** New Deed of Investiture of the Duchy of Milan in favour of Francesco Sforza.

S. Arch. Gen., f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 283*b*.

Bologna, 2nd of January 1530.

Latin. pp. 1½.

— **243.** Investiture of Francesco Sforza as duke of Milan.

S. Pat. Re. Milan, L. 1, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 283 v°.

Bologna, 2nd January 1530.

Latin. Copy. pp. 3.

— Jan. **244.** The Empress Isabella to Francisco de los Covos.

S. Pat. Re. Cap. y Prat. c. Pont., L. 2, f. 63.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 351.

Our letter to His Imperial Majesty, and a paragraph of the instructions which Don Antonio de Mendoça took with him, will inform you of what has been done here since the arrival of the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo‡ with the Emperor's com-

* Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes, in the south of France.

† Antoine du Prat, grand chancellor of France, archbishop of Sens (Senoncensis) who in 1529 was created cardinal at the same time with Granvelle. Estevan Gabriel Merino, and others. Writers of this time, and especially Spaniards, frequently confound him with Louis de Flandres, Sieur de Praët, commonly called Monsieur de Praet.

‡ His name was Maldonado. *See* No. 229, p. 363.

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mands. The Royal Council of Castille and the Council of State were immediately assembled under the presidency of the bishop of Çamora, when the point was put under discussion how and where the money required for the Emperor's immediate wants could be procured.

As the Bishop's instructions intimated that the sum was to be raised on the articles comprised under the denomination of "Sisa General," most of the councillors were of opinion that such a tax could not well be imposed without calling together the Cortes or General States of these kingdoms. Such a convocation would be at this present moment inconvenient, not to say dangerous, as the deputies from the cities and towns would never consent to the nobility, gentry, friars, nuns (*religiosos de ambos sexos*), and ecclesiastics in general being taxed. If the Emperor still insists upon the Cortes being summoned for that special purpose, it would be advisable to extend the measure to all the towns and villages belonging to the Crown,* as well as to all ecclesiastical and lay lords without yielding to the representations of the nobles, who will naturally ask to be exempted therefrom as at other times. The excise (*sisa*) to be paid only by ratepayers (*pecheros*), trades people, and others, who cannot allege exemption. This opinion, however, was far from being unanimous, the majority of the councillors having voted that on no consideration could this be the moment to demand the excise (*sisa*) from any kind of people in Castille, or to convoke the Cortes. Besides, were the "sisa" unpopular, as it is to be levied on the ratepayers (*pecheros*), its yieldings would be scanty, and the collection (*recaudacion*) too slow to be of much use.

Has had these details omitted in Mendoza's instructions because, though he is much to be trusted, yet it would not do for such things to be divulged and get abroad, &c.—Madrid, January 1530.†

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

11 Jan. **245.** The Emperor to his Brother King Ferdinand.

Lanz. Corresp. des Kaysers, vol. I., p. 360.

I have duly received your two last letters, but was unable from press of business to write at the time, so that Loys, the courier, had to go away without my answer. Would have been unable then, bad cipherer (*mauvais chiffreur*) as I am, to explain my views, and besides things were so uncertain and doubtful then that I could not venture to fix any time for my journey. Now that matters seem more clearly defined I will enter into further details respecting them.

And first of all, I have to thank you for your congratulations on the birth of my second son,‡ of which you were duly

* The Empress Isabella (as stated elsewhere, vol. iv., part 2, p. 898), was left by Charles in charge of the Government, assisted by Cardinal Tavera, archbishop of Toledo, and others.

† The Emperor's second son, Ferdinand, was born in November 1529, but died a few days after. *See Florez' Reynas Catolicas de España*, vol. i., p. 856.

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informed by Madame Margaret, as well as by Martin de Salinas, your ambassador at this our court.

Respecting Mr. de Praët's departure [for France], your wishes have been complied with, for he has already left. The instructions for his mission have been forwarded to Cardinal Saltzburg according to your desire. As to the Bishop of Gurce, I was not aware that he ever solicited the charge of ambassador, if he did he shall not get it after what you have written to me.

I shall now reply to your second letter, which is of much greater importance. You will hear hereafter the little inclination or power which the Christian princes have of helping you in this present difficulty. I apprehend that our being brothers and loving each other as we do, and my taking such interest in your prosperity and welfare, are the principal causes why no trust is to be placed in their assistance. Our mutual forces, therefore, are the only ones to be relied upon in the present emergency, and I must add that I do not consider them sufficiently great to withstand so formidable a power as the Turk's, unless you decide to accept the truce you speak of; inasmuch as your ordinary expenses, already very considerable, would be so increased by war, that you could no longer pay your men, and although in such an emergency as a Turkish invasion I should not hesitate to help you with all my resources, I might myself run the same risk as you; besides which it might well happen that my assistance, for want of money, would be scanty or come too late, and consequently be useless, as the last nearly was. These are the reasons why, in my opinion, you ought not to refuse the truce proposed. Yet, if you accept it, all those who are ill-disposed towards us and the Empire are sure to say that they would otherwise have done wonders, and that since you, who are the nearest to the enemy and can do him most harm, sign a truce, it is not for them to interfere. And, moreover, as they know very well that you never take such resolutions without previously consulting me, they will say hereafter that I, who instigated them against the Turk, who threatens the frontiers of my own dominions, both by sea and land, had been the first, though Emperor, to advise a suspension of arms. They might also say that since the Turk has retreated to his own country, more through sheer necessity than from fear of any succour in men coming to your camp; and since there is no probability of his returning this year, or if he does return at all, of his invading Hungary for three years to come, how is it, they will ask, that you make truce? for in so doing, they will argue, you give him to understand that your difficulties are quite as great as his. This might, besides, afford occasion for the enemy to imagine that had he stayed longer in Europe he might easily have got all he wanted, and also that once free and disengaged in those parts, he could look out for some other Christian country to invade, and I need scarcely say that the calamity would hardly fall

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on any other prince but myself. Nevertheless, I would not for any personal consideration of mine, prevent you from attending to your own interests, for as you would not willingly act in prejudice of any other Christian prince, I am sure that you would not, either in this instance, act in mine, and that if the smallest of them were in need you would immediately march to his assistance, much more to mine, who am your brother. Would to God every Christian prince would behave towards you as I have no doubt you would behave towards them in a similar case, and that they may not cool down and excuse themselves from action with this retreat of the Turk, which ought, on the contrary, to encourage them to wage war upon and destroy the Infidel, that he may never again return [to Europe], or if he does, that he may not find a place to set his foot upon. But the said princes, knowing that this would be a great boon for us two, will, I apprehend, forsake God's service and that of Christianity, and leave us to fight single handed against our powerful adversary. Considering, therefore, the little regard the said Christian princes seem to have for these sacred objects, and the political reasons above specified, the former being more weighty and solid than the latter, besides others which I will explain hereafter; seeing, moreover, their want of good-will and inclination to aid us, and the state of affairs in Germany, whence your chief and principal succour ought to come; seeing also that at the present moment the affairs of the Queen of England, our aunt, are being seriously discussed, and might become in time the cause for new wars, unless things take a very different turn; I think that you ought, on the whole, to abstain from war.

All and every one of the above considerations induce me to believe that you would do well in accepting the truce as proposed, or, if not, in procuring one yourself. However, as the Pope has now called together the ambassadors of the Christian powers, in order to propose to them a crusade against the Turk, and it is to be believed they will take their time to acquaint their respective masters thereof, that will give you time to wait, for although the answer of the ambassadors will be anything but favourable or appropriate to the circumstances, and they are sure to say that whilst on one side we ask for aid against the Turk, we are, on the other hand, negociating a truce with him, you can easily wait (if it does not put you to too much inconvenience or expense) until this peace, which cannot be delayed beyond the beginning, or, at the most, the end of March, is fairly settled, and the German affairs are less embroiled, and you might in the meantime decide whether I ought to go to you soon, or delay my journey. My opinion is, as I said before, that you ought, if you can afford it, to wait until the answer of these princes here assembled be known. If unfavourable, and they refuse their aid, you have a good excuse for accepting the truce. The cause of the delay has been that no one here saw a chance of success in the convoca-

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tion of the assembly, and if the meeting took place at last it was entirely through His Holiness' exertions and my own, for no other purpose than to prevent their saying afterwards that had they been invited to it they would have done wonders, although, to tell you the truth, I do not believe a single word of what they may say in this respect, but, on the contrary, am persuaded that, if left to themselves, they would move in the opposite direction.

In order not to lose time, and lest the Turk should imagine that it is difficult for you to obtain the aid you are now asking for, and consequently take courage; lest people should think that you yourself had applied for a truce instead of waiting for the offer of it, I would advise and recommend that you should send the Infidel an ambassador with the following secret message: You might tell him that you have delayed answering his letter from want of a man in your dominions who could interpret the Turkish language. That you were besides unwilling to reply, for fear it should be thought that your anxiety to make a truce had its origin in fear, which ought in nowise to exist in treaties of this sort, among parties equally free and disembarrassed. For which reason, and perceiving that at the present hour each of you was in his own territory, without any particular reason to fear each other, nor do acts which might appear compulsory, you now wrote to him, inquiring whether he still persists in his avowed determination of making truce, and, if so, that, provided he does not demand from you anything to the prejudice of Christendom and its princes, you will prove to him that you desire peace and his friendship, voluntarily, not by force, and that you wait for an answer. You may alter or suppress any sentence you like; if too harsh, you may soften it; if too humble, you may modify or strike it out entirely. In sending a secret message of this sort I see no harm whatever; the only thing is the time lost and the expense of waiting for an answer. Such is my advice. It is for you to consider whether you can or cannot conveniently follow it. I have no doubt that you have used all diligence in getting the Turk's letter translated into German, and that the fault was not yours. Had you procured a translation sooner, the remedy would have been more at hand; but what has not been may still be done.

I have so far answered the contents of your two letters; it now remains for me to say something respecting my journey to Germany, which you naturally desire to take place as quickly as possible. But as the assistance to be got against the Turk, if any, is sure to be of very small amount, I wish to have your advice on three things. Am I to be crowned as soon as possible on this side of Rome, so as to be able, immediately after my coronation, to go to Germany; or am I to take my three crowns at Rome and delay my journey till May or June? Or again, should the state of affairs in Germany and the settlement of the present peace allow it, ought I to

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visit first my kingdom of Naples (which is sadly in want of my presence), leave the German journey for a later season, and then return to Spain by way of Flanders, without having to come back to Italy and Naples, which last place, as I said before, I must needs visit once, and, if possible, this time before or after my journey to Germany?

That you may the better answer these questions, and give me the advice I require, I will explain to you, firstly, the causes which prompted my departure from Spain; secondly, the events that have taken place since, why and for what reason, sure as I am that most people will and do judge of the case differently. Having told you already, on another occasion, what my ideas were in quitting Spain and coming over to Italy, against the advice of many of my councillors, and not so well provided with money and troops as I ought to have been, I will only tell you that my firm conviction is this: that had I remained in Spain the peace would never have been made, and war would have gone on for ever. My forces were getting exhausted, and my means began to fail. By coming to Italy I felt sure that peace would be soon made either through the exhaustion of one of the belligerents or by one of the two getting the better of the other.

The other is the great heresies with which Germany was and is still troubled, and which increase every day. If there was a remedy it lay in my coming over, or at least in crossing the sea. It was greatly to be feared that disobedience and want of respect might spread there, and even that some of the elector princes would attempt to nominate another king of the Romans, and as I wish you to be that king, and that could not be accomplished without my being crowned as emperor first, that is the second reason that decided me to come to these parts.

The third reason was to visit my kingdom of Naples, which, as I said before, is completely exhausted and destroyed by the late wars. If I could not go thither on my arrival, or at least send a man of authority and repute, or otherwise visit the capital on my return to Spain, its ruin was certain. By coming to Italy there was a chance of peace being soon made, for, in the first place, all the Italian princes could not possibly combine against me, and, on the other hand, I could make profitable alliances. Had it been left to my choice I would willingly have begun by pacifying Italy, and afterwards making war on France, or if not have begun by France, the better to make peace in Italy, for I do not see either the reason for, or the means of conquering the whole of the latter country. Indeed, had I succeeded in subduing part of Italy, this would have been a standing cause for war, besides which I then desired, and still desire, the Pope's friendship, whoever he may be, and that could hardly be attained if I wished to become supreme ruler in Italy.

Besides the above three reasons there was another also of

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great weight, which was that, believing the Turk's invasion to have been earlier than it really was, I fancied that I might meet him on the field. I know very well that I did not come to Italy sufficiently provided with men and money to undertake such mighty things, but I know also that some work will in the end be done, and that if the game is to be lost it is much better that the blow should come after our crossing the sea than through staying at home, for then our common disappointment would be greater and more dishonourable.

This was my first and principal reason for leaving Spain, as I have told you. As to the second and third, I have often conversed with your ambassadors, and doubt not but that they have duly informed you thereof; and yet, that you may understand better my position and views, I will now recapitulate them in my own handwriting. The second point is, that in consequence of the majority of my councillors being of opinion that the journey ought not to take place, the fleet was not ready for the time I had fixed, and two months' pay to the troops and mariners was thus thrown away, as it were, and likewise much of the favourable season for navigating. The unwillingness shewn by my Spanish subjects that I should be absent; the money to come from the settlement of the Molucco Islands not being forthcoming, owing to the dilatory ways of the king of Portugal; the corn harvest, from which I intended getting a good sum of money, being everywhere bad or indifferent; all these causes combined delayed my departure, and made me come late and not so amply provided as I should have wished. On the road the first news of the peace with France was received, of which, however, I was not officially informed until 20 days after my disembarkation at Savona, during which time, as the season was very backward, and the men from Malaga had been two months at sea, and were besides very much fatigued, I was obliged to give them some rest. It was then that I heard certain news of this peace, which cannot be but good if it lasts, and which naturally made me change all my plans. Some days previous to this I had had a letter from you, stating your belief that the Turk would not come, and this intelligence, coupled with the other about the peace, induced me to take a different route. This gave me more leisure to attend to the affairs of Italy, besides which I found here some parties who wished me very much to carry on war, and advised me to that effect. I believed in them as in people well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. I waged war; but in so doing I lost much time without achieving anything of importance. I, therefore found myself much further from you than I should otherwise have been, had I at the beginning invaded the Venetian territory, for then I would have been nearer to you, and in a better position to hasten to your aid and share your dangers, with a greater chance perhaps of the Signory coming to terms, as she has

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since done, and consequently of a more advantageous settlement of the Milan question.

When a fault is committed at the beginning of an affair it takes much time and trouble to correct it. Then came your messengers, one after the other, representing in warm terms your necessity and the increasing prosperity of the Turkish arms. Hearing which, and perceiving the shortness of the term allowed (though longer than I should otherwise have wished); fearing on the one hand to arrive too late, and on the other that something might happen to mar the enterprize, I actually set out on this journey with less than the necessary provision, and instead of holding one language was obliged by circumstances to speak a very different one, shewing much inclination to peace, which in fact I have always had. And, although it is an ascertained fact that the greater the desire a man shews for a thing, the more difficult it is for him to obtain it, I might have followed another course, far more profitable. However this may be, I was already on the road, when the news arrived of the retreat of the Turk. The Pope was here [at Bologna] at my request, owing to which, and to the season being already much advanced (without any indications that the winter would be as mild as it has been), I found myself in a fix; I could not advance, nor recede, nor change my plan, especially having already proclaimed my adhesion to peace. With matters in this state the undertaking against Florence was decided upon and actually commenced. At first it was thought that 15 or 20 days would be sufficient to prepare for the enterprize; that there was no other affair in hand, and that the Pope was to be satisfied on this point. Then it was asserted that the provisions collected were insufficient; that more material of war was wanted, in preparing which several months elapsed, and even now I do not think that all is ready, though I hope that towards the end of this present month we shall hear of the siege of Florence having begun. For this reason it is my intention to quit Genoa in about 10 or 12 days and go somewhere else; for the Spaniards here with me are wanted for that undertaking, and I could not possibly remain behind without an army. If I find that it is better to go on, I shall be in a situation to do so, shall proceed to Bologna, where His Holiness will also be, take my several crowns much sooner than I intended, and then start for Germany. I hope, however, before starting on my journey to receive such news from you, as will be the means of strengthening me further in this my resolution. Cannot say how the Florentine business will end, whether by capitulation or by force; but I have engaged my word to the Pope, and my promise must be fulfilled. I would not for the world put myself in the wrong with him. He has spent money, and partly paid the besieging forces; it would be dishonourable were I now to leave him in the lurch It is, therefore, to my long stay here [at Bologna]—during

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which, however, peace has been concluded with the Signory of Venice and with the duke of Milan, to whom the estate has finally been restored—that the delay in my journey must be exclusively ascribed. You may believe me when I say that, had I been differently situated, and known how to render you the needful aid, I should not have hesitated one moment.

But if I am, brother, to tell you the real truth I must confess to you that on the occasion of this war to be made against the Turk, and in order to ensure the co-operation of the Christian princes, I had spoken so warmly and so frequently about peace that I should have considered it dishonourable not to promote it with all my power. I could not without this persuade the Signory to accept my terms; I say more, I think that the Venetians themselves, and some of the princes with whom I was at peace already, would have been glad to recommence war, and others would not have tolerated that you or I, or any one prince professing to be our friend and ally, should remain therein. The duke of Milan, moreover, still held some very strong places, and although I might have given the rest of the Duchy to another that would have been a sufficient motive for the Venetians not to give up what strong places they held in Lombardy. This might have led to everlasting wars in Italy, because, being already on my route and far from their territory, I should have been obliged to go to Milan and carry on war on the frontiers of Venice. If to this be added that the Germans were coming down, that the Spaniards having already been three months in Italy had almost consumed my resources; that I was disappointed in Flanders of 100,000 ducats, which have been since received; that bankers and merchants, not receiving news from Spain, were chary in advancing money (though the news since received from that country is more favourable), you will easily understand that I was at one time reduced to great extremities.

The above reasons have moved me to act as I have done. Some people will argue that since all my embarrassments proceeded from want of money, I might have demanded a larger sum from France, but my answer is that the utmost that country can pay has been asked as a ransom for the King's sons. Besides I was not sure then, nor am I now, that the French would keep the peace long, and, therefore, it was important for me to look for friends and allies elsewhere, and let Italy enjoy peace and liberty. And, moreover, though the Venetians had duly surrendered to me Barletta, in the kingdom of Naples, they still held four or five seaport towns of some importance on that coast, which, in that case, as some think, I could not have obtained except in exchange for Milan, Novara, Pavia, and other less important fortresses in the Duchy, keeping only for myself the castle of Milan and city of Como. In this manner, not otherwise, could I regain possession of the towns and ports held by Venice, whereas, now, by

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making peace with that Signory and re-investing the duke Sforza, I can keep the whole of Naples. This arrangement will enable me to withdraw all my army from that kingdom, which would otherwise have been completely destroyed without my getting one single farthing out of it, whereas, now it is to be hoped that it will be of some help to me, and, moreover, before the Venetians came to a rupture, I was sure, if they were in the least favourably inclined, to get from them 150,000 or 200,000 ducats. In addition to this the king of England is now on the point of divorcing his queen, our aunt, against all right and justice and against the Pope's will and consent. If he does he will lay a great responsibility at our door, and perhaps also he and the king of France, seeing me at peace in Italy, will adopt measures and attempt things likely to renew the war. But even if this comes to pass, and all of them combine against me, I maintain that my position now is better than when I left Spain, for besides having the kingdom of Naples all to myself, I have here in Italy 12,000 Spaniards and 9,000 Germans, whom I can support till the middle and perhaps the end of May. I dare say some assistance in money will be procured elsewhere, for if Florence capitulate some is sure to come from them. Again, the duke of Ferrara has not yet made terms with the Pope concerning Reggio and Modena. When he does, and I hear they are now treating about those towns, some more money will be forthcoming. In short, it will be a great boon to us both, now that peace has been concluded, that it should be consolidated all round, and leave no sparks behind likely to kindle a new fire. You must know, moreover, that the thing my Spanish subjects hate most is to see all their substance spent in foreign countries and especially in Italy. As to the Germans, though their constitution be that of an empire, and the measures adopted might be profitable to them, you know as well as I do how they are likely to take them and how they will probably act when called upon to bear part of the expenses of war. One thing, however, is certain, that peace has been made, and if that with France lasts, I shall have more means at my command to obtain money from them. This, in my opinion, will be the surest way of promoting your election as king of the Romans.

Having thus far explained to you my reasons for coming to Italy, and the changes in politics which have since occurred, I will now discuss the present state of affairs, that you may in turn give me your advice. And, first of all, I wish to know your opinion about the Pope. You know very well that I have made a treaty with him and engaged to reduce Florence under his sway. Now supposing that this could not be effected, I ask you what ought to be done to satisfy the Pope and keep him contented? For I wish above all things to preserve his friendship, and not lose it again, or at least, if he is not to be my friend, not to have him as my enemy. At present he is treating me well and shews me great affection,

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though some people are of opinion that all this is a feint, and that he has intelligences and plots elsewhere, which might under certain circumstances turn to our disadvantage. Yet you may well imagine that His Holiness would not willingly begin his old game again unless for such reasons as would ensure success. With the king of France I am likewise at peace. He has hitherto fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty [of Cambray] ; not only has he surrendered all the towns and villages he still held in the kingdom of Naples, but also Hast (Asti) and Hesdin, and although the restitution did not actually take place on the appointed day it was effected shortly after. It is said, however, that he is now busy intriguing secretly (*qu'il a grandes pratiques*), and I doubt not but that he is after no good, and that he may at the present moment be secretly helping the Florentines ; but these are matters which are not easily verified, and I am inclined to think that what he is now doing, if he is indeed doing anything, is not an act of his own free will, but a yielding to the natural desire of recovering his sons sooner and on better terms, and that for that single object he is still intriguing though he has solemnly promised not to mix himself up with the politics of this country. Should he attempt anything that way I fancy that he will undertake either Genoa (on the pretext that that Community is not named in the treaty of Cambray), or the marquis de Saluzzo, or the Florentines or the duke of Ferrara. Nevertheless, I believe that when he sees that the present peace is equally beneficial to all parties, and likely to last, the king of France will adhere to it. If he does not, and succeeds in making some agreement with the Italian powers, they will no doubt inflict on me all the harm they can ; of that I am sure. Some believe that the moment the King has collected the money required for the ransom of his children he will break out ; others that he will regain possession of his sons first and then declare war ; most, however, hope that he will not stir anyhow.

Respecting the king of England, it is said that he already considers his mistress as his wife, and threatens to marry her whether the Pope will give his consent or not. For he says he cares not a straw for the Pope, whom he calls almost a heretic,* intimating that he might on that account be degraded. The Pope, on the one hand, would not easily consent to this new marriage owing to the affair being by far too scandalous, but on the other he would not like to see the King lose all sense of submission to, and reverence for him. I cannot tell yet how this affair will end, but of this I am quite

* "Du roy Dangleterre lon dict que desja il tient quasi samye pour sa femme. Et luy mesme dist que si le Pape y consent, qu'il le fera, et si non, que aussi fera il. Car il nen a que faire, et appele quasi le Pape heretique, et dit que pour ce lon le pourroit degrader. Dun couste le Pape ne vouldroit consentir pour estre la cause trop scandaleuse, de l'autre il ne vouldroit aussi que luy perdist lobeissance et la honte. Je ne sçay encoires que sen sera, mais je croy que de fait il fera quelque folye. Et soit du consentement du Pape ou non si sera ce ung grand mal et cause souffisante dune nouvelle guerre."

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certain, namely, that the King will commit this folly, and with or without the Pope's consent marry the Lady [Anne], which I need not point out to you will be a great evil and a sufficient cause for new wars. I really believe that the French king will help and do his utmost to set us both at war on that score, and compel each of us to apply to the Venetians, to the duke of Milan and Ferrara, to the Florentines, and to other Italian powers for help and alliance respectively.

This is as much as I can say on these questions. Doria's term of service is up in May or June. It is, however, my intention to renew it and I hope to retain the services of that captain, though if there be, as I say, any conspiracy in the wind, the first thing my enemies will try to do is to gain him over to their cause.

I have told you all this that you may understand the possibility of any of the above contingencies taking place, and that at the present moment my enemies are probably dissembling in order to let me consume and waste my resources, though I do not believe they will succeed.* But this case happening, I want you to tell me where and how I had better retaliate and harm those who would assail me? If away from Italy to return at the head of my forces, or here in this country prepare myself equally for defensive or offensive warfare? If this last course be decided upon I will ask you which point is to be attacked first, for if I am to defend myself and fight the enemy I am pretty sure that it must be in Italy. For this reason it would be advisable that you should have a number of men always ready in case of need to come over, thus enabling me with their assistance to break the force of the enemy, as I have done at other times. I have now in Italy 21,000 men, Spaniards and Germans. True they are far apart and decreasing daily in number, so that should the enemy pounce suddenly upon me I might find myself in difficulties. That is why I recommend you always to keep a number of men in readiness, no matter from what nation, whether Swiss or Germans. Should I in the meantime hear anything about the plans and intentions of our enemies I will let you know.

I do really believe after all that all these rumours and presentiments of war are circulated by people here who would like to see me as soon as possible out of their country; but I also believe, that being so well attended as I am, and at the head of such an army, they could not do me much harm if they tried. The soldiers of my armies are generally speaking good and effective, but terribly unruly. It will be necessary for me to keep them in arms until we see whether the king of France fulfils the conditions of the treaty or not. I say keep them, because they will not cost me more money, I being with them, than if I were absent.

* "Je vous ay dit ce que dessus afin que sachiez qu'il pourroit estre que quelque chose de çeci fust, et qu'a ceste heure ils dissimulent pour me laisser consommer, combien que je croy que non."

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You may believe me when I say that it is not for fear of these Italians that* I am here; I would much prefer being anywhere else where my pleasure or my duty called me, since I have nothing to do for the present. It was at first considered expedient, in order to stop people's mouths, that my coronation should take place at Rome, especially as the ceremony will not cost more there than here, at Bologna. I have, however, given the preference to this plan, because it is to be presumed that the Turk will not come down this year. If, however, the affairs of Germany required my presence, I should abandon everything to go thither, for it is my duty as Emperor to attend to the affairs of that country. I would then take my crowns on this side of Rome, whatever gossiping there might be about it,† which, I am sure, will not be wanting, for common people seem to think that my coronation will not be valid unless performed at Rome. They are, however, decidedly mistaken, and their opinion (which is generally not that of politicians and lawyers) will not make me change my determination. True it is that in this case, you will have to look out for the means of stopping the heresies of that country, and also see how you can promote your own election as king of the Romans. I will send you for this very purpose and by the first courier the usual letters of convocation for a Diet to be held on the 1st of May, and another letter in blank, to be filled up with the date of May or June according as it may be, that is, if I decide to be crowned at Rome, and the state of things in Germany permits.

The two above mentioned means might suffice in both cases, whether the present peace lasts or not. Respecting the third, which is the peace itself, I need scarcely say that were that peace to be good and firm, and you happened to see the affairs of Germany in a doubtful state—both in regard to the new heresies and your own election—or if you saw that there was time to gain the German princes over by mild persuasion and fair means, and the promise of a General Council (and I say *general*, because I do not consider a *provincial* one good enough for the purpose, and because the Pope will most likely attend the General at all times, and especially during the peace, whilst he will not the Provincial), also to avoid war between the king of England and myself, in the event of his acting unjustly towards the Queen, our aunt, and holding the Pope as suspect for not attending to his wishes, and should the Queen agree to challenging the Legate, then in that case I would immediately start for Germany.‡ And if it were necessary that the Council

* "Vous devez croire que non point pour craincte que jaye deulx, mais pour mon devoir et plaisir j'aymerois mieux estre hors d' yçi, puisque n'y fais autre chose, mais aussi si est trouve meilleur que je me coronne a Rome pour ce que l'on en pourroit dire."

† "Et prendrois mes coronnes deça Rome, quoy que l' on sçeut dire que sçay sera assez."

‡ "S'il vouloit faire tout de fait et non de justice a la Royne, nostre tante, et qu'il voulsist alleguer le Pape pour suspect, non accordant à son mauvais desir, ou y accordant la Royne le Legat pour suspect."

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should take cognizance of this affair, it would take some time to do it and convoke the same, and see if the general peace was likely to last. And if in consequence of the ill-will of the Germans, or of our not having sufficient money in hand for the expenses of your election, as likewise for the other business of mine, you found that you could wait, and that I could also delay my journey until the end of the winter, I wish to know if your advice is, that there being time for it, I should first visit my kingdom of Naples? For I can assure you that it needs my presence greatly, and that if I am to go thither at all, I must stay some months, otherwise my visit will rather do harm than good, and if the affairs of Germany, as I say, allowed it, it would be a great boon for that kingdom. Then after visiting Naples I might go to Germany, finish my work there, and return to Spain by way of Flanders. This plan, of course, to be abandoned, unless the state of things in Germany allows of it entirely; for otherwise, everything must be left as it were to chance. Then it must be considered whether I am to return to Spain without visiting Naples, or whether I am to come back to Italy for that purpose, and then go to Spain. This last plan, of course, to be adopted only in time of peace, and in case of the affairs of Germany and the Turk permitting its execution, for in time of war there is no thinking of it; even so I can assure you, that it will be a rather difficult undertaking, for the obstacles are many, and the risks very great. If I am forced into a war, I shall do my best and risk everything. I have no doubt that much harm will be done on both sides through it; but at any rate, I shall not be deemed the cause thereof, I who have so strenuously and in all ways worked for peace. Should, however, this misfortune befall us I will send you letters of convocation for a new Diet, that we may hear the advice and know the will of the electors, princes, and Imperial cities, all or part of them, as you may think proper or convenient, assuring them and you that I shall never cross the sea to Spain without first visiting that country and having made you king of the Romans. I beg you, therefore, to let me know your advice on these several matters that I may shape my movements accordingly; and when you have answered all and every one of my questions, and told me what you expect me to do in Germany, now or later as it may be, and how and at what time I am to go, and what kind of remedy is to be applied to the evils of that country, then I will inform you of the day of my departure and of the route I intend taking. I forgot to say that some people here advise me, in case of my journey being postponed, to delay also the ceremony of my coronation until I myself am ready to start, for fear of the Germans electing in the meantime another king of the Romans but you. I cannot say whether their advice be good or bad, but you will think of it and let me know your opinion.

This letter is long and full of repetitions (*redittes*) and

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blunders (*faultes*), and yet I will not take the trouble of copying it again. Long as it is, it does not contain many things whereof I intend speaking to you when we meet next. You need not answer all its points, only those which relate to the present state of affairs, and on which I have asked your advice. The rest to be discussed at our leisure, at our next meeting. But it is absolutely necessary that all the contents of this letter should be kept a secret from everyone. Keep it carefully by you, not on account of the writing itself, which is bad, but that it may be a sort of memorandum book when we next refer to it together.—Bologna, 11th January 1530.

French. Holograph. pp. 11.

11 Jan. **246.** The Marquis of Denia* to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. L. 518, f. 343. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 357.

The Queen (Joanna) inquires after the Empress' health, and wishes to know how she is after her confinement.† Wants also to know how the Emperor's affairs in Italy are getting on. —Tordesillas, 11th January 1530.

Signed: "El Marques de Denia."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

12 Jan. **247.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 2.

According to my last advices, I went to Court on the Festival of the Kings. Shortly before my arrival there Mr. de Bayonne and his brother, the two ambassadors of France, had come to the spot, and were waiting at the first gate of the Palace. Met in the King's anti-chamber Messieurs de Norfolk and Rochfort,‡ the former of whom took me on one side, whilst the latter with the French ambassador went to the other, and we began conversing together until the King should come out of his chamber, which he did shortly after. The conversation chiefly turned upon the Duke's great regard for Your Majesty, and his desire to be useful, as I will explain hereafter.

The King coming out of his apartments, I made my rever-

* Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, grandfather of Don Francisco, duke of Lerma, the favourite minister of Philip III. He was still in guard of Charles' mother at Tordesillas.

† Eighteen months before, that is on the 21st of June 1528, the Empress was confined of a daughter (Doña Maria), who in 1548 married her first cousin, Maximilian II., king of Hungary and Bohemia, who became emperor of Germany in 1564. The inquiry, therefore, must have had another cause. According to Flores' *Memorias de las Reynas Catolicas*, vol. ii., p. 857, shortly after the Emperor took leave of her in March 1529 the Empress Isabella was struck by fever and ague, which placed her within the brink of death, and obliged her to make her will; "but," he adds, "she recovered her health, notwithstanding a miscarriage she had, and was thus enabled in 1530 to carry out the delivery of the French princes, the Dauphin, and duke of Orleans." The paragraph is evidently copied from Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xvii., p. 26, but if the date of the Marquis of Denia's letter is correctly given, the Empress' miscarriage must have taken place in the last months of 1529.

‡ As usual written Nolpholk et Rochefort.

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ence, and was graciously received by him; after which he turned towards the other ambassadors and said a few words to them. He then came up to me and said aloud before the whole company that I was most welcome to his Court, though he reproached me for having come so seldom during the recent festivities, remarking that in the present state of affairs between him and Your Majesty I was not to play the stranger, but come at all hours on a friendly footing, since at no time, he said, should I be otherwise than most welcome. Excused myself on the ground that neither my predecessors in office, nor other foreign ambassadors, as I had been informed, had ever appeared at Court without a previous invitation, and that I feared lest my presence might be otherwise than agreeable. He replied as above, and then asked me if there was any fresh news from Your Majesty, and hearing that I had none to communicate, said that he would after dinner acquaint me with some of his own. I then took leave to withdraw, and the ambassadors of France came forward to speak to him; but although the brother of Mr. de Bayonne* had not seen the King since his arrival [in England], the audience was very short, hardly half a dozen words being exchanged between the two, for it was already time to go to mass.

After dinner the French ambassadors and myself again had audience, when the King suddenly made me a sign to approach, which I did, and we conversed for a good while, to the great annoyance of the French, who saw night coming on, and had to return to London. The King spoke at length of the news he had received, and especially of the gracious reception given to his ambassadors [at Bologna]. Replied that Your Imperial Majesty wished to make it generally known everywhere that he valued his (the King's) friendship as much, and even more than that of any other prince in Christendom, and that the demonstration made on the occasion, as well as the good treatment of his ambassadors, was but a slight proof of your deep regard for him. To which the King readily assented, observing that it was only through such public ceremonies and observances that the people at large, who cannot judge the motives of princes, or follow the course of affairs, could see evidences of mutual friendship and good-will. Replied that he must have had plenty of opportunities to know that Your Majesty desires nothing so much as his friendship, and that respecting the affair of the Queen, which had been made a ground for complaint against you, he ought not to take Your Majesty's interference in bad part, inasmuch as it was dictated not only by a feeling of conscience and honour, as well as a wish for the prosperity and welfare of England, but likewise by a sense of duty towards the Queen, your aunt. The King's reply was that he had not until then been made aware of Your Majesty's sentiments;† all he knew about them was what you yourself

* Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne; his brother Guillaume is generally called "le sieur de Langeai."

† "Qu'il ne s'en estoit apperçu et l'avoyt mesçeu usques maintenant."

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had said and proposed to his ambassadors [at Bologna]. Nevertheless, Your Majesty had acted well [and he had no complaint to make]. He was about to forward such information as should convince you first, and the whole world afterwards, that he had not moved in this matter until after long and mature deliberation, and that he was not prompted by uncontrolled passion or illegitimate affections which at his age, and in a matter of so great an importance, would be wholly unwarranted.

I spoke also about the "fleur de lis," giving him to understand that I had received letters from Your Imperial Majesty informing me that the French ambassadors residing at your Court had more than once tried to obtain an acknowledgment that the jewel had been delivered to me, alleging that in accordance with the treaty of Cambray it was to be taken to the place appointed for the delivery of the sons of France, and then and there handed over to the Imperial commissioners, who on the receipt of it would tender the required acknowledgment. Upon which the King observed that in this matter he only required one word from me. Would I have the "fleur de lis" delivered to me, or should it be sent to Mr. de Bayonne for him to present it to his master? It was for me to decide, and my wishes would be complied with. Replied as on a former occasion that I had no instructions about the matter, and therefore did not know how to act, but I fancied all difficulties might be surmounted by the mere fact of committing the jewel to the care of some trusty person to take it to the spot fixed for its delivery. To this the King objected, for fear of some accident on the road, but I met his objection by saying that Mr. de Bayonne had promised to ensure the "fleur de lis" for a sum of 200,000 crs. Upon which the King begged me to write to Your Majesty for express instructions respecting this matter, at the same time offering to forward my letters by the courier he is now about to dispatch. Willingly agreed to the proposal.—London, 12th January 1530.

Signed; "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, Jan. 12."

French. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

12 Jan. **248.** The King of England's Answer to the Proposals brought by the Sieur de Mingoval.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 3.

The King of England's answer to the proposal made to him by the Sieur de Mingoval on the part of the Emperor, to aid and assist in the enterprize against the Turk.

To the statement made by the Sieur de Mingoval, that the Turk, not contented with having conquered the kingdom of

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Hungary, has with still greater forces passed into Austria, and is now closely investing the city of Vienna, intending, after he has wintered his army in Hungary, to proceed immediately on the approach of spring with large reinforcements of infidels to attack and, if possible, subdue the whole of Germany. And therefore that for the resistance to, and repulsion of such an aggression—the danger being imminent, and not private and special, but common and general—His Imperial Majesty prays His most Serene Majesty the king of England to come to his help, and, if he cannot send troops, at least to furnish him (the Emperor) with money for the pay of a certain number of men with whom he may withstand the attacks of the Infidel and drive back his hosts. The answer is:—

That His Royal Majesty cannot but feel great sorrow at heart, seeing that the Turk, once so glad and thankful if he could barely defend himself against the Christians and escape from them by flight, should now have so gained ground that, taking advantage of the dissensions and intestine wars by which Christian kings and princes are trying to oppress and subdue one another, he actually ventures to provoke and attack them in their own country. Perceiving, therefore, that if Turkish aggression is to be checked effectively all princes must lend united aid, His Royal Majesty will doubtless greatly rejoice to hear through the Sieur de Mingoval that His Imperial Majesty, setting aside all personal concerns, has determined, in fulfilment of His Imperial calling, to advance to the defence of threatened Christendom, resolved to free her from danger, and revenge her on her cruel and wicked enemy, the Turk.

His Royal Majesty would have much preferred, and, indeed, thinks it would have been much better for all parties, that the most illustrious king of Hungary, Ferdinand, had made terms with the Vayvod (Zapolsky), even at the loss of some personal right, rather than have come to this pass. It would have been far more advisable to have avoided war, and temporized with the Italian powers, and that the money spent and the blood shed by the Christians in trying to destroy one another should have been employed in war against the Infidel. But alas! the past is irrevocable, and regret for what has happened is of no avail for the future.

His Royal Majesty is well aware of the danger being great and imminent; he knows the power of the Turk to be so great that no Christian prince could cope with him single handed. He also knows how nearly the danger concerns not only the other Christian princes, but also himself, though far removed from the scene of action. He is, in short, convinced of the necessity there is for at once crushing the Turks before their courage (consequent on their success) should be so far increased as to kindle an inextinguishable flame throughout Christendom.

Accordingly, His Royal Majesty has already sent special

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instructions to his ambassadors—recently sent to His Imperial Majesty for the ratification of the peace of Cambray—to say that, as soon as a general peace is concluded, and the Christian princes, by common consent, and each according to his power and means, engage to furnish men, money, horses, and war material for the said enterprize, they shall also on his part and in his name promise such aid as may be required from him.

But whereas the Sieur de Mingoval has requested His Royal Majesty in the Emperor's name to contribute yearly for this purpose, both money and horses (*chevaulx*), His Royal Majesty must here state the particular objections he has for acceding at once to such a request.

First of all, His Majesty sees that everyone in this affair looks far more to his own private interest than to the public weal.

That peace is not yet universally or firmly concluded on the Continent (*de par de là*), and that the Turkish power is so great that it cannot be effectually crushed without large supplies of money and men, and lastly, that, owing to the great sufferings of the Christian community [during these recent wars], there will be great difficulty in raising a sufficient force. All which considerations put together are strong enough to deter His Royal Majesty from spending his substance rashly and on mere impulse, without securing first real and effectual good to the common cause.

His Royal Majesty is indeed deeply affected and grieved at the miseries of poor Christendom, desiring, as he always has done, her prosperity and welfare before all things; but, judging from the present state of affairs, he is decidedly of opinion that the wisest course to be pursued is to husband all resources, and not to undertake anything against the Turk until it can be done with ample and sufficient means. For, to attack the enemy without a sufficiently strong army would be to encourage, not to check, his advance.

His Royal Majesty is the more moved to express such an opinion at the present time, in view of the representations of the Parliament of his kingdom, now assembled, whose members complain that out of the large sums of money collected by the Pope from vacant ecclesiastical benefices and other sources throughout Christendom in general, and this kingdom in particular, under the pretence of assisting in a Crusade against the Turk, and helping the common cause of Christianity, nothing has come; the said members asserting that, as the Emperor is so much bent upon carrying on war in Italy, and shedding Christian blood, they are afraid of voting the supplies demanded, lest under cover of crushing the Turk the money should be actually spent in bringing misery and bloodshed among the Christian people.

Although His Royal Majesty would not think otherwise than honourably and respectfully of the Emperor on this occasion, yet, considering that in past times the Pope has not,

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as he should have done, faithfully reserved all the produce of vacant ecclesiastical benefices strictly for the end and purpose for which the money was collected, and for the present emergency, it will be better for him not to part in future with such resources, than have to make fruitless inquiries afterwards concerning the appropriation of the funds.

His Royal Majesty, therefore, earnestly and affectionately entreats the Emperor to hasten and press, as he has already done, the conclusion of this universal peace among the Christian princes, that each may in proportion to his resources and means assist in the said enterprize against the Turk in which all are equally interested. Though the accomplishment of this may occasion delay, it is still absolutely necessary; for in so mighty an undertaking there must be no rashness; far preferable it is at all times to draw back a little, the better to leap (*reculer pour mieulx sauter*), and first collect a powerful army, sufficient for the destruction of the Turk, than endanger the cause by some foolhardiness at the outset. This is, in His Royal Majesty's opinion, the point to which the attention of the Christian princes must be principally directed.

His Royal Majesty has therefore come to the conclusion, and is decidedly of opinion, that for the present the wisest course for him to pursue is to collect what treasure and horses (*chevaulx*) he can, and may seem to him most expedient for the defence and common weal of threatened Christendom, and, when the other Christian princes shall have agreed and united to assist in the enterprize against the Turk, His Royal Majesty will no longer delay his contingent, but will at once furnish all reasonable aid.

Signed: "Tuck."

French. Original. pp. 3.

12 Jan. **249.** EUSTACE CHAPPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 3 bis.

To-day's despatch* having been forwarded through the King's people (*par le moyen des gens du Roy*), I could not write so openly on all points as I should have wished; I therefore add this by way of supplement.

In the course of conversation the King observed to me that he did not yet consider peace to be firmly established in Italy, nor, as the report went, was there much likelihood of its being so as soon as people imagined, and besides that Your Majesty must be sadly in want of funds just now. My answer to the former remark was that judging from the rumours now current of a settlement with the Venetians, and considering the great kindness, clemency, and generosity shewn by you in restoring the estate of Milan to the duke Francesco [Sforza], which had been the one great ground for alarm in Italy, it might well be believed that the rest would

* See above, No. 246.

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soon follow. As to the state of Your Majesty's finances, I could not say that it was very flourishing at present. Indeed, it was the point on which many people had hitherto founded their hopes, and which had determined them to arm against you, and yet, I added, "Nothing that I know of has been left undone through want of means. The Emperor has now as great, even greater, facilities for raising money than he ever had." "Indeed," replied the King, "I understand the Emperor has found money at 30 °/₀ interest, which shews he has not much credit [among bankers]!" As regards Milan, he said he objected to the arrangement as much as to other points, and we went on in this way debating these questions for some time.

Respecting the Queen's business, the King said to me that he had now in his favour the opinions of all the learned doctors of this kingdom,* even of those who at the beginning had taken her part, and who had since acknowledged their mistake. My reply was that I knew of many among the most learned of this country who maintained their first opinion as strongly as ever, and that even if the whole of his subjects, as he said, agreed entirely with him, the matter, nevertheless, was of such importance that the opinion of his own doctors was insufficient for the decision of the case, inasmuch as from their being natives of this country they might and ought to be considered suspect. The opinion of the first universities in Christendom ought to be taken, and that before attempting a divorce between two persons of such exalted rank, whose union has lasted so long, and from whom there is issue. Indeed before entering upon a question with which the power and authority of the Holy Apostolic See are so closely connected, it seemed advisable to convoke a small council (*ung petit concile*).

To this the King replied that there were in his kingdom plenty of honest men (*gens de bien*), whose persuasions and writings, besides what he himself, who is well acquainted with such matters, had read in books, had had the effect of quieting his conscience, and that he had no doubt Your Majesty would be of the same opinion when you saw the allegation (*information*), which was shortly to be forwarded to you.† That although his own conscience was perfectly at ease on that point, he had thought it well to consult the Paris doctors, 16 of whom, the principal amongst them, had sided with him. And upon my replying that the number of his partizans (*fauteurs*) was wonderfully small when compared

* "En l'affere de la Royne yl me dit avoer en sa faveur l'opinion de tous les docteurs de ce royaume, voyre de ceux que au commancement avoint tenu pour la royne que ont dempuys cogneu leur erreur."

† "Le dit seignieur roy me respondit que yl avoit de gens de bien en son royaume, et que tant a leur persuasion que a ce que luy mesmes, que [sçait] ce que telles choses veuillent dire, avoit vehu sur ses livres qu'il tenoit sa conscience pour satisfayte, et le mesme pensoit de celle de votre maiesté quant icelle auroit vehu 'information," &c.

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with the innumerable host of doctors in Paris, he said that those who had voted the conclusion in his favour were the most distinguished men in that university, and that a greater number might have been found, had not two doctors, one a Spaniard the other a Fleming, at the instigation of the Imperial ambassadors in France, hindered and thwarted in every possible way the labours of the person sent by him for the management of this business; a most unfair proceeding, he observed, which he could in no wise assign to Your Majesty, as emanating from your own free will, since for whatever you had done or ordered to be done in the affair the Imperial ambassadors had lately apologized in so solemn a manner that there was nothing more to say (*qu'il n'y avoit que mordre*). Besides which, Your Majesty had spoken to his ambassadors in terms so humane and generous, more perhaps than the affair deserved, that he hoped Your Majesty would, in accordance with his innate goodness, his justice and integrity, only advise and recommend a course of action strictly legal.*

The duke of Norfolk, nowadays the most powerful man in England, and, if I am not mistaken, he who desires most to do service, told me the other day, among other things, as I have already† informed Your Majesty, that he very much regretted my not having been at Court during these last festivals. He had been vexed to see the French ambassador dining at the King's table on the third day after Christmas (*Noel*), and that I had not been invited; not that this could be considered a privilege in the French ambassador's favour, since there were four more guests besides, namely, the Grand Chancellor, the two dukes, and one marquis; yet whether it was privilege or familiarity, he did not care which, he very much disliked others being invited where I did not attend. Had I come at the time by myself, without the ambassadors of France being present, he would certainly have secured an invitation for me. This he begged me to keep to myself and not to mention to the French ambassadors, as he would rather lose 1,000 crs. than that they should hear of it.‡ He said more: "It would have been proper and just for the King, after the gracious reception of his ambassadors [at Bologna] to have invited you to his table, but it was forgotten, I cannot exactly say how, and I myself have been afraid of shewing too much interest in the matter, from fear of arousing suspicion."§

* "Et que sur le tout votre dite maiesté avoit tenu propos a ses dits ambassadeurs de plus grande humanite et benignite qu'il ne lui appartenoit, que le faisoyt esperer que votre maiesté ayant vehu les dites informations, usant de sa vertu, justice, et conscience ne voudra luy suader ne dissuader chose illicite."

† See his despatch of the 31st December, No. 239, p. 393.

‡ "Toutesfoys ou prerogative ou familiarité que fust, yl ne vouldrait que les autres heussent riens d'avantage, et que si a l'heure fusse venu seul, sans que les dits ambassadeurs de France y fussent, qu'il heust procuré de me fere convier à la dite table du Roy, me priant n'en vouloer riens desclayre[r] aus dits ambassadeurs, et qu'il aymeroit plus chier perdre mille escus qu'il[s] [sçeussent le susdit."

§ "Mais que cella s'oublia, yl ne sçait comment, et luy ne l'ousoit remantoner pour non se rendre aucunement suspects."

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The Duke then went on to say that he thanked God for the firm purpose and mutual agreement which, to judge from the reception of the English ambassadors by Your Majesty he perceived to exist between you and the King, his master, for the maintenance of peace and perfect friendship. Then, after a few minutes' reflection, he exclaimed with a deep sigh: "Alas! there remains still one step for the removal of all scruples and the confirmation of that very friendship and alliance which might indeed become quite indissoluble, and lay the King, my master, and his kingdom under such obligation to the Emperor that money or anything else required could be easily obtained, and this step is no other than His Imperial Majesty's consent to this marriage."* "The King," continued the Duke, "is so much bent upon it that I do not think anyone but God could turn him aside, for he believes it to be imperative for the welfare and tranquillity of his kingdom that he should marry again for the sake of having male succession; besides which, from the books he has read on the subject, and the discussions he has instituted throughout his kingdom, he feels quite convinced that his union with the Queen was from the beginning illegitimate."

The Duke, as I informed Your Majesty by my despatch of the 9th of December, had already told me all these things on a previous occasion, though with great and ceremonious reserve, and under protest that I was to keep the matter secret. Now it seemed to me as if in repeating the same statement he wanted me in reality to mention the subject more openly. He sighed frequently during his speech and said repeatedly he would willingly have given all he possessed in this world for the King or himself to have one hour's interview with Your Majesty. He called God to witness that in what he said he was nowise influenced by motives of personal affection towards the Lady, who is his niece, but merely by his desire for the welfare of the kingdom, the King's service and your own. I replied that his reputation stood so high with Your Majesty as of a man incapable, from motives of duty or affection, of swerving from the path of honour and integrity; that had this been a merely individual question in which Your Majesty's interests alone were concerned, you would willingly have made him judge in this matter. I then repeated to him in substance all that I had said to the King on a former occasion, and concluded by acquainting him with the common report of this town, that he (the Duke) would greatly rejoice in the

* "Ce dit yl commça (commença) ung peu a penser, puys en suspirant yl retourna á dire qu'il restoit encoures une chose pur (pour) haster (oster ?) tous scrupules et confirmer la dite amitie indissolublemant, et que par ce moyen votre maieste feroit du Roy et de son royaume ce qu'il playroit a icelle, fust a luy baillier argent ou autre chose. Et estoit le dit moyen que votre maiesté voulust consentir en ce marriage. Ainsy estoit ce chose tant resoulue en la desliberation du Roy qu'a son advis outre que Dieu ne l'en sçauroit destourner, cart yl voyoit que pour le bien et repos du royaume estoit necessayre qu'il se marriast pour avoer lignee masculine. D'aillieurs qu'il avoit vehu par les livres et fayt disputer par tout son royaume qu'il ne pouvoit licitement estre marie avec la Royne."

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accomplishment of the said marriage. I told him plainly that I was of a different opinion, I thought such an alliance more detrimental to him than to anyone else; for it was generally reported that the King wished to marry the princess to his eldest son,* who would then for want of male issue become the heir to the throne. The Duke replied that these reports were a pure invention; such a thought had never entered his mind and he would much prefer to see his son drowned than to have him in such a position. He also told me that he knew very well what Your Majesty had said to the English ambassadors [at Bologna] respecting the Queen's business, but that he must appear as if he knew nothing about it.

At this stage of the conversation the King came into the room, and no more was said on the subject; but after mass the Duke again approached me and said that the London merchants had received letters from their correspondents abroad stating that Your Majesty was in great want of money. My answer was the same as the one I made to the King as above, taking care to specify in detail the many ways Your Majesty had at present of procuring money whenever it was wanted.

After leaving the Duke, Mr. de Rochefort (Rocheford), now earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) and Vulmot (Wilmot), came up to me proffering his services, and expressing a wish to visit me at my lodgings, saying also how much gratified the King was at Your Majesty's evident desire to maintain friendly relations with him, as appeared from the gracious reception made to his ambassadors [at Bologna]. The Earl went on to say how particularly pleased the King was to see me in England, feeling sure that I should not be one of those who by evil reports sent home would try to disturb the said friendly relations, "although," he added, "there being still a few points of dispute between the Emperor and the King, my master, your letters perhaps are not without their rough edges."† My reply was that from the manner in which the English ambassadors had been received [at Bologna], it was quite evident that my account of the true state of things in England had been somewhat modified, for I had not yet lost all hope in the wisdom, goodness, and magnanimity of him whom the affair principally concerned, meaning the King, who, I thought, would sooner or later perceive the true nature of the affairs‡ under discussion. The Earl's reply was: "I cannot

* "Et apres luy ayant tenu les propos en substance qu'ai sus escrit d'avoer tenu au Roy, je lui dis que penses au bruyt qui courroit par içy qu'il se gaudist desirant l'accomplissement de çe marriage, que luy seroit autant preiudiciable que à nul autre; cart le bruyt estoyt commung que le Roy vouloit marrier la princesse à son aisné."

† "Toutesfoys quil estoit bien difficille estant aucunes choses encoures en branle quil ny heust quelque scabrosite en mes lettres. Je luy dis quil sestoint bien peu appercevoer a la chiere que votre maieste avoit fayt aux dits ambassadeurs."

‡ "Que n'aves escript le vray discours des afferes de par de ça, ce que naves voulu fere, esperant tosjours de la prudence, bonte et magnanimite de celluy a cui principallement le cas attouchoit."

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persuade myself that the Emperor wishes to hinder a plan which would be so beneficial to this kingdom. I would willingly have given all I possess for the King, my master, to have been able to converse with the Emperor for a little while on this subject." He then asked me whether I wrote to Your Majesty often, and how my despatches were forwarded, to which I purposedly made no direct answer, feigning not to have understood the nature of the inquiry.

The French ambassadors were at first considerably annoyed at my not consenting to ask the King for the "fleur de lis," as mentioned in a former despatch. I again told them that I had no instructions to do so, but that I would willingly request the King, who was sole arbiter in the matter, to consign it into the hands of Your Majesty's commissaries at the time of the delivery of the princes, for according to the letter of the treaty [of Cambray] the English were bound to send the "fleur de lis" back to you, and it was for them (the ambassadors) to see that it was sent.* The ambassadors replied that all that might be very well, but nevertheless they knew their master's intentions in the matter, and could not help forwarding them with all their might. I have not heard from them since they had their audience; but I hear from Brian Tuke that this king is again to write to Your Majesty about it, as it is presumed that his first letter on the subject has not reached its destination.

In consequence of a message sent me by the Queen I asked the King's permission to wait upon her. I went thither accompanied by the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire), who tried to persuade me that she was absent from home and had gone to hear a sermon. Found her, however, sitting in her room. She asked for tidings of Your Majesty, inquired what I had to say and what I thought of her affair; if I had any hope, and thought the people [at Rome] were acting well, &c. Replied in the most encouraging terms possible, which seemed to give her much satisfaction and relief.

(*Cipher:*) Her physician says that the letter in cipher, which I once received [from him], to be forwarded to Spain with my despatches, was actually written from the Queen's own dictation, but that no doubt it had been previously communicated to her as a Gospel truth.†

* "Je leur dis que navoes charge expresse de ce fere, que j'insteres bien vers le dit sieur Roy que la dite 'Fleur de Lis' fust portee pour la consigne du temps de la restitution des princes dans les mains de deputes de votre maieste par qui cella estoit en larbitrage."

† "Suyvant ce que la Royne m'avoit envoye dire, je recquis licence au Roy pour laller visiter. Le dit conte de Vulchier fust ma guyde, que me volust bien fere encroyre qu'elle estoit alle au sermon. Toutesfoys je la trouvey a sa chambre. Elle me demanda des nouvelles de votre maieste, et quil me sembloit de son affere, et quelle esperance j'en avoes, et si je m'apperçevoes des pratiques de ses gens. Je luy dis les meilleurs parolles que peu, dont elle se trouva fort consolee. [Son medecin me dit que] la lettre quil m'envoya, que va en chiffres dans les miennes dernieres, fust escripte a la relation [de la Royne], may, que sans faulte luy avoit este rapporte pour evangille."

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Whilst writing the above the French ambassador has called on me to take leave, I mean Mr. de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) for his brother (Guillaume) is to remain here a few more days, at least until the arrival of Jean Jocquin, who is shortly expected. Mr. de Bayonne said to me that as he was on his way to Court to take leave of the King he intended making one more attempt about the "fleur de lis." He asked me whether I had received any further instructions about it. In case I had not, would I again recommend, as I had promised to do, that it should be delivered into the hands of some trusty person of this court to be the bearer, when he or his brother went away, he (Mr. de Bayonne) offering to give sufficient security. Replied that as I was the first to propose that expedient, and it had met with their approbation, I could not but do everything in my power to have his wish accomplished.

I then asked him if he knew who the Germans were who had lately arrived at Court. His answer was that he had no information whatever about them; he had occasionally heard of Germans coming to reside at this court, but as he took no interest whatever in the affairs of that country he had neglected to inquire who they were and what they came about. His manner, however, was such when he said this that it aroused rather than calmed my suspicions.

Of the Germans above alluded to, the one whose arrival after Christmas I have already mentioned to Your Majesty happens to be, as I am told, an agent of Mr. de Mayance.* Another one who, they say, comes from the Cardinal de Guise† has arrived since, followed by two or three attendants. They have been here three days, I have not yet been able to ascertain what they are about; will make every possible inquiry, and transmit whatever information I may obtain respecting them.—London, 12th January 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph cipher.

13 Jan. **250.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 4.

Yesterday, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Your Majesty's letters of 14th December were duly received. I immediately informed the King, who sent word to my secretary (*mon homme*) by M. de Nolphocq (Norfolk) that I was to go to him this morning between 9 and 10 o'clock. Went accordingly, and entered the Audience-hall, but the King not being yet ready, there came the duke of Sufforcq (Suffolk), the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire), the Treasurer of the Household, the First

* That is the archbishop of Maintz.

† "Le Cardinal de Guisse," says the copy; but it is evidently a mistake for Gurce. Mathew Lang was at this time bishop of Gurk in Carinthia (episcopus Gurcensis); he became later archbishop of Salzburg. Julius II. had made him a cardinal S. Angeli in foro Piscium at his sixth creation, in 1511.

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Secretary, and Brian Turk (Tuke) to tell me thereof, and to entertain me in the meantime. After a few sentences had been interchanged, the Duke began to speak of the good-will which the King, his master, and all those who surrounded him (pointing to the courtiers), bore to Your Majesty, and how there was no one throughout the whole kingdom, as well as in the King's Council, who did not feel that the friendship of Your Majesty and of your people was not only advantageous but absolutely necessary for this king and kingdom, for an old friendship renewed was to be valued much more than one of a new date, and the Duke went on saying many pretty things to the same purpose.

To this complimentary effusion I answered but little, and for many reasons; first of all because, as is well known, the Duke [of Suffolk] has vast possessions in France, and I suspected that he was only trying to get information." Besides, not having yet seen either the King or the duke of Norfolk, I thought it was better not to acquaint him (Suffolk) with any particulars. I, therefore, contented myself with thanking him in Your Majesty's name, and declaring that I had particular orders from Your Majesty to request that he would employ himself in cementing that very union and friendship between the King and Your Majesty, of which he had spoken, adding that you relied most implicitly on him, and hoped he would continue his efforts in that direction.

The King having entered the Audience-hall, the Duke gave me his arm, and introduced me to the Royal presence. After the usual commendations, I exhibited Your Majesty's letter, and presented it to the King, who, on reading the superscription, began to say: "This letter could not be more welcome than it is, for I perceive it is in the Emperor's hand." He then inquired kindly after your health, observing "that is the first and principal thing; if that goes on well the rest will follow." Then hearing of Your Majesty's good health, he said two or three times running "I am delighted to hear it; that is really good news." He then read the letter through more than once, apparently with great satisfaction; said he had known for some time that tidings would soon come; that he had told me so when I saw him on the Festival of the Kings, and that from the letters which he had received from his own ambassadors, dated only one day earlier than this, he concluded that there could be no other news than those which he himself had communicated to me on that occasion. He knew by the reports of his ambassadors [at Bologna] how great Your Majesty's kindness and inestimable affection for him were, and added that he and his Council had been ever since considering how they could sufficiently show their deep sense of it. In order to do which, and also to give Your Majesty full satisfaction respecting the Queen's case, he and his Council had resolved to send to the Imperial Court one of its members, some one of weight and authority, and that at first he

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had thought of sending thither M. de Norfolk himself; but that on account of his indifferent health, and because his knowledge of French and Latin was inferior to that of the earl of Wiltshire, the latter had been chosen. He would be accompanied by Dr. Stocler (Stokesley), just presented to the see of London on the promotion of the former bishop to the see of Durham, a much more valuable bishopric, on condition, however, of his giving up in favour of the said earl of Wiltshire the office of Lord Privy Seal, which he formerly held.* To these two Dr. Lee, recently ambassador to Your Majesty in Spain, was to be joined. The two former go for the exclusive object of debating the Queen's case, and the King firmly believes that their equals in pleading and argumentation are not to be found, so that nobody will be able to refute their allegations. The King also said to me that he was glad the choice had fallen upon the said earl, as he knew more of his (the King's) secret intentions than any other man in the kingdom, and because, not being able to go himself, he was the fittest man to represent him, besides which (he added) Your Majesty was already acquainted with him. Had Your Majesty (he said) been in Flanders at the present time, he (the King) would have sought a personal interview, which he should greatly have valued. He then spoke of the great satisfaction which my appointment had given him; how entirely he trusted in me, and how he had spoken and would continue to speak to me with perfect openness. He then desired me to enter into the subject of my evidence, which I had had no opportunity or leisure to do before. All this being said with great warmth and energy, which I took good care not to check, as it was proper and courteous for me to do.

I then repeated to the King how very great Your Majesty's regard for him was, and that the proof given in the welcome reception of his ambassadors [at Bologna] was but a slight manifestation of your own sentiments towards him. After which I proceeded, as instructed, to introduce the subject of the Queen, urging him with all due deference, but most earnestly, to decide upon her case.

The King replied that the embassy now going to Your Majesty would give full satisfaction on this point; that the Earl would acquaint you with his (the King's) true motives and intentions in all that had been done, whilst the others, his colleagues in the embassy, would state the reason, right, and equity of the whole proceeding in a manner that could not be gainsaid. In fact, he had no doubt that when Your Majesty had heard his ambassadors thus clearly setting forth

* "Mays pour ce quil estoit subietz a maladie, et quil n'avoit (ne sçavoit?) si bien la langue latine ou françoyse que Monsieur le conte de Vulchier, que celluy la estoit choysy, et auroit de compagnie le Docteur Stocleur, presente maintenant evesques de Londres par la promotion de celluy qui premierement l'estoit a l'eueschez de Duran, la quelle est beaucoupt mellieur, mays aussy sus icelles pactes yl a renunce au dit conte Vulchier l'office du seel priue que de long temps yl avoit heu."

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the good or the evil likely to ensue—should what has been begun not be accomplished—you could not fail to be perfectly satisfied with what had been done in the matter; that being exactly the thing which he (the King) desired most in the world, for to retain and ensure for ever the friendship and grace of so noble and virtuous a prince, was his most earnest wish,* especially remembering, as I had just told him, the kindness and friendship you had shewn him on many occasions. "Indeed (he added) the Emperor's daily increasing greatness is a sufficient proof to me that God, who always rewards virtue and goodness [in princes], has favoured him with so many victories and such great success. You may, therefore, be sure that I will do everything in my power, and will consider it a duty on my part to maintain and strengthen that very friendship, so as to shew to the World that I desire nothing else." Replied that I could confidently say the same of Your Majesty; I felt sure that not only would you answer for yourself, but that to judge from the great trust you placed in him (the King), I did not hesitate to say that your affection for him, and your desire for his friendship, were quite reciprocal. The King said he quite believed that, and besides that, to say the real truth, the old friendship which had existed between Your Majesty and himself, and which, after all, was to be valued most on account of the intercourse of trade between your respective dominions, was absolutely necessary, so much so that one could not do without the other. To which I added, by way of confirmation, that all this was the work of nature, in order to shew you both the path to mutual friendship, and that it would indeed be a most unnatural thing if enmity should arise between two such princes, and that in all that had passed before, as I had already stated on another occasion, Your Majesty had never thought that his (the King's) heart was at fault. "At that time (said the King) those who had the reins of government in their hands deceived me; many things were done without my knowledge, but such proceedings will be stopped in future. I am marvellously pleased at being relieved from the very close alliance with the French, into which the Cardinal had dragged me, for the purpose of obtaining the recovery of the children of Francis, and one of my chief motives for so urgently pressing the conclusion of this peace was that I might be freed from such binding obligations. Now that the treaty is concluded and ratified I am released from all bonds." My reply was, that there was still one by which, for the good of Christendom, he should still be bound, and that was if any infraction of the treaty of Cambray were to take place, in which case I had no doubt he would declare

* "Et ne faysoit doubte que votre Maieste entendant les susdites choses, et le bien ou le mal que s'en suyvroit sans acchever ce qu'est commence, ne se tint en ce endroit pour bien contente, ce quil desiroit le plus du monde, cart yl ny a chose quil souette plus que d' estre accointe en amitie perdurable avec ung si vertueuz prince que votre Maieste."

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against those who failed to observe the same. The King said that he should be mightily displeased if any objection was made (*reditte*) to the said treaty; and would do all he could for its full accomplishment. As to any other stringent bonds, he cared for none, except that of living in peace and good relationship with you two, Your Majesty and the king of France, and that from their conduct towards himself and the tokens of affection shewn, he should know to which of the two parties he owed the deepest obligation. This the King said smiling, as it were, in passing (*en passant*), and without putting much stress upon it, as if he considered it sufficient that the fact should be recorded for me to hear and report. Said that if he (the King) intended to balance the affection of the two I considered the game as fairly won for Your Majesty, to which the King assented by saying that he was of the same opinion. He then declared to me that from the very beginning of the contest between the Queen and himself, before taking any steps in the affair, he had resolved to send to Your Majesty such an embassy as the one which is now leaving, for the purpose of acquainting you with all the circumstances of the case; but war had prevented this. Now it seemed to him this was the fit moment to carry such a plan into execution. I then begged him not to forget giving his ambassadors full and special instructions on all and every point which I had brought forward respecting the Queen's case. The King said nothing should be forgotten relating to that affair. I then told him how I had written to Your Majesty, that the English ambassadors had also full powers to attend the meeting at Bolougnie (Bologna), and then and there treat of this war to be made against the Turk; but that in your last letters no mention whatever had been made of any application being addressed, except that bearing on the ratification of peace and congratulation on your journey to Italy; and that ample powers should also have been given for them to discuss the point and take part in the resolutions. To which the King replied that his ambassadors now with Your Majesty had been fully empowered to treat of that and other matters, but that he did not wish them to make use of their powers in that respect until other princes had sent similar embassies; and, moreover, that the one he was now sending would be furnished with all that was needful. He then asked me where his ambassadors were likely to find Your Majesty, and whether there was any news of your going soon to Rome or elsewhere, and whether the Pope was still at Bolougnie (Bologna). Replied that I had no positive news yet of Your Majesty having left Bolougnie (Bologna), but that there was a report that you would go first to Rome, and thence to Germany. The King said he thought most probably his ambassadors would find Your Majesty still at Bolougnie (Bologna), and that he should be glad of it, as they would the sooner meet you and discharge their mission. He then asked me

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several times in succession what I thought of the personages he was now sending [to Italy], and whether he had, or had not, made a good choice; to which questions I took good care to offer no objection, although I confess I should have much preferred that the duke of Norfolk had been sent instead of the earl of Wiltshire.

After this question, and many more which I omit for brevity's sake, I ventured to address the King and say that I supposed him to be well informed of the affairs of Hungary, and on his replying in the negative, took out an extract from a letter written by the King [Ferdinand] to Madame [Margaret], dated Lintz, December 12th; saying that but for the want of money he could easily reconquer the whole of his kingdom. To which the King said: "That would be of no great advantage to him; for should the Turks renew their attack no place could hold out against them, for they formerly completely ravaged and laid waste the whole country; other measures would be necessary." Rejoined that this was quite true; it would require the united help of all Christian princes to put down so great a power as that of the Turk; but that, as I had formerly represented to him, he (the King) had it in his power to give very considerable help, and could also urge his friends to do the same. The King, after some talking, agreed to this conclusion of mine, and promised to do his best. After this he asked me what had been settled about the "fleur de lis," and what was he to do with it? He had declined surrendering it to the French ambassadors for reasons already stated, and then, at my own suggestion, on the Festival of the Kings, he had determined to give it in charge to one of his own gentlemen, for him to take it over, when M. de Bayonne's brother, the Sieur de Langey (Langeais) should return [to France]. This, he said, was his plan, provided I approved of it. Replied that this seemed to me a satisfactory arrangement, and that I saw no objection to it, provided the said Sieur de Bayonne, as he had already offered to do, gave full security in the name of the King, his master, from whom he is said to have full powers. That, for even greater security, I myself, with his permission, would go and examine the "fleur de lis," which should then be so packed up and sealed that nothing could possibly be changed in it. The King then said, "Since such is your advice it shall be done as you suggest. It now remains for M. de Bayonne to procure for his brother, Monsieur de Langeais, more ample powers than those he has at present for signing the obligation, which has not been considered sufficient here, having been drawn out, according to the practice of the French Chancery, in rather ambiguous terms. The King then added that the gentleman to whom he thought of entrusting the ring is the same now going as his ambassador to the court of France. He was not yet of his Chamber, but would be appointed almost immediately, and

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had been designated to replace at the French court the son* of M. de Vulchier (Wiltshire), now recalled.

In the hope of drawing some more explicit declaration from him, I went on to say that it was reported that, besides the reasons already given for his objecting to surrender the "fleur de lis" to the French, there was yet one other, viz., that he perhaps entertained some doubts as to whether the treaty [of Cambray] would be finally carried out or not. The King said that he had no doubt of the money being paid by the French, but as to the other conditions of the treaty he had not yet been clearly informed of them. Replied that Your Majesty fully believed that the most Christian King had duly acquainted him with all the details of the treaty, otherwise he would have done so himself. Upon which the King observed that there must have been some promise to keep the whole matter secret up to a certain time, for otherwise, had the affair been communicated to him and submitted to his arbitration, perhaps no harm would have come of it. Replied that I knew nothing about that, but was pretty sure that, not only with regard to this treaty, but in all other concerns of Your Majesty, he (the King) had as much right of arbitration as if they were his own, and he must well remember that on each previous occasion, whenever there had been question of peace, Your Majesty had always insisted on the King being made arbiter, and, moreover, that he should openly and by letters patent declare himself against whomsoever should infringe the said peace. To this the King quite assented, but said that of this last peace he had had no information whatsoever in writing, excepting what he had gained from the French ambassadors themselves.

The King went on to say that in accordance with his promise he would now speak *without reserve, though under oath of most profound secrecy.* He had heard, not from the principal parties themselves, but from another quarter, *that the article requiring the ratification of the Estates would never be carried out,* on the plea that they (the French) could not summon *the said Estates for fear of giving offence* (*bastonnade*) *to Madame the Regent;* but that in reality it was *that the children might afterwards oppose the said article, and that a ratification* made after that fashion would consequently be of no avail.

I met this statement of the King's by saying that possibly whoever had raised doubts about the accomplishment of this treaty, had done so in consequence of the delay in restoring Esdin (Hesdin); but this did not really affect the case, as from what I could learn from Madame herself the fault of the delay might have been principally with Your Majesty's people, not with the French. The King said that was also his impression.

* George Boleyn.

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As to himself, had he seen anything, either on the part of the Emperor or of the king of France, that did not tend to the immediate accomplishment of the said peace in all its parts, he should have stated it at once. Replied that I believed all would go well now; but that if the King in the meantime should perceive anything wrong he would be acting the part of a good and wise prince if he made it known at once, while there was yet time to avoid any complication, and if he would besides employ himself in redressing all that was wrong he would indeed realize the saying, long prevalent at the Imperial court, that from England had always come the antidote (*tyriaqua*) for all the evils by which the House of Burgundy had been beset. Upon which the King said that he would once more repeat what he had told me on former occasions: "it rested with the Emperor alone to make their friendship firmer and closer than it had ever been before."

The King then said that his ambassador to Madame [Margaret] had written of the pleasure she had experienced at the gracious reception made here to M. de Rosymboz and Maistre Jehan de Lesaulx (Le Sauch), her ambassadors, and that she was about to write to me, enclosing some sort of message for him (the King). He wished, therefore, to know whether such letter had been received. I replied that since the departure of M. de Rosymboz and Maistre Jehan de Lesaulx (Le Sauch) no news had come from Madame. He then said that as soon as they did I was to communicate with him; he invited me to dinner on the same day, and told me to reflect whether I had anything further to tell or ask him; he was about sending a post to notify the departure of the new ambassadors, and to recall the former ones, and that if I had any despatches to send he would forward them.

Saying this, the King left the room. As I was also preparing to go, the duke of Norfolk came in. Having told him that I had a letter from Your Majesty to him, which I intended delivering at his house in town, he insisted so strongly upon having it at once that, although the duke of Suffolk and others [of the Privy Council] were quite close by, I gave it him as desired. The Duke received the Imperial letter with the greatest show of veneration and respect; he kissed it, read its contents with great pleasure, and after listening to a few remarks which I made upon it began to express his deep gratitude for Your Majesty's kind remembrance of him, and the great honour conferred upon his person by your writing; all the time praying that God might give Your Majesty as much power as he himself had desire to serve you. He then added: "I have known the times when the Emperor had little opportunity or occasion to address letters of this sort to men in office; those were times of trouble, and his letters would have been scarcely attended to. Nowadays things have changed, and from the highest to the lowest in this country all Englishmen are so favourably disposed towards him [the Emperor] that it seems almost incredible." "This is especially

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the case" (he continued) "with the members of the Privy Council, such as Monsieur de Suffolk and the others, and therefore I strongly recommend that letters similar to the one I have just read should also be addressed to each of the said councillors. This would undoubtedly promote the Emperor's interests in England, and at the same time remove part of the suspicion that might hang on me."

I then spoke to him of the letters of recommendation given to Dr. Sampson, which most surely the Duke himself had procured. He said that the Doctor was a person in whom he greatly trusted both on account of his prudence and discretion, as also from his having been partly brought up in his father's house. On such grounds, and from his being besides known as very partial to Your Majesty, the Doctor had been chosen for that special mission. He (the Duke) had certainly taken the trouble of recommending him to Your Majesty, and had also made similar commendations to the King, his master, so that the Doctor was sure, on his return, to be made bishop of the place where he (the Duke) was born;* and that although the Grand Equerry had married his own niece, and was one of his adherents, yet, considering the Dean better qualified for the post on account of his age, learning, and experience, he had been chosen to form part of the embassy.

I strongly suspect that there is another reason for this preference of Dr. Sampson, which the Duke did not disclose to me. The Grand Equerry has been many times in France [as ambassador], and has had many presents every time he has been there, besides his usual salary.

The Duke told me besides that within the last few days he had again written to the Dean to make the most affectionate commendations to Your Majesty. And since the Duke trusts the Dean so much, it appears to me that some overtures might be made through him, for as I have already written to Your Majesty, the duke of Norfolk is of all the noblemen of this kingdom he who has most the power and the will to serve Your Majesty.

He also said that he was very much out of health and that but for meeting me he should hardly have come to Court that day. He understood that I had had a conversation with the King on the subject of the "fleur de lis." The Duke said that the French ambassadors† had been importuning them on this subject again yesterday; they had dined at Court, and there had been some warm debate

* "Je luy parlay des recommandations du Docteur Sanson, desquelles certainement luy avoit donne charge, comme a la personne quil se fie autant, tant pour sa prudence et discretion que ausy pour ce qu'il a este nourry en partie en la mayson [de] son pere, et oultre ce luy voulust bien donne [r] ceste particuliere charge, pour ce qu'il [l]a tosjours cogneu partial pour votre maiesté. Et qu'il avoit bien peu prendre ceste poyne pour luy de fere ses recommandations à votre maieste, cart yl en avoit fayt dautres de par deça envers le Roy, de sorte qua son retourd yl estoit asseure davoer une evesche du lieu de la nativité du dit Duc."

† "Il me dit que les ambassadeurs de France les en avoint importuné encoures hier, et qu'il [s] avoint disné ceans a la court, *et qu'il y avoit eu de la façon de faire entre le Roy et eulx*, mais qu'il avoit tout *rabillé*."

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between the King and them, but he (the Duke) had interfered and *put matters straight between them.* It was quite true that for some time he had been under suspicion, but he was now thoroughly trusted and not without reason, as he desired only to keep up a good understanding with everyone.* He said nothing more explicit on this head. Did not venture to ask as to the debate *he spoke of, and what it was about, nor* what had led to it.† He then announced to me, as the King had done, that the ambassadors would start in eight or ten days; their route would lay through France. Should the king [of that country] be anywhere within ten leagues of their road, they would certainly go and see him, not otherwise.

In accordance with Your Majesty's orders I have spoken privately to all those to whom I considered it necessary; all are, as aforesaid, well disposed. *As regards the French ambassadors* I have not been able to learn anything further than what I have already written to Your Majesty, but judging from what I have heard *this king say,* I do not think there is any probability of his (the king of France) withdrawing from his engagements, *though* I fancy *he has more strength than good-will.*‡ With respect to the Cardinal, I said above what I knew of his doings; he has during these recent festivities received some money from the King, with which he has paid several of his retainers and then dismissed them. The King has at once taken more than 30 of his guard into his service.§

Of the commission entrusted by Madame [Margaret] to Mons. de Rosymboz,‖ namely, to *gain over people in this country to Your Majesty's service,* nothing has been done yet, that diplomatist having neither the leasure nor the means for carrying out those plans for which something more substantial than mere words is required. I have no doubt that Madame will not fail to inform Your Majesty of all what the said Seigneur de Rosymboz has done in this country, and therefore need say no more on the subject.

I have not been able to ascertain anything further about the gentlemen from the duke of Saxony. I had no opportunity the last time I was at Grinuys (Greenwich) of making

* Qu'il estoit vray qu' autreffoys yl avoit esté tenu pour suspectz mays que maintenant yl avoint de la confidence en luy et, non sans cause cart yl ne voudroit entretenir les maystres que en bonne amytié.

† "Je ne le ousey interrouguer de la dicte *façon de fayre* ne sur quoy elle estoit procedé."

‡ *Quant aux ambassadeurs de France* je n'ai peu apperçepuoyr autre que se (ce) quen ay escrit cy dessus, ou yl me semble joinct ce que d'aillieurs ay entendu, c'est a sçavoer [du Roy], qu'il n'y a apparence qu'il veuillie ne puysse [regipper] combien que pense qu'il a plus de force que bonne voulenté.

§ "Yl a ses (*sic*) festes heu de l'argent du Roy, de quoy yl a contenté plusieurs de ses serviteurs, et leur a donne congié, et le Roy pour un coupt a pris plus de trente de sa garde."

‖ "De la charge que Madame avoit donné a Monseigneur de Rosymboz d'entendre *a practiquer gens au service de votre majesté* il n'a pas heu grand loysir ni moyen de demesler telz affaires; cart yl y va autre que parolles, et pour ce que suys seur que ma dite dame ne faudra d'adverty votre maiesté du besongnié du dit Seigneur de Rosymboz, je n'en direy autre."

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private inquiries from Monsieur de Londres (the bishop of London) as he had charge of the French ambassador at Court, whilst the young Marquis introduced me.*

The Queen still remains at Greenwich; the King has been here [in London] for the last five days, probably to attend without interruption to the business of the said embassy, and assist in the deliberations [of the Privy Council].†

The French ambassadors were a long time at Court yesterday, especially to take leave of the Lady on the occasion of the departure of one of them, Mons. de Bayonne [for France]. There was much dancing, and the Lady entertained them splendidly here; nothing could have given the King greater satisfaction than to see the French ambassadors thus take leave of the Lady, and pay their respects to her.‡

Having lately written to Your Majesty of the Queen's affairs, I need not say any more now.

I forgot to mention that when I was at dinner with the two dukes, as above, he of Suffolk pressed me hard to take charge of the "fleur de lis," upon which the duke of Norfolk observed that I knew very well what had been decided about it. I replied that I knew nothing more than that it had been repolished and cleaned. Upon which the Duke said: "You must know as well as I do that the King, my master, in his youth borrowed some of the stones, diamonds as well as pearls, and that both have since been replaced with larger and finer ones." "Besides," he added, "between the King and the Emperor, a matter of 300 or 400 ducats, more or less, is not worthy of consideration." The King had said nothing of this to me, though I had mentioned to him (the King) that I had in my possession the inventory of the stones, and description of the jewels.—London, 13th January 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 9.

16 Jan. **251.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to FERDINAND, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 228.

His Highness' letter of the 4th inst. from Lintz was duly received, and its contents read to His Imperial Majesty. Respecting the ordnance the Emperor promised to take every care of it, but observed that there were not so many pieces [in Italy] as stated in His Highness' memorandum. There were said to be 54 in all, and yet all the ordnance in Italy at the present time amounts only to 70 pieces, out of which 12 that

* "Estant dernierement á Grinnuys je ne puys parler à Monseigneur de Londres à part pour m'en enquerir, cart yl conduysoit l'ambassadeur de France, et le jeune marquis eust charge de moy."

† "Je cuyde pour conclurre plus à son souet (*sic* for *souhait*) sans interpollation la desliberation de la dite ambassade."

‡ "L'on dança à force, et leur fist la dame tres bonne chiere et à ce qu' entend yl ne pouvoint fere plus gros playsir au Roy que d' aller prendre congié delle."

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came lately from Spain have been sent to the siege of Florence, and when no longer wanted will go to the kingdom of Naples. The rest of the artillery is in the castles of Milan and Como. The Emperor, therefore, wishes to know how many of these belong to His Highness, what their calibre is, to whom and at what time they were sent, and what ammunition came with them. The Bishop of Trent (Clesi) has been written to on this subject; when his answer comes and the number and calibre of the pieces are sufficiently specified, the Emperor is quite ready to take them with him when he goes over to Germany. The same may be said of the ammunition, bridges, pontoons, &c., of which nobody seems to know which belong to the Emperor and which to His Highness, for, as was the case with the ordnance, no proper account was taken at the time. When the pieces are counted it will be found that some are not forthcoming. Indeed Antonio de Leyva had some big guns cast to present to the Emperor, and, if the report be true, they were made out of the old ones.

Letters are being prepared summoning the electors for a Diet, though without fixing either the day or the place of the meeting, as the Emperor cannot yet tell when he will be in Germany, or what city is the most convenient for the purpose.

With regard to the 40,000 ducats to be furnished by the Pope, Miçer Andrea del Burgo and he (Salinas) are doing all they can to ensure the payment and looking more to the securities offered than to the shortness of the dates in the bills, which, after all, will not be cashed as soon as was anticipated.

Spoke to the Emperor in favour of Secretary Gabriel Sanchez as prescribed, but found the Emperor rather disinclined to make the grant, owing to the new settlements made in the Duchy, which will render null several provisions formerly made. Referred him, however, to Cobos, who promised to take into account Sanchez' services.

The friars of San Geronimo, of Madrid, are now writing to His Highness by Pedro Çapata de Mirabel begging he will obtain a jubilee from His Holiness.

Yesterday Don Pedro de Acuña and Martin de Gurrea arrived with His Highness' letters of favour. The Emperor does not seem very well disposed to employ the former in his service, and yet has written to the Chancellor, inquiring about his merits, the offices he has filled, &c. As to Gurrea, he was in due time introduced to the Emperor's presence, to whom he delivered the fowling pieces (*escopetas*) sent by His Highness. The Emperor inspected them carefully one after the other and admired much their workmanship, especially the white one and the one inlaid with ivory. Though most of the courtiers present coveted them immensely none had a chance to obtain one, for the Emperor ordered them all to be sent to his armoury.

With regard to Don Leopoldo [de Austria] he [Salinas] failed not to recommend his case as much as he could, suggest-

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ing that one of the vacant commanderships (*encomiendas*) in the Order of Calatrava or Alcantara yielding 2,000 ducats a year might be at once conferred upon him until a high commandership with eight or ten thousand should become vacant. Leopoldo is an old man and wants that for his maintenance. The Emperor referred him (Salinas) to Monsieur de Granbela (*sic*) who promised to do what he could for him.—Bologna, 16th January, at night, 1530.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

20 Jan. **252.** EUSTACE CHAPPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 6.

By my despatches of the 10th and 13th inst., I have replied to Your Majesty's letters of the 16th December, and reported also on late occurrences, and especially on this new embassy about to be sent to Your Majesty. Among the motives and reasons assigned for it, the principal one seems to be, as I am told, to persuade Your Majesty to consent to this new marriage. *Indeed, if I am to believe what the ambassadors themselves tell me, there can be no doubt that, if Your Imperial Majesty only agrees to the proposal, this king will offer to meet your wishes in every respect, either by raising money or entering on such an alliance as may be desired.* And I am the more inclined to believe what they assert, that the King, I am told, *has been heard to say that were he to get Your Majesty's consent for this new marriage, he would, in that case, become your slave for ever.*

The ambassadors are positively to start to-morrow or next Friday, at least Mr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) and Dr. Lee, for the third (Dr. Stockesley) is already at Paris arguing and disputing the divorce case. On their passage [through France] the ambassadors will take him up, and then proceed [to Rome] all together. Two more doctors go in their suite, a divine and a lawyer, their names are Croma (Cranmer) and Carmel (?) both English, and chaplains-in-ordinary to the King.

Many and different are the views which people here entertain respecting this embassy. Some regret that Mr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) should be sent, fearing either that he will succeed in obtaining the Emperor's consent to this marriage, to which he is an acknowledged party, or else that, to prevent the King from wavering in his undertaking, he will not fully report all that takes place at the interview with Your Majesty. Others again think that this is the only way of getting speedily clear of this business, and that the King is now sending that nobleman, because as he would certainly make more strenuous efforts than anyone else to bring about this marriage, so, in the event of his being unsuccessful, would the King feel justified that he has done his utmost, and discharged his responsibility towards the father, daughter, and the whole family, whom, at the present moment, he does not wish to alienate. Besides which, it is rumoured in certain quarters—and the rumour has been adroitly circulated—that this embassy

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is not so much sent for the purpose of this marriage as for the conclusion of perpetual peace with Your Majesty.

The Queen at first was somewhat troubled at the prospect of this embassy, but since she has heard my opinion she looks less despondingly upon it, and has taken my advice. I have told her that, considering the state of affairs in this country, the only way of arriving at truth and getting to the end of this affair was to let these ambassadors and doctors go freely to Rome; for whatever judgment the Pope or the Rotta might pass, whilst Your Majesty is in Italy, is sure to be set aside by this king, on the ground that it was given solely from fear of Your Majesty, whereas, if these very doctors should be convinced (as it is to be hoped they will be) that right and justice are on the Queen's side, the King, either from shame or conviction, would not venture to appeal from the decision. Or, again, if this should fail to bring him to reason, fear of the Queen's relatives, and indeed of his own subjects, who are sincerely devoted to her, might induce him to abandon his purpose. It is, therefore, essential that Your Majesty should assemble a good number of learned men, especially theologians, to argue the case with these now sent from England, and who are, no doubt, the ablest the King could find to maintain his views. And should the moment seem propitious, the Pope ought also, both for the furtherance of justice and the upholding of his own authority, now at stake, to name and depute a number of theologians to be present at the disputations, and should the case proceed, to give his decision at once.

It is my impression that these ambassadors will, among other statements, represent to Your Majesty that the whole kingdom of England is urging the King to these proceedings, and that all the learned doctors of the country have given their opinion in favour of the divorce. But that is not the case, for in addition to the writings of the two most distinguished scholars and prelates, which I have already sent to Your Majesty and others, which I hope to forward shortly, we have two most excellent witnesses on our side, namely, Cardinal Campeggio and Mr. de Burgos,* now in that country, since whose departure the adherents of the Queen have come more prominently forward, for although the agents (*procureurs*) in Parliament have been chosen entirely at the King's pleasure and according to his wishes, still they would not venture to bring forward so unpopular a measure. I will say no more at present as I have already written fully on the subject at other times, and the Queen herself is now writing about it.

I have been told *by Brian Tuke, with a good deal of mystery,* that the agent of the duke George of Saxony has come here to ask for the hand of the Princess, whether for

* Don Iñigo de Mendoza, bishop of Burgos, once Charles' ambassador in England, 1527–9

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himself or for some other prince, I could not ascertain. I am, therefore, the less inclined to believe the report mentioned in my despatch of the 31st of December, that the Duke had written to dissuade this king from his intended divorce, saying that such a proceeding would have been highly scandalous, and of very evil example; for naturally enough, if he intended to ask the Princess in marriage he would not wish to have her declared illegitimate.

He (Tuke) told me also that the agent of the Cardinal de Gurce,* about whom I wrote lately to Your Majesty, had come [to England] for the sole purpose of claiming certain arrears of pensions on ecclesiastical benefices, which he formerly held here. Could not, however, learn from him what could be the object of another agent of Mr. de Mayence (the archbishop of Maintz), who happens to be here just now.

The difference of opinion alluded to in my last despatch as having arisen between this king and the French ambassadors concerning the "fleur de lis" may be summed up in a few words. Mr. de Bayonne at first insisted on having it delivered into his keeping, alleging that otherwise the treaty of Cambray, which had cost France such labour and trouble to bring about, might be broken. Your Majesty, he observed, might perhaps be seeking an opportunity or pretext for evading the execution of the said treaty, or at least, for delaying the delivery of the "fleur de lis," which, not being forthcoming at the appointed time and place, would place their master entirely at Your Majesty's mercy. Mr. de Bayonne, therefore, most urgently requested that the jewel should be given up to him, and in case of refusal, that the King should allow the terms to stand as they were originally, when Mr. de Langey, his brother, came for the discharge, both of their own obligations and of the "fleur de lis." I have heard no more on the subject, and that is why I fancy that this king has perhaps taken some sort of engagement to contribute or lend money towards the ransom of Francis' sons, and that with a simple promissory note, offering to return the "fleur de lis" and the other obligations, they (the French) would have been quit of their debt towards this king, that being their reason for wishing things to remain as they were formerly. But the answer has been that the King was bound to fulfil his promises and deliver the said ring as soon as Your Majesty's will should be made known to him, without which he could not possibly think of restoring it; and besides, since the most Christian King had innovated upon the original agreement and accepted the loan of what Your Majesty owed him, besides the "fleur de lis," it was not in the power of Mr. de Bayonne to ask for the return to the former agreement.

The two dukes, perceiving how obstinately the French ambassador insisted on his claim, were half inclined to yield and

* Again written Guise, which seems to be a mistake for Gurce or Gurk, in Carinthia.

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persuade the King to give up the point, but this the King would in nowise grant, telling the two dukes and others of his privy councillors how surprised he was that they who were wont to reproach him with too great readiness to acquiesce in the proposals of the French, should now advise him to give away that which was not his own, and submit, as it were, to force,* thereby offending the Emperor who would thus have good reason to complain. If it came to that, he said, he would forthwith demand from the French all the money they owed him. Some of the councillors present stood by the King and supported his opinion, but the duke of Nolpholc (Norfolk) observed that such a course would again lead to war. Upon which one of the Council replied: "If every time that a request from France to this country, or one from us to the French is refused we are to be threatened with war it will be a most intolerable servitude. If things are to come to such a pass, better have war now than at any other time." The Duke's opinion prevailed at last; the above discussion took place in the absence of Mr. de Bayonne and of his brother.

Subsequently to this, on the first arrival of these same French ambassadors, another question was raised. This king, when the treaty that preceded the challenge was made, engaged to make war on Your Majesty in Flanders, and, as he could not, or rather his subjects would not allow him to carry that out, he promised the king of France to contribute a sum of money towards the expenses of the war in Italy, which this king did most faithfully, even beyond the amount stipulated. The King, therefore, asked from the king of France an acknowledgment that he had kept his engagements. The ambassadors replied that he was fully entitled to such acknowledgment, but at the same time demanded a similar one from him for the King, their master. Upon which the King curtly replied that he would do nothing of the sort, and that he was very much astonished at their making such a demand, since they must or ought to know full well that the French king had not yet fulfilled one even of the conditions of that treaty. The duke of Norfolk here interposed to smooth matters over, and on the 12th of January, the day before I had my interview with the King, the said Sieur de Bayonne had his congé, and received the same evening a present of gold plate, worth 12 angelots, besides many other gifts bestowed on previous occasions, and the King moreover has relinquished, as is well known, one half year of his yearly pension towards the recovery of the King's sons.

On the 13th, the day of my interview with the King, Mr. de Bayonne was ready to start for France, but, hearing that despatches had arrived from Your Majesty, he waited that day in the hope that I might have received instructions concerning the "fleur de lis." In the evening the King sent him

* "Et que pis estoit qu'il sembloit qu'il le luy vousissent fere fere a coupt de baston, et puis que ainsy alloit [la chose] qu'il les vouloit presser de ce qu'ils luy estoint tenus."

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word by Brian Tuke that he was quite ready to give him another audience, and, therefore, that he was to come to him. The Frenchman replied that he must know what the King wanted of him before he went. Upon which Brian Tuke represented to him that the King might well have matters to communicate, and, among others, the form in which the powers to be sent to France for the signature of his brother, the Sieur de Langey, should be drawn up, so as to ensure the safe conveyance of the "fleur de lis," if it should be entrusted to the person he himself was about to send, as I wrote in my last despatch; also a sort of obligation that, in the event of the King's sons not being ransomed, the ring and other securities should be duly returned to him. Upon which the Sieur de Bayonne deliberately swore (*jura franchement*) that he would not enter upon the subject at all. They had already delayed him for two days, and he would wait no longer. They might, if they chose, treat with his brother. I hear that the King sent once more to him, but he would not go, though he did not set out on his journey till the 14th, when he started without letters or passport from this king, which had to be sent after him.

I have been told that his brother, Mr. de Langey, has made several presents to the Lady in the way of rings, gold necklaces, rosaries, and other trinkets, whether in his own name or in that of his master, the King, I cannot say; * but I have been told that the ambassador's object was, first to obtain the good favour of the Lady, and then sell to the King many fine jewels he has brought with him. If so, he could not have made use of a better broker. † They further say that the Frenchman has at his own house very fine jewellery and precious stones of all kinds, and that he has besides given a good many to be sold under another name. Among other things, a young Frenchman has shewn me this very day one single diamond tablet, and a large cross of the same stones, for which, as he tells me, the ambassador has here refused 10,000 crs., and for which he wants 12,000. If I am to believe what the young man says, the jewels belong to a merchant of Lyons, but, as I said before, the general opinion here is that they belong to Mr. de Langey or to his master [the king of France.]

The Queen has informed me [through a confidential messenger] that the King had lately written, or was about to do so, to the archbishop of Canterbury, as chief archbishop, primate, and legate of this kingdom, to give him warning that, unless the Pope consented to the accomplishment of this marriage, his own and other ecclesiastical authority would be at an end here in England, and that he himself (the King), the nobles, and the people, provoked and hurt at the advocation of the suit to Rome, had already shewn great animosity against

* "Comme des anneaux, bagues a porter au colz, chappelletz et autres migniottises."

† "A quoy fere yl ne pouvoit avoer trouvé meilleur corrattier."

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ecclesiastics in general, and were getting daily more and more incensed against them, and would become Lutherans in the end. He (the King) wished to give the Archbishop notice of this, because he was the Pope's vicar in England.*

This information has only come from the above-mentioned quarter, *and therefore it may have been said merely to frighten the Queen, as no doubt was the case when the Spanish letter, of which I sent Your Majesty a copy, was written to me.*

A few days ago I received a message from Mr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) to say that he intended to call upon me at my lodgings. Yesterday he sent an excuse by Richemont, the king-at-arms now in attendance upon him, to say that, owing to his many engagements, he had been unable to call: he should certainly have done so, notwithstanding the bad weather, for he wished very much to speak to me before his departure for Italy, but had been prevented. Should I happen to pass by, or be in the neighbourhood of his lodgings (*lougis*) he begged me to let him know. The excuse, no doubt, was to a certain point genuine and legitimate, but I fancy that Mr. de Vulchier would have liked to have it said that Your Majesty's ambassador had called upon him. I would, however, have gone thither had I been sure of promoting the Imperial interests through my visit, or that his present mission bears on any other subject than the divorce, but as it is notorious here that he goes almost exclusively for that purpose, I considered it derogatory to Your Majesty's dignity to visit him under such circumstances, besides which the Queen and most of the people would have been displeased at it. Therefore, although I promised Mr. de Vulchier that, if I had time, I would call at his house, I never did.

Part of the embassy's luggage, and servants with eight mules, have left already. It is thought that the whole troupe will consist of 60 or 80 horses, exclusive of the mules.†—Londres, xx. Janv. anº 30.

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

21 Jan. **253.** The Emperor to Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, duke of Frias, Charles de Poupet, Sieur de La Chaulx, and Louis de Praët.

S. E. L. 12, B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 357.

Empowers them to conduct to the frontier of France the

* "La Royne m'a mande adverty que le Roy avoit fayt escrire ou desliberoit le fere fere à l'archevesque de Canturbery comme au principal archevesque, primat et legat du royaume, advertissant le Pape qu'il voulsist pourveoir que le marriage se paracheva, ou autrement son autorité et de tous les ecclesiastiques se alloyt aneantifz (ancantir) içy, et que le Roy, les grans et le peuple pour despitz de l'avocation de la cause avoint desja tres mal traitté les dits ecclesiastiques, et estoint [tous] les jours pour pys fere, et à la fin se fere lutherien. De quoy yl avoit bien voulu [l'] adverty pour autant qu'il estoit de par de ça son lieutenant."

† Il a desja fayt marcher partie de ses gens et huyt mulletz; l'on pense que toutte la troppe sera de LX ou iiiixx chevaux sans les mulletz."

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sons of the most Christian King, and likewise to receive 1,200,000 ducats of gold.—Bologna, 21st January 1530.

Latin. Original draft. p. 1.

25 Jan. **254.** The Empress' Instructions to Don Antonio de Mendoza.

S. Pat. Re. Cap. L. 2, f. 48. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 359.

Besides explaining the points contained in your instructions, you will inform the Emperor of the late deliberations of the Council of War respecting the arming of the fleet. The councillors are of opinion that if the Emperor's intentions are to have in Spain a powerful fleet with which to attack the Infidel, and that if he intends sending us for that purpose the galleys of Andrea Doria and the others he has with him, in that case he must immediately let us know his determination that the provisions, stores, and ammunition required for the said fleet may be prepared without loss of time. The said Andrea, or the captains of his galleys ought to come as soon as possible, so as not to allow the enemy time to prepare himself.

If, however, the Emperor's intention is merely to defend the eastern and southern coast of Spain against Moorish and Turkish pirates, and that for that purpose he wishes a number of galleys to be fitted out at Barcelona; you must tell him that much delay will be experienced in this owing to the want in that city of officers and sailors, as well as of artillery to arm them with. It is, therefore, indispensable that the Imperial ambassador at Genoa look out for proper officers and able sailors, and dispatch them forthwith to Barcelona.

Should this last be the Emperor's purpose, it would still be advisable to send us some of the galleys he has in Italy, in a good seafaring condition, and with well trained crews, that they may, as it were, form the nucleus of this Mediterranean fleet. And if you were asked how many are required for such a purpose, you may answer as if it came from yourself that three at least of the galleys which the Emperor kept in Italy, and two more belonging to the lord of Monaco might be very useful for such a purpose. If these could not come five or six might be sent well armed and with efficient crews.

Has been told that the lord of Monaco has in his company a man named Battista, who is very clever, and has had much practice in the fitting out of galleys. If so, he might with that Lord's consent be engaged to come to Barcelona and help in the armament of the galleys.—Madrid, 25th January 1530.

Signed: "Yo La Reyna."

Countersigned: "By Her Majesty's commands: Juan Vazquez."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

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25 Jan. **255.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226. No. 7.

On Thursday, the 20th inst., I wrote to Your Majesty of current affairs.* Next day, on receiving the letters of the 23rd ult°, I went to the King, who is still detained in this city by business, or perhaps, as reported, to be at a greater distance from the Queen. Was very graciously received; indeed, the warmth of the King's welcome seems to increase each time that he gives me an audience. On this occasion he inquired eagerly after Your Majesty's health and welfare, and shewed great pleasure on hearing favourable accounts of both.

I presented Your Majesty's letter to the King, who, after reading it, said it had arrived just at the right moment, since it brought the answer on a matter about which the French ambassador had been so unfortunate.

All the letters having been read by the King, I proceeded to state, by way of credence (*par creance*), that the Emperor having been informed by my despatches of all that had lately passed between the King, the members of his Privy Council, the French ambassador, and myself, taking also into consideration the terms of the treaty of Cambray, which required him (the King) to have the "fleur de lis" conveyed by one of his own people to the place and at the time of the restitution of the children of France, and there delivered into the hands of the Emperor's commissioners empowered to receive the same, due acknowledgment and discharge being given at the time, Your Majesty found it both reasonable and just to follow this course, the forms of the treaty being observed, and satisfaction given to all parties. That Your Majesty fully believed, from what I myself had written, as well as from the fact that he (the King) was powerful enough to enact the fulfilment of the said treaty in all its parts, that the "fleur de lis" would be sent as above stated; but that, still, in order completely to remove any scruple or hesitation in the matter, or any idea that Your Majesty was hindering thereby the fulfilment of the treaty, and also to comply with his own wishes as expressed in his letter, you had been pleased to make a declaration of your views and intentions respecting the matter. The King expressed his satisfaction at this, and said that as soon as I had carried out my intention of having the "fleur de lis" professionally examined, it should be carefully packed, and his own royal seal affixed to the packet, mine being likewise appended so that no tampering with its contents should be possible, and that then, as soon as the promised security should arrive from M. de Bayonne he (the King) would dispatch his ambassador to France with the jewel. Begged to be excused from affixing my own seal to the packet, as it was neither necessary, nor indeed fitting, that it should be placed by the side of his; the King, however, insisted upon this being done.

After some further conversation on less important matters, the King said that Monseigneur (his usual designation for

* See page 432, No. 252.

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M. de Vulchier) had set out that very morning, after having, as he believed, been to call on me. Replied that M. de Vulchier had been prevented from coming to me by press of business, just before his departure; but had written to make his excuses and take leave; and that his landlord (*hoste*), besides, had deceived me, for when I attempted to call on the Earl that morning, expecting to find him at home, I was told that he had already taken his departure.* The King then said: "I am very glad that the Earl has started so early; that saved you the trouble of calling upon him, which, on the present occasion, and with your position at this court, would have been an immense honour for him." Many other flattering things did the King say on this occasion, which I answered in a similar strain.†

As the King had himself introduced the subject of the embassy he is now sending to Your Majesty, I told him that I had purposedly bridled my curiosity on this occasion, and abstained from seeking the special information generally granted to ambassadors when a mission is being sent to their masters, because knowing well the great friendship, affection, and good-will, now greater even than at any other time, which Your Majesty bore him, there was really no need to ask for such information, or that I should send any advices thereupon to assist Your Majesty's deliberations, sure as I was that you had quite determined to accede to his proposals on every point that you could honestly and legitimately do, and that besides I had always presumed, and did still presume, that a prince of so much wisdom and goodness as he was would not demand from Your Majesty anything but what was right and reasonable, for it was the law of true friendship to ask no service from a friend but what could be rightly granted.‡ To which the King replied, that he had no wish to conceal anything from me; he thought he had fully explained the general purport of this embassy;§ at any rate I might be sure that no ambassadors had ever left this country with more complete instructions or fuller powers. To my remark, that I was certain the ambassadors would make no proposals but those strictly honest, the King answered, "No;" but, to say the truth, this was said in a much colder tone than he had previously used, and looking away from me as he spoke, which I can only explain by his desire,

* "Et son hoste mavoit deçeu, cart je le penses veoer ce matin la, et l'on me dit qu'il estoit desja en voye."

† "Il me repondist qu'il estoit doncques bien ayse qu'il fust party matin pour n'avoer eu occasion de prendre la poyne de l'aller visiter, et que ce luy fust este desmesuremant fayt [plus] honneur quil ne convenoit à la charge quaves içy d'y aller, et beaucoupt de belles parolles aux quelles je repliquay en semblable monnoye."

‡ "Et de l'autre couste ausy, je presuppouses et presuppose que luy estant prince de si bon sçavoer et grand vertu qu'il ne voudroit demander ne requerir a votre majeste sinon choses legitimes et raysonables; ausy estoyt ce la loix de vraye amytie de ne demander aux amys, ne fere pour eux que choses dheues."

§ "A quoy me respondit que n'estoes celuy a qui yl vouloit escondre telz cas, et qu'il me pensoit assez avoer desclayre."

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that no scrupulous adherence to honesty and justice should stand in the way of his divorce.*

The King then inquired for news of the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, and whether Your Majesty had made an agreement with them; I answered, that all that business had been finally settled. At first the King affected some incredulity at this, saying that he had been led by them to believe that until he himself took the affair in hand no settlement would be effected. Then after a few minutes' reflection he said that no doubt his ambassadors, to whom he had given some instructions on this head, had assisted in bringing the matter to a conclusion, and that though he was far from arrogating to himself the glory of it, still it was a fact that the arrival of his ambassadors [in Italy] and the news of his good understanding with Your Majesty, had caused many to withdraw from the contest and give in their adhesion to the Emperor.† He then went on to speak of the great loss [of men] in these late wars, especially in France, where, he said, Monseigr. de Guise‡ was now the only captain of any repute remaining. I told him that there was still M. D'Albanie, (the duke of Albany),§ of whom I reminded him, not without mystery. The King confessed that it was true, but that the Duke had always been unfortunate [in war]. He also spoke to me of the heavy expense incurred by the French in the late wars, which he thought at first would take them two years of peace to recover, although on closer calculation he found that in spite of all the French might say, it would take more than ten years to restore that country to the condition in which it was before the war. In short, he said, he should be well pleased when the French did pay their debts that he might come in for his share. Remarked, in order to ascertain how the case stood, that probably he had some security for the payment. The King replied that he had the very best possible security, for his claim had been recognized by the Estates of France, and that several places had been mortgaged (*hypothequés*) to him, the inhabitants of which were bound, in the event of the King refusing payment, to transfer their allegiance to him, and consequently would be released from all obligation to the king of France. These were his securities; still he said he should prefer being in possession of his money, and it was at this that he was now

* "Quant à ce que luy aves dit qu'il ne demanderoint que choses honnestes, il respondit que non, mays a non mentir yl dit cecy plus froidement beaucoupt que la reste, et tournant ung peu le visage de l'autre couste, que signifioit à mon advis qu'il ne voudroit que l'on fust tropt scrupuleux en honnestete et justice au cas de son divorce."

† "Plus me dit, protestant toutesfoys que pour esviter suspicion et presumption de gloyre yl ne le debvoit dire, que estant là arrivee son ambassade a la contemplation d'icelle et de l'intelligence de votre majeste et [de] luy plusieurs gens ployeroint le gantellet et inclineroint plus voulentiers a la devotion de votre majeste."

‡ This Monsieur de Guise (Claude de Lorraine, count and afterwards duke of Guise) was at this time one of the most distinguished generals of France.

§ "Il layssoit Monseigneur d'Albanie, du quel pour mistere le remantonay il me confessa qu'il estoit vray mays qu'il estoyt este tosjours infortuné."

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aiming, advancing his last claims in order the better to secure the first. My reply was that things were getting into order now, and that he was much more sure of recovering this new debt than the former ones. The King perceived what I was driving at, and therefore said that the one and only way of compelling the king of France to keep his engagements both to him and to you, was the friendship and good understanding between Your Majesty and himself; that he quite knew that Your Majesty's debt to him was safer in his hands than in those of the King's, but that still by this transference of the debt (*cette innovation de debte*) peace had been secured, as it had removed all causes of disagreement between the Empire and himself. He spoke also of your coronation, hoping that it might take place at Bologna, merely for the better convenience of his ambassadors who would then reach the Imperial Court sooner. Indeed, he is so impatient about this that I believe he will enjoy no sleep until he hears that his ambassadors are already at work.*

After a long conference on these and other various topics, I took leave of the King and went away. He begged me to come to him whether I had advices to communicate or not, without ceremony, and whenever I felt inclined, for (he said) I should always be welcome.

Before my audience from the King I was met by Monsgr. de Norfolk, who remained some little time in conversation with me. Said to him that he had begun the other day to tell me of the contest that had arisen between the King and Monsgr. de Bayonne, but that he had not finished his account. The Duke replied that Mr. de Bayonne had had some skirmishes (*s'avoit ung peu excarmouché*) with some of the King's councillors on various points, and especially about the "fleur de lis," saying that he was much surprised to see that the king of England who had not hesitated formerly to declare in favour of his ancient and perpetual enemy against his old friend, relative and ally, the Emperor, should now make so much difficulty about such a trifle as this "fleur de lis." He had found no one to take his part among the councillors who answered that times had much changed since that declaration, and that other counsels now prevailed, laying of course all the blame on the Cardinal.† Then the Duke went on to say that he was now going to speak to me rather as a friend and brother than as a foreigner and ambassador. "You are aware (he said), that my brother-in-law, the Sr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire)‡ is not of a warlike disposition; on the

* "Il a si grand envye qu'il[s] soyent incontinent la que ie pense qu'il ne dormīra de bon ceur qu'il n'aye nouvelles de leur besoingnier."

† "Que le tempz n'estoit telz qu'il estoit quant fust faylte la ditte declaration, et qu'il y avoit autres conseilliers, et du toust chargerent le bast au Cardinal."

‡ "Que sçaves bien que le sieur de Vulchier, son beau frere, n'estoit point homme de guerre, et qu'il estoit fort craintif, a cause de quoy il se doubtoit que venant le dit sieur en Italye, yl estoit bien taille, s'il voit quelque dangier ou souspicion d'içelluy, de ne ouser passer oultre, pour quoy yl me prioit vouloer escrire qu'il pleust a ṽre majeste y pourveoer, et y avoer regard."

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contrary, he is very timid, and if, on his arrival in Italy, he should find any danger abroad, or even suspicion of it, I believe him capable of not venturing to proceed on his journey." The Duke, therefore, begged me to write to Your Majesty, that some precautions should be taken for his security. Answered that I considered it quite superfluous to write to Your Majesty about it. He (the Duke) knew very well how former ambassadors had been treated by you, and that even if the Sr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) were not going as ambassador from the king of England, the fact only of his being his brother-in-law would be sufficient reason for Your Majesty to take the greatest care of his safety. The Duke, nevertheless, still urged me to write and send somebody in great haste to inquire if the last post had left for Rome, and in case the messenger was not gone that he should wait until I had written the letter. Finding, however, that he had, he made me promise to write by the next, which I could not well refuse to do, having always found the said Duke well disposed to serve Your Majesty. I consider, however, all this to have been simply done to give themselves importance, and gain, reputation, and that the fear which they seem to entertain is only an excuse.*

The Duke at this interview said nothing about the marriage, as he has been in the habit of doing, yet at one time he hinted at Mr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) in a manner that would have pleased me much more if only he had gone more into the subject, for he said that though the said nobleman would not personally work in that business for which he was sent to Your Majesty, yet it was at least a very reputable thing that such a personage should go to the Imperial Court [on such a mission]. The Duke did not actually say that nevertheless the Earl [and the rest] would be glad to see the accomplishment of the marriage, but it would have been much better if he had declared that they (the ambassadors) would abstain altogether from speaking about it. I dared not interrogate him further for fear of appearing to cast doubt on his statement.†

I have been told by the landlord of the house where the French ambassador lives that he has heard him say that the King, his master, had caused several learned Parisian doctors to be written to in support of this divorce and that 35 of them had already declared in favour of it; that the subject

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* "Il[s] prennent couleur sur la crainte mays il ne font cecy que pour reputation."

† "Le dit duc ne me tint point de propos du marriage comm'il souloit. Il en tint ung que me pleust mieux seullement qu'il heust poussé ung peu plus avant. Cart yl dit que [si] le dit sieur de Vulchier n'exployttoit en ce pour quoy il alloit à votre Majesté, au moins seroit ce reputation que ung tel personnage fust de si loing alle vers votre dite Majesté. Cella fust assez qu'il ne dist point que ce non obstant yl ne l'estoint [contents] d'acchever leur marriage, mays yl eust ete meilleur s'il heust declayré qu'il s'en deporteroint. Je ne l'ousey interroger plus avant pour non mettre le cas en doubte."

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had been much argued, and that among the said doctors were some, who, fearing lest they might lose the preferments they held under Your Majesty, did not venture to give an opinion in the matter; and that a promise had been made to them in the name of the two kings that in such case more valuable benefices should be bestowed upon them. The number of doctors they have found ready for this purpose is certainly not large; but on the other hand, the amount of crowns they have been obliged to disburse has been really enormous. Now if it only turns out true that the king of France is forwarding this matter that alone should be sufficient to dissuade this king from pursuing his enterprize, seeing that whilst the latter is seeking Your Majesty's close alliance and friendship he of France is doing all he can to keep you apart, which, after all, is the surest means for him to escape the payment both of the pension and debt. But this king is so blinded by his love for the Lady that he sees nothing else but the means of having her for his wife. I hope that Your Majesty will be able to open his (the King's) eyes this time.*

I have not yet seen the discharge (*quictance*) drawn out by the King. It will be shewn to me one of these days, although, according to Mr. de Norfolk's account, there is nothing to be altered in it, the French having had it made now as ample as possible.

The Germans mentioned in my last letter are still here interceding with the King for the Cardinal. He has been ill for eight days and the doctors fear an access of madness, which they say will bring on almost immediate death. The Cardinal himself says that for him there is neither doctor nor medicine but the King.†—London, 25th January 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 12.

2 Feb. **256.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 229 v°.

His Highness' letter of the 21st ult°, dated from Balbais, (Budweiss) was duly received on the 1st inst., when both

* "S'il est ainsy que le Roy de France sollicite ceste matiere, cella seullement debvroit bien detourner et dissuader au Roy ceste entreprinse, veuillant considerer que l'autre ne procure que de se conjoindre en amytie et alliance avec votre Majesté, et de l'autre couste yl taschent d'en faire disjoindre cestuy, qu'est le vray moyen de ne luy payer plus ne pension ne debte. Il est tant aveugle apres ceste demoiselle qu'il ne considere autre que le moyen de l'avoer. J'espere que votre Majeste luy vurrira les yeux à ceste foys."

† "Les allemans dont fis mention a mes dernieres sont içy pour prier au Roy pour le Cardinal. Il est malade puys huict jours, et le jugent les docteurs tomber en frenesie que le despechera incontinent. Il dit qu'il n'y a autre medecin pour luy que le Roy."

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Miçer Andrea del Burgo and he (Salinas) hastened to the Emperor's residence, and communicated their contents.

Respecting count Felix of Werdenberg, the Emperor promised to have the affair looked into and see to its remedy.

Of the errors and excesses committed by M. de Bredan the Emperor was already informed. Nevertheless, Burgo and he (Salinas) thought fit to recite the paragraph of His Highness' letter concerning that diplomatist, that the Emperor might know what His Highness' ambassadors had written about him at the time, and act accordingly.

The order for the payment of the sums owed to His Highness has reached Naples at last. As soon as Francisco de Villena, the treasurer, acknowledges the receipt of them, steps shall be taken to receive the money, and forward it to Leintz (Lintz).

(*Cipher*:) With regard to the 3,000 Spaniards, the Emperor keeps making promises, but has not yet made up his mind as to how and when they are to start. Indeed, as His Highness will see by another despatch in Latin, Burgo and he (Salinas) were advised [by the Chancellor] not to mention the affair, but wait until he (the Emperor) could name the time with certainty.

Don Pedro de Acuña is so active in what personally concerns himself that he needs no assistance from anyone. Ever since his introduction to the Emperor he has become so pressing and troublesome that in order to avoid his importunities he has been referred to the High Chancellor, that an inquiry be made into his past services, if any, his capacity, learning, &c., and whether he is or is not fit for a diplomatic situation. I am, therefore, afraid that Acuña will get nothing; for he is considered by the Emperor and by the members of his Privy Council as a great bore and a jester (*chocarrero*), and the reports here current about his person and abilities are anything but favourable. He is said to be a native of Seville, a bastard son of one Esquivel, and that owing to certain excesses committed in his youth he changed his name to Acuña. His first exploit was to get admission into a nunnery, pretending that he was guilty of a horrible crime, for which, if detected, he would be killed and quartered.* The good nuns sheltered him and hid him in the most secret part of their convent. After this he took part in the wars of the "Comunidades," and was obliged to fly for his life to France, where he was employed as a spy, after again taking to the name of Esquivel. Suspicions being raised as to his personality he was expelled from France, and sent to the frontier [of Spain] under escort. He

* "El primer asalto suyo fué fingir que avia echo un caso adonde si fuese tomado le harian quartos, y para guarecerse de esta pena, convocó unas monjas para que por reparo de su persona le acogiesen en el monesterio secretamente, y las pobres moujas creyendo su relacion, ó aviendo gana de su conversacion, acogieronle en lo mas secreto de su aposento, adonde se

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then went to Turkey, &c. From the account of this man's life and doings His Highness will judge what little chance he has of being employed by the Emperor.

Thinks it advisable under present circumstances that favours should be bestowed on those Imperial servants now in this city who have hitherto shewn inclination to be useful, and who may be so hereafter, such as Cobos, Granvela, and others. His Highness might present them with fur pelisses and other such like things, &c.—Bologna, 2nd February 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

6 Feb. **257.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 8.

Since my last [of the 25th Jan.] the Bishop of Rochester, careful of the King's conscience, and the welfare of this king dom, has for the Queen's good, and out of his own regard for truth, finished revising and correcting the book which he lately wrote, and which I sent to Your Majesty. He has also written a new one,* which the Queen has directed me to forward immediately and in all haste by this present courier, that the persons deputed by Your Majesty to uphold her rights, and defend her case [at Rome], may have leisure and opportunity to study and examine his arguments thoroughly before the arrival of those who are about to oppose them on the King's part. The said Bishop has entreated the Queen to do this, although he greatly fears his being known as the author of this last book, as the Queen herself informs Your Majesty. Of the pains the Bishop has taken in writing those works, a sufficient testimony is afforded by the works themselves; his great learning, and his good and pious life, well known at Rome and elsewhere, cannot fail to add authority and credit to his opinion; besides which his being a subject of this king will shew that he cannot be suspected of unfair dealing as was the case with those who have hitherto advocated the King's cause, as I have informed Your Majesty.

The Queen is treated as badly and even worse than ever. The King avoids her company as much as he can. He is always here with the Lady, whilst the Queen is at Richmond. He has never been half so long without visiting her as he is at present, giving as an excuse or pretence that some one has died of the plague near her residence. He has also resumed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun; this, however,

dió tan buena maña que empreñó las xiiii dellas; y porque á una vieja no quiso complazer, fué descubierto el misterio, y asi le fué forçado huir del monesterio. Las Comunidades començaron en esta sazon, en las quales se ocupó muy lagamente, y asi fué forçado que se fuese en Françia."

* The one entitled: De causa (matrimonii serenissimi) Regis Angliæ liber, Joanne Roffensi Episcopo auctore. Compluti (Alcalá de Henares) apud Michaelem de Eguia, mense Augusti, anno 1530. The editor says in his preface that it was printed at the request of the archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso de Fonseca.

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is but a delusion and loss of time, for the Queen will never condescend to consent to it. The continued trouble and annoyance which she has to undergo compel her to be importunate both by her own letters and by mine; nor will she cease to do so until her suit is brought to a final conclusion, which she hopes will take place before Your Majesty's departure from Italy.

Jean Jocquin, the French ambassador, is here, and has brought with him money to pay the private pensions which the King, his master, gives here to various persons. The day after his arrival he and Mr. de Langey (Langeais) went to court, conducted without ceremony by one of the King's chamberlains. They were well received by the King, and had a pretty long interview. On Saturday last they were again summoned to Court, but remained a very short time. On their return they called to visit me, and invite me to dinner for the next day. They called again on Sunday to fetch me. We had a long conversation, but I could find no particulars about Jockin's mission, except that he had come, as he informed me, to reside in England for some time; and that his principal object in coming was the recovery of the "fleur de lis," and the payment of the private pensions. Coming to the subject of the peace and Turkish affairs, he began to say that it would be both unwise and impolitic for the Christian princes not to make some arrangement with the Vayvod; for unless they did, the Turk would, and Christianity would gain nothing by that. I remonstrated, and told him that from the very beginning the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) had endeavoured to do so; but there is evidently some sort of brotherhood and close understanding between them (the French) and the said Vayvod, for they all speak affectionately enough about him, as did Mr. de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), the ambassador, when he was here last. Captain Rangon* whom the king of France sent to the Vayvod, had not returned when the said Jocquin left; but he could not, he said, tarry long for he had been recalled, and was already on his road to Venice, and he named the gentleman who had been sent for that purpose.

After this the conversation turned upon Dr. Stocley's (Stockesley) commission, and his attempt at Paris to obtain for the king of England a decision of the doctors of that University in favour of his divorcing the Queen, his wife, and marrying another. At first they denied all knowledge of the affair, until at last Mr. de Langey, perceiving by the questions I put, and the conjectures I formed, that I suspected him of knowing something about it, was obliged to throw off the mask and to admit that he really had cognizance of the fact. He excused his first denial by stating that he had mis-

* This captain Rangon, or Rangone, as the Italian historians of the time call him, was no other than Rincon (Alonso de), a gentleman of Medina del Campo, who having taken the popular side in the War of the Commons or "Comunidades de Castilla," in 1521–2, was obliged to fly and take refuge in France.

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understood me. He thought I asked him whether the question had or had not been debated in the Sorbonne by the University, of which he knew nothing. Respecting the private opinion of some of its doctors he knew for certain that Dr. Stocker (Stockesley) had consulted several, among whom many whom he had supposed to be favourable to his views, and ready to write in favour of this king, had certainly given opinions exactly contrary to his wishes. The same thing had happened to a Spanish doctor* residing at the Sorbonne, who was soliciting votes in favour of the Queen. Mr. de Langey spoke of this with precision, as if he had been present at the affair, and I really believe, as I lately had occasion to inform Your Majesty, that he has by his master's commands taken particular interest in this matter. In this opinion I am the more confirmed that I saw yesterday a letter from an Englishman residing in Paris, wherein the offers made to such doctors as would vote in favour of this king are expressly mentioned.

The said letter from Paris states that the chief object of Jockin's mission here was to reinstate the Cardinal in the King's favour, which, had it not been for the Lady [Anne] would have been easy enough, for as I have written to Your Majesty, it is generally believed here that the King bears no hatred to the Cardinal. If there has been ill-will it has been against the wealth he had amassed and property, and not against his person, and in this respect it would seem as if the King was not entirely in the wrong, for if the Cardinal made him spend large sums of money, and declared that all the wealth he himself accumulated was entirely for the King and for his service, to have taken possession of it a little sooner than the Cardinal expected could not be a subject of offence or injury, especially since from the moment he began to suspect his disgrace up to the time of his fall, he kept always repeating that the King could not do him a greater favour than to take away and appropriate to himself everything he possessed in this world, proceeding as it did from the Royal bounty. As a further proof that the King did not bear the Cardinal any personal ill-will I may add that from the beginning he determined that his case should not be brought before Parliament, for had it been decided against him, he could not, in face of such a decision, have pardoned him as he intended to do, and has since done, as I will relate hereafter.

The said Jean Jocquin lodges at the house of a former confidential servant of the Cardinal's. Soon after his arrival here the Cardinal, though still unwell at the time, and under the hands of his physician, a native of Venice, in whom as a man of wit and sense, and a foreigner, he places great trust, sent him with a message to Jocquin, who has now been staying with him four or five days. I have no doubt that if the French only found the means of reinstating the Cardinal they would spare no trouble to bring him into power again, for

* No doubt Dr. Pedro Garay.

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notwithstanding the fair front they show to the duke of Norfolk, I know for certain that they do not place much reliance on him. Were the affair properly conducted, the result would be greatly to their advantage; but if they fail in the attempt, as seems probable, it will only serve to irritate those now in power and at the head of affairs, whose very lives are at stake.*

As I have lately informed Your Majesty, the Cardinal has been ill, or, as some will have it, feigned illness, in the hope that the King would go and see him, which he has not done, though by way of compensation he sent him the other day the best remedy for his illness, namely, a promise of pardon and grace, as well as absolution (*abolition*) from all the charges brought against him. On hearing which the Cardinal immediately began to improve and is now in full convalescence. To-day he is to receive the said act of grace and pardon in the form in which he applied for it. The King, moreover, is to leave him the full enjoyment of his archbishopric of York and give him besides a yearly pension of 3,000 angels on the revenues of the bishopric of Winchester, in exchange for which he is to renounce all claims on that and every other ecclesiastical benefice. Besides the 10,000 angels which the King has sent him since his condemnation, two services of plate, and tapestry hangings enough for five rooms, have been restored to him, the rest of his money and house furniture remaining in the King's hands. With regard to his house in this city, the King has within the last few days taken legal possession of it, and incorporated it in his patrimony, and in place thereof is to give another house, which will belong in future to the archbishops of York.† Master Russell told me that in consequence of a few words which he said to the King in favour of the Cardinal, the Lady [Anne] had not spoken to him for nearly a month, and that six days ago the duke of Norfolk himself had declared to him that the Lady, his niece, had taken great offence at his interference, and was also very angry with him (the Duke) for not having used his influence to the utmost against the Cardinal, of which she had often complained.‡

After this declaration the Duke went and asked Master Russell whether he did not think that the Cardinal still cherished the wish and the hope of again returning to power, to which question he (Russell) replied that the Duke must be aware of the Cardinal's courage and ambition, they were such

* "La practique bien desmelé ne pourroit estre plus advantageuse pour eux, mays elle si n'est sans gros dangier de demourer impossible, et d'irriter ceux que ont le credit et maniement, aux quieux y va la vie."

† Et au lieu d'icelle yl en donnerat une autre que serat des archevesques du dit Yorc.

‡ "Luy desclayrast comme la ditte dame, sa niepce, avoit este bien corrossee contre le dit Maystre Rossel, si avoit elle [este] aussy contre luy mesme pour autant qu'il n'avoit fait contre le dit Cardinal tout son pis qu'il eust peu, et de ce avoit elle fayt plusieurs douleances."

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that he would never draw back were there a chance of again re-entering office, and that this chance might present itself should the King require his counsel and assistance in any matter which he had formerly been in the habit of transacting. Hearing which the Duke began to swear vehemently, declaring that sooner than allow the Cardinal's return to favour under such circumstances he would eat him up alive. Such were, according to Mr. Russell, the Duke's words, and I understand that it is to prevent any such possibility that the Cardinal has been forbidden to approach within six or seven miles of the Court.

I have been told by a cousin of the above-named physician that during the Cardinal's late illness the Lady had sent some one to visit him and to represent her as willing to speak to the King in his favour, a report rather difficult to believe after what I have related above, and considering the enmity and hatred which she has always borne him. One of two things, either she must have thought that the Cardinal was upon his death bed, or else she must have done it in order to shew her capabilities for dissimulation and intrigue (*affayterie*) in which arts she is generally reputed to be an accomplished mistress, or else it must be owned that Jean Jockin can work miracles and has already begun to perform this one.

The German who came here the second day of Christmas week, and of whom I wrote in my despatch of the 20th ult°, has been sent, as I am informed, by the duke Frederic, elector of Saxony. I have set all the spies I could on him in order to ascertain what he is about, and also induced a merchant [of this city] to invite him several times to most splendid banquets where rich wines have not been spared, but neither have I nor has the said merchant been able to learn any more about him and his doings, except that he belongs to the household of the duke Frederic [of Saxony], that he was once captain of German infantry in Your Majesty's service, and was present at the capture of the king of France. One evening, according to a plan preconcerted between us, after entertaining him at supper, the merchant said to the German that on account of his ill-fortune in trade he was inclined to retire from business and follow some other pursuit, and asked him whether there was anything to be done in Germany, because, that being the case he would willingly accompany him thither. The German replied that if he liked to go with him he was sure to get good employment. He was not to suppose because he saw him live economically and without pomp that he was in poor circumstances, on the contrary he had plenty of money, in proof of which he emptied before the merchant a little sack full of angels, it contained about 1,500 of them, and said "This is nothing to what I shall have before I leave this country," and he then asked whether he could assist him in getting bills for that amount in some part of Germany, I believe at Francfort.

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The merchant then asked him what sort of employment he was likely to get and where he should have to go, but this the German declined to tell, saying that any indiscretion might cost him his life. Up to the present time, therefore, I have been unable to find out what the German's mission may be, but hope to do so ere long by means of those I have set to watch and spy him. Nor am I more advanced as to the person who is here on behalf, as they say, of the bishop of Mayence (Maintz) save that he has come to intercede for the Cardinal. He is to leave next week and to take with him several horses he has bought, besides two which the King has presented to his master.

The said two agents of the duke of Saxony and Monseigneur of Mayence have not had, that I am aware, much communication together, at least in public; whether they have or have not seen each other in private is more than I can say. That of the Duke appears always suitably dressed at Court, but on leaving it changes his clothes immediately. That of Nuremberg, whose name is Laurence Sçavre (?), is the King's pensioner and has, as I am told, already ended his business here* and is to return to Germany with the others. Whilst conversing yesterday with Brian Tuke I inquired about these Germans and others, and he told me that some of them had come to England, sent by one who had always written against Luther, and that he could shew me the letters the King had received from that individual, accompanied by a geographical chart. I told him that my inquiry referred not to the one who arrived about eight days ago, but to the others.† His reply was that they had all come on private business of their own and did not meddle with politics at all; of that he was quite certain. Afterwards he said, "I do not always attend Council, and therefore something might have happened there of which I am not aware," which observation left me in greater perplexity than before.

The same Brian Tuke, speaking of what had taken place in Paris with regard to the affair now pending between the King and Queen, told me openly that it was true the French wished no relations of any sort to exist between Your Majesty and the King, his master, but said no more on the subject. He also told me that the King had determined to take the management of his own affairs and had appointed several councillors in order not to be without a Council when the duke of Norfolk, the Chancellor, and others are detained here by their official duties (*aux afferes de la justice*) and cannot attend on him in his excursions to the country. He has, therefore, caused

* "Celui de Norembert nommé Laurent Sçavre, pensionnaire du Roy, est despeche a ce que l'on m'a dit pour s'en aller avec les dite gens."

† "Parlant hier a Brianturk nous entrasmes en propose des dits Allemans. Il me dit une foys qu'ilz estoint venus quelcungs d'eux de la part d'ung qu'avoit tojours escrit contre Luther, et qu'il me monstreroit les lettres que le Roy en avoit reçeu avec une carte de cosmographie; je luy dis que ne parles de cestuy, qn'estoit selluement arrive puys huyt jours, mais des autres."

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Parliament to pass an Act to the effect that in the absence of the other [councillors] the President of his Privy Council residing next his person shall possess the same power and authority as the Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer of England, and the other officers of justice. To this office of President of his Privy Council the duke of Norfolk has been appointed.

A lapidary arrived here yesterday, sent by Madame [of the Low Countries], to inspect the "fleur de lis" and see of how many precious stones it is composed; which he can do when the jewel is shewn to him, without appearing to have any special intention;* but if the King continues in the same mind as when I last wrote to Your Majesty, namely, to send it by a trusty agent, well packed and sealed, there will be no necessity for having it closely examined here; that must and will be done by the persons whom Your Majesty shall appoint to receive it.

One of those whom I had set to watch the agent of the duke of Saxony (Frederic), has just come to assure me, as a fact which could be positively authenticated, that the said agent, accompanied by Laurence Sçavre of Nuremberg, has spent the greater part of this morning with the Chancellor, and that after they had been together for some time, the Chancellor had sent for some German merchants to treat with them about the commission they would take for transmitting to Francfort a sum of money which the King was about to give to the said agent. The sum was not named, and they were only asked what rate of interest they would demand. The merchants came, but no arrangement was made, both owing to a difference as to the commission, and also because the money was not promised immediately, but three or four days after. The said agent, though it has repeatedly been said to me that he would terminate his affairs in two or three days, has always pretended that he was to reside long in this country, but in reality unless the difficulty concerning the bills of exchange, detains him,† he will go away this evening. Having once said that he would return home through Antwerp, he was by my direction interrogated as to where he was accustomed to lodge at that city, and which road he intended taking this time. Nothing could induce him to say a word about it; neither would he tell his name, nor allow positively that he is in the service of the duke of Saxony, and when asked privately why he did not do as the agent of the bishop of Mayence (Maintz) had done, he would neither avow the fact nor deny it. He, however, has been heard to say that the time was come for people of talent and courage to make their fortunes in Germany, for that Your Majesty shortly

* "Pour recognoystre les pieces de la fleur de lys, il assisterat quand on la luy monstrerat, et la pourrat visiter sans autre semblant."

† "Bien qu'il se disse que dans deux ou troys jours il se delivreroit, le dit homme a tojours fainct de sejourner icy plus longuement, mays resoluement si la difficulte du change qu'il veult avoer ne le detient, il partirat ce soer."

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intended taking thither a powerful army to chastize and oppress the country, which the princes and Imperial cities could in nowise tolerate or allow; and that if he ever came across people of that description, and willing to serve, he answered for their being well treated and provided for.

I caused the person who told me the above to ask him whether in case of Your Majesty wishing after your coronation to have a king of the Romans nominated of your own choice, there would be any opposition? He grumbled a little at the question, but made no remark except that the affair was not over yet. All this has been related to me by one of the Osterling merchants, who appeared before the Chamberlain* about the exchange business, and who, of course, is dying from fear of being discovered.

Considering the circumstances of this case, I should, were not the agent to depart so suddenly, have written to Madame [Margaret] to have the man stopped and searched at Gravelinghes. Should, however, Your Majesty wish to penetrate further into these mysteries, it may still be done by means of Laurence Sçavre of Nuremberg, who is going along with him.

Your Majesty was pleased to say at my departure [from Barcelona] that I was to remind you of my small personal affairs through Mr. de Granvelle. I have now written to him on the subject to spare Your Majesty the trouble of a longer letter, and I humbly pray Your Majesty graciously to attend to the wants of this embassy.—London, 6th February 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 8.

12 Feb. **258.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 230 v°.

Was unable to write by the last courier sent by Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] on the 10th inst., owing to his being very much engaged at the time in making by the Emperor's command an inventory of the goods and papers of treasurer Juan de Adurce, his kinsman, who died the other day.

The provost of Balcrique came four or five days ago, not as much enlightened (*alumbrado*) on the subject of the Diet, as might have been expected; fears are consequently entertained that his mission will be unprofitable. However this may be, after hearing what he had to say, the Emperor has ordered the letters of convocation to be made out, which are to be forwarded, so that His Highness may modify or alter them at pleasure.

The revocation of count Felix [of Werdenberg] does not go by this post owing to the press of general business, but the secretary has already in his hands the Imperial decree, and the letters of recovation shall be made out and sent immediately.

* The Chancellor? See above p. 452.

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Two ambassadors are now being sent to Venice to congratulate that Signory, and to beg that they will send some one to represent them at the Emperor's coronation.* These are Mons. de Currieres,† the steward, and Prothonotary Carachulo (Caracciolo), besides Rodrigo Niño, who is to remain there (in Venice) as resident ambassador, and has been instructed as to the conduct he is to pursue. Niño‡ is a perfect gentleman (*muy buen cavallero*), well trained to business, and willing to take charge of His Highness' private affairs with the Signory He ought to be written to on the subject, but as he is not a Latin scholar, letters to him had better be written in the Castillian language. For any secret business that he may have to transact, he will make use of a cipher and deciphering key which have been placed at his disposal, of which copies are here enclosed.§

Don Antonio de Mendoça, once Imperial ambassador at His Highness' Court, has arrived. He comes to visit the Emperor in the name of the Empress (Isabella), and to say that she and the infants are doing well.

His Majesty is hastening the preparations for his coronation, which is to take place, if possible, on St. Mathias' Day. He is to start [for Germany] on the 1st of March. It may be that unforeseen events may hinder his departure on that day, but at any rate the letters [for the convocation of the Diet are already in His Highness' hands, and nothing can now prevent this his fixed purpose.

The Emperor writes to that effect in his own hand.—Bologna, 12th February 1530, at the four hours of the night.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

16 Feb. **259.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac.d. Hist., c. 71, f. 231, v°.

His Highness' letters of the 15th inst. from Prague came duly to hand, and on the very day of their arrival Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] and he (Salinas) went to communicate their contents to His Imperial Majesty.

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* According to Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, Venetia, MDCLXXXIV., vol. ii., p. 148, the Signory sent to Bologna on this occasion four ambassadors, whose names were Marco Dandolo, Luigi Gradenigo, Luigi Mocenigo, and Lorenzo Bragadino. Two more, Antonio Suriano and Niccolo Tiepolo, the former to replace Gasparo Contarini, and to reside at the Papal Court; the other to attend the Emperor wherever he went.

† Philippe de Montmorency, sieur de Courrières, about whom see vol. iv., part 2., Carachulo is no other than Prothonotary Marino Caracciolo, often mentioned in these pages as ambassador to the Signory in 1525–6, and subsequently Chancellor and High Justice in the duchy of Milan.

‡ Niño was descended from Pero Niño, first count of Buelna, the chivalrous and highly celebrated freebooter who visited the ports of England and France in the 15th century, and whose chronicle, written by Gutierre Diez de Gamez, his "alferez," or standard bearer, was published at Madrid, 1782, 4to.

§ I am not aware of Salinas' despatches being preserved anywhere in Austria. The abstracts are from his own copybook, which by some singular circumstance is to be found in Spain in the Archives of the Royal Academy of History.

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The modifications and changes to be introduced in the letters of convocation came too late, for previous to the arrival of the provost [of Waldkirk), the letters had been made out and sent.

The Emperor was likewise duly informed of the late disturbances in Germany as advised by Monseñor de Trent (Clesi).

With regard to the 3,000 Spanish infantry nothing new has occurred likely to change the Emperor's determination. It is decided that His Imperial Majesty will take with him 2,000 of them. If His Highness wishes it, 1,000 Italians may be added to that number, but let the answer come quickly, for such is the haste with which the preparations for the Emperor's journey are being made, that it might come too late.

The letters for the queen of France (Eleonor), shall be forwarded [to Spain] by the first messenger.

Upon the arrival of Nicolas Trabot mestorf* with his commission about the ordnance His Highness' commands shall be punctually executed, His Imperial Majesty having already given his orders to that effect.

The preparations for the coronation go on briskly, the day fixed for it being that of Saint Mathias. On Tuesday the 1st [of March], the Emperor will take his second crown here in the chapel of the palace without ceremony.—Bologna, 16th February 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1¼.

17 Feb. **260.** Chevalier de Balbi to the Emperor.

Lanz. Corresp. d. Kays. I., p. 379.

Was obliged, when almost on the frontiers of Persia, to retrace his steps from fear of the Turks who guard the passes. Attempted then to cross the desert to La Baserre (Basra); but found the road too long and impracticable in his present state of health. God, however, has inspired him for the Emperor's service, for he has lately made the acquaintance of a Venetian gentleman, Andrea Morezin (Morosini)† by name, who has kindly procured him some trusty guides knowing the country well. Hopes to be at the Court of the Sophi in about a month. Will take his departure on the 26th in company with the English gentleman, who, after he is gone, will report on the doings of the Sophi, and any other thing that may interest His Imperial Majesty.

The said Morezin, whose acquaintance he (Balbi) has made in Syria, is a very learned man (*est plein de gran sçavoir*), well disposed to do service, and knows the principal people of this country. Having had a conversation with him as to his future services, he has answered that he has already placed

* Thus in the original copybook, which, as stated elsewhere, is preserved in Spain.

† There is an historian of this name who is said to have flourished between 1558 and 1618, and who may perhaps have been the son of the Venetian here named.

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his head in danger by giving him (Balbi) advice, and that, if it were known that he had procured him the means of going to Persia, he would certainly lose his life through it, and yet, that he is determined to risk everything for Your Majesty's service. Begs to recommend him, for as soon as he (Morosini) gets an answer to his letters he will certainly undertake some great exploit to the Turk's disadvantage, being, as he (Balbi) knows him to be, very intimate with one of the principal bashaws of this country.—Aleppo, 17th February 1530.

Signed: "Chevallier de Balbi."

French. p. 1.

19 Feb. **261.** Cardinal Colonna to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 139.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 361.

Has heard of the Emperor's determination to be crowned at Bologna.

In the state in which this kingdom [of Naples] is 800 men-at-arms and 500 light horse ordinary, might be supported, but no more. Infantry, in however small numbers, would not be tolerated [by the inhabitants], and would find no provisions. That the kingdom may not remain entirely without Spanish infantry, he (Colonna) can only recommend the expedient he has pointed out on former occasions, namely, to remove the inhabitants from Barletta, Monopoli, Trani, and from a few more towns and villages in Calabria, and make them settle somewhere else in the kingdom. This done, those towns might be repeopled by 3,000 Spaniards, as the Romans of old used to do, giving the new settlers the houses and property of the absentees. That frontier would thus be effectually guarded without any cost to His Imperial Majesty, as then the Spaniards would require no pay, except in times of extreme necessity.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

19 Feb. **262.** Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 232.

On Thursday, the 17th inst., His Highness' letters, dated Prague, the 9th, came to hand, as likewise others from Mos. de Trent (Clesi), giving a detailed account of late events in Germany, which have caused considerable anxiety in the minds of all, so much so, that the Emperor has decided on starting almost immediately. His journey has been delayed from various causes, principally from his wish to settle definitively these Italian affairs, being unwilling to leave anything behind that may give future trouble.

The Emperor's intention was, as stated in a former despatch, to start for Germany on the 1st of March. Everything is ready for his coronation; only His Highness' answer to the Imperial letters, asking whether it would not be better for him to have the ceremony suspended, and take his crown somewhere in

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Germany has not come. Should the said answer arrive in time the Emperor has decided to start before St. Mathias, which is the day fixed for the ceremony.

His Highness' answer is also awaited respecting the 3,000 infantry, because His Imperial Majesty can only dispose just now of 2,000 Spaniards, and the remainder must be made up of Italians. Nor can this force be dispatched as quickly, nor by the road which His Highness points out, for it is not quite certain that the Venetians will allow them to march through their territory. Besides, the Emperor must needs take an escort when he leaves Italy; were they to be sent on before him not much time would be gained. The Emperor, therefore, will take them as far as Yspruc (Innsbruck), and, once there, they will go down the river, as Mos. de Trent recommends. They are to be paid by the Emperor to the end of March, which is just the time when His Highness wants them most. The captains and officers to be men of experience, and their commander-in-chief one well fit for a German campaign, who enjoys a good military reputation and is loved by the men. The appointment of this latter is entirely left to His Highness' judgment. He (Salinas) knows one possessing the above qualifications, namely, Don Pedro Velez de Guevara, who, after Antonio de Leyva and Alarcon, is perhaps the only captain fit for the command of such an expedition, as he has seen much service and is considered a good soldier. Many there are here who would be glad to get the appointment, but none deserve it better than he does.

The Emperor has received letters from his ambassadors in France, advising that the King is desirous of keeping the terms of the peace, which intelligence cannot fail to be highly favourable for the settlement of affairs both in Italy and Germany.—Bologna, 19th February 1530, at the 21 hours.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1¼.

20 Feb. **263.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d.Hist., c. 71, f. 233.

Since closing his letter of yesterday, a final agreement has been entered into with the Pope for the payment of the 40,000 crs. in the following manner: 10,000 in bills of exchange, payable at the Lyons fair at Easter; 10,000 crs. more in bills on Milan and Venice, namely, 5,000 on the former place, some at six days after sight, and some at 12. Juan de Mercado, the treasurer, to cash the bills and keep the money at Your Highness' order; 5,000 more on Venice 10 days after sight; the other 2,000 having already been paid in specie. The 20,000 crs. remaining will be paid here at Rome.—Bologna, 20th February 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

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21 Feb. **264.** The Emperor to Praët.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 138.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 362.

Your letters of the 4th, 7th, and 9th, have been duly received, as well as those of De Barres, your colleague in the embassy. We are glad to hear that the king of France and his mother are doing all they can to fulfil the terms and conditions of the peace. However, as the liberation of the King's sons could not possibly take place within the period fixed, you (Praët) have done well to prorogue the term. If you still think that a few more days are required, let it be so; but bear in mind that We wish it to take place as soon as possible.

Respecting the spot at which the liberation of the hostages is to take place, as the king of France and his mother have no objection to its being effected in the neighbourhood of Fuentarrabia, and are actually sending the money to Bayonne; as the Grand Master of France and the Archbishop of Bordeaux are also going to that frontier for the purpose of choosing a convenient spot, We have no remarks to offer. Letters to this effect have been written to the Constable of Castille (Don Pedro de Velasco) and to Vasco de Acuña, who is to accompany him; and We have no doubt that a convenient spot, agreeable to both parties, will be found whereat the said delivery may take place.

Though proper powers in Spanish had already been made out for the Constable, two more have been drawn out in Latin, similar in all points to the first. In one of these the Constable and you (Praët) are named conjointly, and in the other you two and Laxao (Lachaulx), in case he should attend, though in the last letter received from him he says he was still only convalescent at Salines (Salinas), unable to travel yet.

Respecting the lands and towns to be restored, Messieurs de Tarbes and de Moret had already spoken to us, and We gave them the enclosed answer, which was likewise communicated to our aunt of Flanders. There can, therefore, be no difficulty, since the term for the liberation has been prorogued, to have all the lands and towns [in Burgundy or Flanders] mutually restored.

With regard to the "fleur de lis" the answer given by you (Praët) agrees with that which We gave some time ago through our ambassador at the court of England (Chapuys). It is just that those who have it in pawn should return it according to inventory.

We approve of your sending to our aunt of Flanders [Margaret] a copy of all the inventories, deeds, obligations, contracts, and so forth, entered into with England, that she may have them examined and collated with the copies she has by her, and likewise have the angels turned into crowns (*escudos*).

Help in money to be received from Venice.

Galleon captured by Doria.

No news of the 14 [French] galleys which according to stipulation are to be delivered (*deliberar*) in the port of Genoa on the 15th inst.; but Commander Francisco Icar (Ycart)

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and our ambassador, Figueroa, have received orders to take charge of them as soon as they arrive.

With regard to the succession of our cousin, Mons. de Bourbon, We are not at all satisfied with the answer those councillors have given you, as We apprehend that the King's sons, once liberated, the fulfilment of the clause relating to the Constable's inheritance may be indefinitely postponed. We have, therefore, declared to Mess. de Terbes (*sic*) and de Moret (Charles de Soliers, sieur de la Morette) that We understand that this affair is to be completely settled before the liberation of the sons of France takes place, and have written to the officer (*oficial*) of Besançon and to the Sieur de la Trullera (Troullière ?) to insist upon it.

The same may be said respecting the Genoese. Until their claims be settled it would be unwise to proceed to the liberation of the princes, thus leaving a gate open for future disagreement and contention. You will confer with the Grand Master of France (Anne de Montmorency) and the rest of the councillors, and persuade them to have this and other affairs of minor importance settled, so that the liberation of the princes may be accomplished without delay.

Act of renunciation by Francis of his right to Milan, Naples, and Asti.

Quittance of 300,000 for the dower of the Queen.

Your efforts in procuring the writings of the Parisian theologians in favour of our aunt, queen Katharine of England, are very commendable and agreeable to us. We are informed that the President objects to their being put into the hands of Dr. Garay;* but you must persist in your demand, and when delivered to the Doctor, as we have no doubt they will be, remit them to us by express messenger, that We may have the same by us, and use them, if necessary.

We have nothing to observe respecting the receipt which the king of France wants for the 100,000 crs. which are to be paid to our aunt.† We have written to her to have it prepared in due form, and let us know what is to be done with the money when we receive it.

Respecting Mons. de Beodosnaes,‡ who you say, has been advised personally to treat with the king of France respecting certain lands which he and his mother possess in our lower Germany, you did very well in informing our aunt thereof. We now write to her to look into this affair, and see that the claim, if just, be settled without detriment to our interests.—Bologna, 21st February 1530.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

* "Que el presidente de Paris ha contradicho el ponellos en manos del dicho Garay."

† "Para cumplir á Madama nuestra tia 100,000 cr. en rebate (rebaja ?) de los 12 mil."

‡ Guillaume Des Barres, formerly secretary to Mr. de La Chaulx, or Laxao as the Spaniards called him.

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22 Feb. **265.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch, Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 18.

Ever since the date of my last despatch the French ambassadors have been straining every nerve to get the rich "fleur de lis" into their own hands, even giving the members of the Privy Council to understand that I consented to its surrender. Of the accuracy of this statement the said councillors being somewhat incredulous, they sent eight days ago to request my presence at Monsgr. de Norfolk's house, where they and the French ambassadors were assembled. On my arrival there I was pressingly solicited by the latter to consent that the jewel should be given into their keeping, in which request they were supported by the councillors there present, although it was evident that the latter only did this to satisfy the ambassadors and get rid of their importunities. I stated the steps which had been taken in this matter, as well as the proposition I had made, which had been approved by Mr. de Bayonne and was in strict conformity with the treaty; I added that the King had twice assured me that the jewel should be sent by one of his own people, as I have already informed Your Majesty. To this statement of mine the ambassadors had no reply to make, except that the gentleman whom the King had appointed to convey the "fleur de lis" had fallen ill. I made no comment upon this excuse, not wishing to shew further doubt or over anxiety about the matter, especially as the remedy was near at hand, since there are here many other gentlemen quite capable of undertaking this charge. Besides feeling quite sure that whatever might be said to the contrary the King had not altered his purpose, I made bold to say that I was entirely at the King's bidding in this respect, and would approve of his decision whatever it might be. I cannot say how the ambassadors took this declaration of mine at the time, but certain it is that they have since then shewn satisfaction at my conduct and at the measure adopted, and almost agreed [with me] that their endeavours to get possession of the jewels had been nearly pushed to folly. Yesterday the "fleur de lis" was entrusted to Brian [Sir Francis], a gentleman of the King's chamber, in the manner in which I will presently relate.

Perceiving on the day that I was summoned to the Council that the French ambassadors had brought with them numerous documents and papers concerning the security of the said "fleur de lis," and also the transference (*innovation*) of the debt, which they wished to communicate to the Council, I took leave at once that they might proceed to work. The duke of Norfolk, however, in spite of the press of business, and the knowledge that nothing is done without him [in the Council], insisted on keeping me company and took me with every mark of attention to see his wife and two married daughters. We walked a long while together, the Duke again alluding as usual to his affection for Your Majesty, and to his earnest desire that the good understanding and friendship between

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you and the King, his master, to promote which his brother-in-law had just been sent to the Imperial Court, should be thoroughly established, in the teeth (as he said) of the Cardinal (*á la barbe du Cardinal*), who had always tried to prejudice the King against Your Majesty, and *in the teeth* (*á la barbe*) *also of certain princes to whom* (*he said*) *this friendship was anything but agreeable.*

The key-stone and foundation of which friendship (the Duke observed) was the consent to this marriage, and he hoped that Your Majesty would not be over scrupulous, for the King was so wholly bent upon it that God alone had the power to turn him aside. Several other matters to the same purpose having been discussed, the Duke remarked that he was afraid the ambassadors would not be much pleased at his keeping them so long waiting whilst he was talking with me, and that in order to avoid suspicion he would tell them that we had only been discussing the Queen's affairs. Begged me to make the same statement should I be interrogated on the subject.

Since the arrival of the person sent by Madame [of the Low Countries] to examine the "fleur de lis," I have several times tried to gain access to it, that the said person might afterwards examine it carefully and leisurely at his lodgings; but I have hitherto been put off with some excuse or other. At times they told me that it was not in London, and yet I know for certain that it has been for the last three months in the jeweller's hands. Yesterday Monsgr. de Norfolk sent to request me to be present at Court at one o'clock in the afternoon; then came another message to say that the audience was postponed till three, begging me not to leave my lodgings as the King intended to send for me; for this purpose Maystre Rossel (Russell) came at two o'clock, but I was met on the way by Monsgr. de Norfolk, who said that the King had waited more than half an hour for me, and that the French ambassadors arriving in the meantime he had been obliged to give them audience.

Immediately after my entering the Royal chamber, the King, who had just been with the ambassadors, advanced towards me and led me to a window, where, after some little talk (*quelque petits propos*), he asked for news of Your Majesty, saying that he had himself received letters from Bologna of the 27th ult°, saying that Florence kept firm; that, notwithstanding the great number of troops encamped before the city, nothing important had been achieved; that it was not, properly speaking, the Pope's business to interfere in an affair of that kind or seek to make war [on the Florentines], and that Your Majesty might have refrained from assisting him for that purpose. Replied that Your Majesty's desire and intention had been to bring about an amicable settlement,

* "Que ce n'estoit bonnement l' office du Pape d'entreprendre telz cas, ne de demmene[r] la guerre, et que votre Majeste se fust bien peu disposse (dispenser) luy assister."

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[between the Pope and the Florentines] if possible, and if not, to compel them to do their duty towards the Pope; that Your Majesty would indeed be perfectly justified in reducing the Florentines to subjection, but that you had far too much clemency to desire anything of the kind and aimed at nothing else but the complete pacification of Italy; and that he (the King) might entirely rely upon the truth of my assertion at our very first interview, namely, that Your Majesty was not seeking any acquisition of territory for yourself but only a peaceful settlement between the contending parties, which was now on the point of being made. The King then observed that all was not yet accomplished, nor even nearly so, and that if Your Majesty had not made more conquests in Italy it was not *for want of will, but for lack of power;* and that the treaty of peace lately concluded with the Venetians and with the duke of Milan, had been *drawn up under compulsion and to your* disadvantage. Did not fail to meet these remarks of the King with fitting arguments to the contrary, too long to be repeated here; and my opinion is that he was satisfied with them, for he made no further reply on the subject.

A short pause ensued and then the enterprize against the Turk was discussed. The King observed that the undertaking was inopportune, for the affairs of Christendom were not yet settled nor in sufficiently good order; what had hitherto been done had no solid foundation, it required more weight and consideration; good faith, charity, and true friendship were scarce in the world; for his own part *he had tried the one side and the other, and in both instances had met with plenty of fine words, but no deeds.* I then asked him what had occurred since our last interview to cause such a complete change of tone. Had the King any doubt as to the peace [of Cambray] being observed? if so, I did not think that Your Majesty, or indeed the king of France, had done anything to cause such doubt. The King replied that those who talked of his having made peace with Your Majesty almost did him wrong, for there had been no real war between him and you; he did not fear the non-observance of the treaty on the part of France, but it seemed to him as if things were not yet settled on a sufficiently firm basis to allow of such an enterprize as that of attacking the Turk, for "peace," he observed, "is not yet established in Italy, *and the Emperor has made but little progress in that direction, though I must confess that he never acted more wisely than on this occasion, concluding peace when he did,* for otherwise he would never have obtained such good terms." I cannot say whether this allusion of the King was to the peace in Italy or to the other [that of Cambray]; at any rate, my reply was in general terms. I said that, judging from past experience and from the actual state of things, the other contracting parties had quite as much cause for satisfaction in the conclusion of peace as Your

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Majesty had. After which the King went on to say that were there no other hindrance than the disorder and rebellion now prevailing in Germany, Your Majesty would have enough on his hands without attempting any fresh enterprize. That, in his opinion, was a far more weighty consideration than the affairs of Italy. My answer was that advices recently received from Nuremberg stated that the greater part of Germany was awaiting Your Majesty's arrival in perfect loyalty, and that you could do there exactly as best pleased you. The King owned that he had seen the letter I alluded to, but said it was written by a man who evidently had no knowledge of the general course of affairs; he also had received more recent and more reliable intelligence, and that whatever might be said to the contrary, Buda was not yet retaken [from the Turks], and Your Majesty had not yet made preparations for so mighty an undertaking as the Turkish war. I rejoined that I saw nothing in this to affect the determination he had once declared of joining in and contributing towards the said enterprize, and that certainly the help now going from Germany to the king of Hungary did not look as if affairs in the former country were in so desperate a state as the King had been given to understand, and that he who had succeeded in putting down the fierce contest in Spain (*la fureur d'Ispaigne*)* would well be able to do the same in Germany. That Your Majesty had not neglected to prepare for the enterprize, by procuring intelligence from Turkey, for which special purpose, some time before my leaving Spain, you had sent a message to the Sophi [of Persia] urging him to march against the Turk, which, after all, would be the greatest help that could be given. On the other hand, I had no doubt that Your Majesty had also applied to the king of Poland and to the duke of Wallachia, both near neighbours and bitter enemies of the Turk, who would make a tremendous effort against that power, provided the other Christian princes also did their duty in this respect, and that it was to be hoped that when Syria saw the Christian princes combining against the Turk, she also would rise in rebellion. I told him more: I said my impression was that the large naval armament which the Turk was preparing, as the King had lately heard, was rather intended to intimidate Syria than otherwise.† Upon which the King observed: "You have so much to say on this subject that you will convince me that there is still some ground for confidence and hope."

After this the King touched upon the real cause of his displeasure (*l'encloure de son mal*), which had been manifest enough throughout the preceding conversation. He said that

* The wars of the Commons in Castille at the beginning of Charles' reign.

† "Et quil falloit ausy esperer que si la Surye une fois aduertye que les princes chrestiens aient conspire contre le dit Turc, qu'elle se insurgira et rebellera; et que croies que les nouvelles quil avoit heu que le Turc faysoit grosse armee par mer, estoit en partie pour envoyer en Surye.

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reports had been circulated and published at Your Majesty's* court concerning his proceedings in the Queen's case, which were wholly untrue and had caused him great annoyance; he had, indeed, every reason to be angry, not only against those who had written [from England] as against those who had spread such reports at the Imperial court, and he was very much surprised at Your Majesty allowing anything of the sort "for certainly had I known (he added) that at this my court or in my kingdom any report was being circulated to the Emperor's prejudice, I should have stopped it at once." I replied that in preferring such a grave accusation against the Imperial ministers I naturally concluded at first that I was the person alluded to, as in reality I had written more on the subject of the marriage than anyone else, that being one of my principal duties here in England; but that when I heard him say that the reports were untrue, I was reassured, for I knew that such an observation could not possibly apply to my letters, which had never contained anything that was not absolutely true. The King said he had not alluded to me, if he had he should have said so unreservedly; but that I might very well have unconsciously shared in the mischief caused by such reports, for the letters which the Queen had written to the Pope and to the Emperor had passed through my hands, and had been forwarded by a courier I had dispatched. He believed me when I said that I knew nothing of their contents, besides which he could very well see from the quotations sent to him that the letters were from the Queen herself, in her own style of dictation; but still the substance had been confirmed by Mr. de Mingoval in one of his despatches [to Madame Marguerite], at which, as may be supposed, the King was highly displeased.

I tried in every possible way to discover what could be his special ground of complaint, but this the King would not state, although I forcibly represented to him that were I to know the nature of the offence complained of, I might perhaps be able to exculpate those persons whom he suspected. I further told him that I was more surprised than he himself could be at hearing that scandalous reports about his person had been spread at the Imperial court, for of all the courts in Europe that was the one in which the least scandal was admitted as everyone knew Your Majesty's dislike of it. I felt sure that the Queen had not written without his permission, and that Mr. de Mingoval was incapable of making thoughtless reports (*n'auroit raporte chose a la voulée*). The King did not deny that he had given the Queen permission to write part of what she said in her letters, but not the whole.† He was also much annoyed at Your Majesty thus siding with the Queen in

* "Et me dist que l'on avoit rescrit, rapporte et publie en la court de votre Maieste."

† "Il ne nya point quil neust permis deserire a la Royne une part de ce quelle a escrit mays non point le totage."

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this cause, which in his opinion did not particularly touch Your Majesty, being, as it was, a case of conscience between God and those immediately concerned in it. That his resolution was so firmly taken on this point that it could not possibly be firmer; the first authorities in Christendom agreed with him. He hoped, moreover, to have his own opinion confirmed by most of the Christian universities, the only judges in this matter, not the Pope, who would never dare to oppose Your Majesty, and that in Paris only four doctors could be found to hold with the Queen. As to himself, his determination was unalterable, and no living man could ever persuade him to change his opinion or to return to the Queen even if he were to lose everything through persisting in his purpose; it would be wiser of his opponents to try gentle means rather than violent ones, as the latter course would only lead to his acting differently from what he had done hitherto.

Answered in as conciliatory and flattering terms as possible, that in sending his representatives to Your Majesty he (the King) had no doubt taken the best means of ascertaining the truth and justice of his cause. I was sure that whatever might be the result of this mission he would act as justice and the case required, and that his deputies were sufficiently well informed and able to prove the right if it was on his side; to which the King assented, saying that his ambassadors had been supplied with ample instructions so as to inform both Your Majesty and the Pope of the nature and details of the case, it being worthy of remark that this was the first time that His Holiness was mentioned in the conversation. He ended by begging me *to write to the Cardinal,* the Emperor's chancellor, urging him to give up the opposition which he has hitherto shewn in this matter.*

As it was now getting late, and it would soon be too dark for Madame's messenger to inspect the "fleur de lis," I asked the King whether his object in sending for me had been to speak on those subjects, or whether I was not justified in thinking that I had been invited to see the "fleur de lis," which lay there in its case on a table, before it was sent away. The King immediately sent for the jeweller and for the French ambassadors, upon which I ventured to ask whether a servant of Madame's now here on other business, but who had formerly seen the jewel, might not be present at the opening of the case, so as to send a report of what he had seen, at which Madame would be greatly pleased. To this the King readily consented. The French ambassadors then produced an inventory given them by Madame [Louise de Savoie], I had mine, and both being confronted, the "fleur de lis" was examined. The number of stones is complete, and the said messenger does not think there is a false one among them, unless it be the smallest emerald of all. Whether the stones

* Mercurino di Gattinara, who though appointed cardinal by Clement in 1529, was still Grand Chancellor. He died on the 4th of May (1530) at Innsbruck.

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are the original ones only those who knew the jewel formerly can tell; but this man thinks that, considering the beauty of the workmanship, it is hardly possible that any change has been made in it. I myself can offer no opinion on this point, because as the King's jeweller kept it nearly three months in his possession, there probably was a good deal of repair wanting, and besides that Monsgr. de Norfolk told me quite lately that the jewel was now worth 10,000 ducats more than formerly, as the King had had some pearls inserted, much finer than the original ones. The King also told me yesterday that the pearls were the only stones which had been touched.* The examination over, the "fleur de lis" was again placed in its case, and that was put into a casket and so securely packed and closed that it would be quite impossible to open it without fracture. The King then affixed his own seal to the packet, and desired the French ambassadors and me to do the same. The charge of taking it and placing it in the hands of Your Majesty's commissioners has been entrusted to [Sir Francis] Brian. The French ambassadors in the name of the King, their master, and in virtue of the powers expressly given for the purpose, took all responsibility of risk upon themselves. The King was anxious that Madame's servant and I should make an affidavit to the effect that this was the very identical jewel, without change whatever, which had once been given in pledge. I replied that I firmly believed that the jewel had suffered no injury during the time it had been in the King's possession, but as to the affidavit required, it was not my business, but that of those persons who should be sent to the frontier to receive it.

I remained in the presence chamber from two o'clock in the afternoon to eight in the evening, during which time Monsgr. de Norfolk contrived several opportunities of speaking to me, pointing out, as he has done on other occasions, the great advantage that would accrue to Your Majesty if you would consent to this marriage. The Duke, moreover, seemed much concerned at the news from abroad (*de par de lla*) to which the King had alluded, strongly blaming, with occasional sighs (*non sans soupirs*) those who had spread such reports, and advising me in the most friendly way to be very cautious as to what I wrote for then the King, who placed great trust in my discretion, would not conceal many things from me. "In writing home," continued the Duke, "I advise you to observe the utmost discretion, for it often happens that the friendship or enmity of princes is determined by the despatches of their respective ambassadors." He repeated several things which the King had said at our interview, and many more which he himself had told me on former occasions.

Certainly they are leaving no stone unturned in this matter of the marriage, for I hear that the King has just sent the

* "Cart le roy y avoit fayt rebouter des pieces de plus grande que n'estoint les premieres, et le mesme des perles. Et le roy me dict hier que l'on n'y avoet riens touche qu'aux perles."

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bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to obtain the seal of the university of Oxonia (Oxford), and Dr. Focq (Fox) and another to obtain that of Canterbrigia (Cambridge) the two universities of this kingdom.

Whilst I was at the King's palace the son of Monsgr. de Rochefort, and brother of the Lady came to greet me. He was exceedingly courteous; he returned from his embassy to France about six or eight days ago, and from what I can hear on all sides does not hesitate to say in public that he has found in France no favourable disposition, either by word or deed, towards the King, his master, or towards this kingdom.

About eight days ago the French ambassadors came to shew me the minute of the discharge (*quictance*) which they are now drawing up for the king of England, of the sums owing to him by Your Majesty. I sent at once a duplicate of it to M. de Praët by a courier whom these ambassadors were dispatching, that he might have time to examine it thoroughly. I mentioned at the same time a point that struck me then and have since had another conference with the ambassadors and added marginal notes to some of its sentences. The ambassadors were to shew him the whole document again before making a fair copy of it, but I have not heard from them since. It would appear that the "*quictance*" had been ready for some time, but it had to be drawn again, owing to the ambassadors having forgotten to insert the first condition of the treaty of peace, namely, the restitution of the "fleur de lis" and of all the obligations.

The said ambassadors have been during the last few days much engaged with the Privy Council. I cannot hear of their having any other business to transact except that of the securities for the transferred debt (*lasseurance du depte noveau*) and some private matters concerning ships which have been recently seized here by one side or the other. Some important treaty, however, must be going on between them at this moment, for whilst I was speaking the other day to Johan Jockin, in the King's chamber, Monsgr. de Norfolk brought a large parchment deed with a great gold seal of the arms of France hanging from it, and without saying anything Monsgr. de Norfolk in my very presence cut off the gold seal and returned it to the said Jocquin, himself keeping the deed. I had no opportunity then to inquire into the meaning of this strange proceeding. Hope to learn something about it the first time that I can speak with the Duke.

I was the first to inform the King of the fact that the Venetians and the duke of Milan had come to terms with Your Majesty, and I have already written what the King said on the occasion. The Milanese ambassador confirmed some time after the intelligence at which the King *seemed almost displeased*, observing that notwithstanding all that, the Venetians would probably soon recover their territory in Pullie (Puglia). The Venetian ambassador was the last to

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receive the information, and when he did came immediately to tell me. *It appears that when the said ambassador communicated the aforesaid intelligence to the King the latter said that they (the Venetians) had acted with too great precipitation and that they should have secured first the release of the French hostages. Now whether the King said this thinking that the release of the said hostages might be facilitated through their refusing to accept terms,* or with the idea that the delivery once effected, *the king of France would not only refuse to assist Your Majesty in the war but would perhaps take part with them* and re-open all the difficulties, I cannot positively say, but certain it is that one of the two things was meant.

There might have been some envy and malice in what the King said, but my opinion is that the chief cause of annoyance to him is the great success that attends Your Majesty in all matters, and that if things go on as they have begun you will soon be quite independent of him for he would rather that you were still in difficulty and needed his help, so as to gain your consent to this marriage.

Two days after the German, of whom I lately wrote to Your Majesty, had set out he returned in haste [to England] and immediately after, having seen the King, set off again. He must have met on the road the letters which the King said he had just received from Germany. Had it not been that any further delay that afternoon would have necessitated the visitation of the "fleur de lis" by candlelight, which is always deceptive, I might perhaps have drawn from the King a good deal more information about the affairs of Germany, for he seemed desirous of communicating it. I cannot yet learn that he (the King) has given the Germans more than 6,000 or 7,000 ducats, which certainly will not enable them to undertake great things.

The Queen has been so glad to hear that her letters to Your Majesty and the Pope had reached their destination, that she has been comparatively calm and indifferent to the King's anger on account of the intelligence he has recently received. Since the arrival of which intelligence, he has given orders that the Queen should be removed to Windsor; he himself remains here in London, and though a short time ago he passed near the place where she was then residing he has not visited her, nor indeed seen her, as I am told, since the Festival of the Kings. The princess remains at Alton, about two leagues from Greenwich. It was reported at one time that the duke of Richmond would come here before the carnival (*devant carnevaux*), to celebrate his nuptials with his betrothed, a daughter of Monsgr. de Norfolk, but I fancy that they might well delay this for awhile, for they are both very young.

The Cardinal received his pardon sealed and signed only four or five days ago. He has shewn [to the World] how

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thoroughly he knows the way of dealing with this Court, for he has certainly spared neither promises nor presents to gain his end. The King, as I lately informed Your Majesty, leaves him only the revenues of York and a pension of 3,000 "angelots," but does not wish him to give up the titles of his other preferments, because in that case he would have to fill them up again, whereas in this manner he will retain the revenues himself during the Cardinal's life. The duke of Norfolk tells me that he himself obtained the Cardinal's pardon and that he hopes to be able to prevent his coming again into favour, lest he should, as formerly, try to sew discord between the King, his master, and Your Majesty. Many doubt, however, the Duke's power to accomplish this, seeing that the Cardinal has overcome the greatest danger of all, which is that of escaping the first outbreak of the King's anger.

Whilst writing this M. de Langey (Langeais) has been to see me; he says that the gold seal which the duke [of Norfolk] cut off in my presence from the parchment deed and returned to him, was removed in consequence of another deed of precisely the same tenour having been previously given to the King. The first deed, he says, contained some erasures which, owing to the very strict business habits prevailing here, the King considered might lead to some embarrassment in the future, and therefore another one was put into the hands of the King and the former one, no longer of any use, returned. M. de Langey (Langeais) intends taking this deed, the one without the seal, to shew Your Majesty's commissioners that they (the French ambassadors) had been negotiating here [in England] about the indemnity and the arrears in the terms of the treaty of Madrid. He (Langeais) thought also that he should be able to prove that the French had already paid about 900,000 crs. of the said arrears. I can hardly accept this explanation of the cutting off of the seal, for if it had been so, as Langeais represents, Monsgr. de Norfolk would not have kept the deed but given it back seal and all. M. de Langey (Langeais) also excused himself for not having sent me the duplicate of the discharge (*quictance*) given by the king of England to Your Majesty; he said he had not been able to obtain it from Brian, who was in possession of the original document, but that as soon as he (Langeais) should have arrived at the Court of France, he would send it on to M. de Praët. Some time before he called upon me Langeay had written to me respecting the duplicate of a certain minute since sent to Your Majesty; the alterations and corrections in which were made entirely at my suggestion, though much of what I wanted to be inserted has been omitted. Neither have I yet succeeded in getting a duplicate of the security (*l'obligation*) given by the French ambassadors for the "fleur de lis," which has been drawn up in the strictest terms. They engage themselves to restore the said "fleur de lis" here in case of the hostages not being given up. They take upon

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themselves all risks of fire, water, robbers, enemies, or other incidental dangers, and should it suffer injury at the hands of Brian or his servants, or should he lose it on the way, they engage to pay the king of England double the amount for which it was originally pledged, and also to guarantee to Your Majesty any sum, however large, that you may like to fix, and which they undertake to pay; all this being transacted and promised in the name of the king of France.

I have written at greater length than is perhaps necessary; but mistrusting my own inexperience of political affairs, and knowing that Your Majesty, if fully informed, can form a much better idea than I can of these people and their intentions, I have considered it safer to err on the side of prolixity by relating things which may appear superfluous than incur the charge of presumption or negligence.—London, 20th February.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Since writing the above I have had letters by a courier expressly dispatched by Monsgr. de Praët, telling me to use the greatest caution about the "fleur de lis," and the discharge (*quictance*). I have written to him detailing all that has passed, and describing most minutely the way in which the jewel was packed and fastened, so that he may at once detect the least sign of its having been tampered with, and I have also written to say that I do not think greater care could have been taken for its security.

The personage* in whose credence Your Majesty has lately written, brought me the letter to-day, and the offers in conformity with the said letter; but they will not listen to them. *He has told me that the French are pressing on this business much more comparatively than the parties immediately concerned in it, and that Langey (Langeais) had promised in his presence to obtain the consent of the University of Paris.* This said personage can well do service if he will, and without creating suspicion, as he is much considered (*tenu*) by nearly all of the opposite party. Monsgr. de Norfolk said to me quite lately, as we were talking together about different things that just as he himself had been once considered to be in the Imperial interest so had

* As the passage is rather ambiguous, and is besides written in cipher, I here reproduce it, as it stands in the original: "Le personage à la creance du quel il vous a pleu m'envoyer les dernieres lettres, les m'a aujourdhuy deslivrees, avec les offres conformes à ycelles. Il a remonstre ou yl estoit necessayre, beaucoupt de choses, mays l'on ne veult [riens entendre et m'a dit que les françois sollicitoint plus cest affere sans comparison] que ceux a qui le cas touchoit principallement [et que Langeay avoit promis en sa presence qu'il feroit avoer les sçeaulx de l'Université de Paris. Le dit personage] pourra bien servir, s'il veut, et sans suspicion, cart yl est tenue de pres de tout le monde du party contrayre. Encoures dernierement Monseigneur de Nolpholc me dit, divisant de plusieurs choses, qu'ainsy [qu'il avoit este repputé affectioné, aussy avoit le dit escuier esté tenu françois. Toutesfois quelque partialité qu' il y ait, yl s'est montre en tout et par tout serviteur da la Royne. Il ne doubte qu'il ne le soit de votre maiesté, et je tiendray main de le y entretenir, ayant tosjours bon esgard en ce que sera besoing]."

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the said squire (*le dit escuier*) been reputed to be attached to the French. To whichever side the latter may incline, certain it is that he has always acted loyally towards the Queen. I do not doubt that he will do the same to Your Majesty, and I undertake to keep him in this mood, making use of him when required.

I hear that the universities of this country have hitherto refused to give their seals (*sceller*) for the King. I fear, however, that by dint of persuasion or force they will be in the end led to do so. Should the King have the English and Paris universities in his favour, he will consider the justice of his cause more firmly established than by the opinions of all the rest of the world put together.—London, 22nd February.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed; "A sa Maiesté de l'Empereur."

Indorsed; "L'ambassadeur en Angleterre le xxii.me (22) Feb. 1530."

French. Holograph. pp.

28 Feb. **266.** Martin de Salinas to the King of Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 233.

As His Highness' answer to the Emperor's letter about his coronation has not yet been received, it seems almost certain that His Imperial Majesty will make up his mind to have the ceremony performed here. On Tuesday he will take his second crown, and on Thursday his third and last. The princes summoned for the ceremony are:—1st, the duke of Savoy (Carlo II.), who is expected on Wednesday, whilst his Duchess remains at Mantua. 2nd, the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), who is already here. 3rd, the marquis of Monferrara (Bonifazio VI. Paleologo). The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) cannot come, because His Holiness has not granted him permission, and the marquis of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) refuses on account of a question of precedence between him and that of Monferrara.

Mr. de Trent (Clesi) is expected to-morrow.—Bologna, 28th February 1530.

Addressed; "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

28 Feb. **267.** The Same to the Same.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 233 v°.

On the 23rd inst., the day before His Majesty's coronation, His Highness' letters of the 14th were duly received. On the same day the bishop of Trent arrived, and was received by the Emperor in the handsome manner that he himself will relate.

The order revoking the nomination of count Felix [of Werdenberg] has not yet been made out, owing to the pre-

* It will be observed that this postscript was written two days after the letter

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parations and bustle of the approaching ceremony; but it will be sent as soon as written and signed, perhaps by the next post.

No news yet from Naples. Sorry not to be able to advise that the money has been paid.—Bologna, 28th February 1530.

P.S.—The Emperor was crowned on the 24th, St. Matthew's Day.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

8 Mar. **268.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 1,455, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 372.

Wrote on the 11th of February announcing his intention to go to Rome to be crowned; but considering that his presence is much wanted in Germany, to assist his brother against the Turk, and to procure some remedy against the Lutheran and other sects, he determined to take both crowns at this place [Bologna]. On Tuesday, the 22nd of February, St. Peter's Day, he was crowned king of Lombardy, and on the ensuing Thursday, St. Matthias' Day, he received the Imperial crown with the usual ceremonies and solemnities. Intends leaving for Germany as soon as the affairs of Florence, Ferrara, and others of minor importance are definitively settled.

Sends Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, his steward, who having been present at the coronation will duly report all that took place. Will shortly send back Don Antonio de Mendoza with an answer to the despatches he brought.—Bologna, 8th March 1530.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Couos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

10 Mar. **269.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 234.

On Wednesday the 23rd ult° Mons. de Trent (Clesi) arrived. He came in the morning as he said he wished to see His Imperial Majesty before his coronation, which was to take place on the following day. The Emperor ordered his steward (*maestro de casa*) and suite, with a guard of honour, to go and meet him. The cardinals also sent their mules and servants, and all the ceremonies used on such occasions were scrupulously complied with. The marquis of Brandanburque (Brandenbug), the bishops of Arca and Terracina, D. Jorge, the provost of Balcrique, and several gentlemen with their respective suites, went out of the gates, Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] and he (Salinas) having gone three miles out of the city. The Bishop arrived at the 15 hours, followed by a brilliant train of gentlemen and household servants, well mounted and attired in the most costly fashion; after conversing a while and learning from him the subject of his mission, he (Salinas)

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returned quickly to Bologna to inform His Imperial Majesty of his arrival. It was then agreed that the Emperor would receive him that very day, two hours after his dinner, which he did. As, however, Mons. de Trent brought no despatches or letters of credence from His Highness, some were instantly made out that he should not appear before the Emperor empty handed. Thus honourably escorted, Mons. de Trent proceeded to the palace, and was admitted to the Emperor's presence, Miçer Andrea and he (Salinas) walking on each side. Nothing could be more handsome and affable than his reception, the Emperor taking him afterwards into a private room where Mons. de Trent kissed his hand and delivered his credentials. Having asked His Imperial Majesty in what language he wished to be addressed, the Emperor said: "Let it be in German." Fancies that in this determination His Majesty was influenced by the fact of the ambassador coming from Germany, and the circumstance of almost all the gentlemen of that nation who belonged to the Imperial household being present at the ceremony. Accordingly Mons. de Trent delivered his oration in German in the manner and form generally used in that country, and the Emperor, having first conversed for a while with the provost of Balcrique, ordered him to reply in the same language, which he did, concluding with a speech addressed in the Emperor's name to the gentlemen of the embassy, who were highly pleased and afterwards admitted severally to kiss the Emperor's hands. The ceremony over the Emperor himself addressed the Bishop, welcomed him to his Court, and on his attempting to deliver his credentials refused to take them, saying aloud: "My brother's ambassador needs no letters of credence; your Reverence may go and come whenever he pleases at all hours, and without ceremony or impediment of any sort."

After this the form and order of the approaching ceremony, as well as the question of precedence of the Austrian embassy over the English, were discussed, and the rights of each party weighed so as to give the English no reason for complaint, nor their King any ground to shew his ill-will.* After long and mature deliberation, no better expedient could be found than that of not giving a seat among the ambassadors to the Austrian, but upon Mons. de Trent representing that that was tantamount to losing his right of precedence, he having been already acknowledged as ambassador of the King, his master, it was decided that since the Emperor was to have a bishop on each side of him, Mons. de Trent could be one of them, and thus the question of precedence might be avoided. Matters being settled in this way, the Bishop, therefore, stood

* "Luego se platicó la forma que se avia de tener en la fiesta siguiente en lo que tocaba á la precedencia con los yngleses y fue muy debatida, y mirando los ynconvenientes y como se podria hazer de manera que no fuese causa de que el Rey de Inglaterra tuviese esto por principal punto para començar su mala entencion, &c."

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by the Emperor during the ceremony, and Miçer Andrea occupied his seat as ambassador to His Holiness the Pope, though on the following day he failed not to repeat the protest made on a similar occasion.*

The day after the coronation, which, as above mentioned, took place on the 24th, His Imperial Majesty, wishing for detailed information about the state of Germany and so forth, sent for Mons. de Trent, who, attended by Miçer Andrea and him (Salinas), went to the palace, and had two hours conference with the Emperor, who bade him and them sit down. Having listened to what the Bishop had to say, and inquired particularly about the progress of the Turk and the otherwise disturbed state of His Highness' patrimonial estates, the immediate help required, &c., the Emperor declared that within two days he would positively fix the hour for his departure after consulting with the Pope thereupon. And so it was, for on the fifth day after the audience (and it could not be done before), the Emperor announced his resolution to quit Bologna on the 14th inst. so as to reach Trent at the end of this month. Mons. de Trent got leave to go four days before, although His Imperial Majesty could have wished he had taken his cardinal's hat with him. But this being a thing already settled, and one which the Emperor and the ambassadors take much to heart, nothing shall be left undone to hasten his nomination. So sure is Mons. de Trent of his cardinal's hat that at the second audience, as he happened to be dressed in purple robes, the Emperor said to him in a familiar tone: "That colour no longer befits an ecclesiastic of your merits. I wish it to be red."

Wednesday, the first day of Lent, the ambassadors again waited on His Imperial Majesty, and discussed the affairs of Germany. He (Salinas) was not present at the conference, having felt indisposed and been obliged to go home; but as both Miçer Andrea and Mons. de Trent write and give the substance of the conversation, there is no need of further comment.

On the 4th, the duchess of Savoy (Beatrix) arrived and

* Salinas alludes, no doubt, to the question of precedence raised by the English ambassadors, and which seems to have been decided by the Emperor in their favour, for in his despatch of the 27th of December 1529, he says to the Archduke: "Mr. de Bredan has not behaved well on this occasion, for one Sunday that the Emperor happened to go to mass with the Pope, he (Bredan) went and placed himself among the ambassadors and gave precedence to the English, at which the Emperor and those of his Privy Council were very much displeased, as well as all those who wish for Your Highness' best service. Next Sunday as the Emperor was preparing to go to St. Francis to hear mass and treat of peace with the English ambassador, he saw Bredan dressed in a morning costume standing among the courtiers, and observed that it was not the proper dress to appear as his brother's envoy, and advised him not to go to that church, fearing, as it happened, that if he went he would be obliged to give up his seat to the English. And so it happened, for having gone to St. Francis against the Emperor's injunctions and his own promise, he actually went to the ambassador's bench and sat below the two English, to the great disgust of all those who witnessed the humiliating scene."

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was pompously received by the Pope and the Emperor. The latter, with all his Court and many gentlemen gaily dressed, went one mile out of the city to meet her. The Duchess, who rode a white horse, was dressed in brocaded silk and followed by 15 damsels mounted on white steeds richly caparisoned in silver cloth, besides a numerous train of "dueñas," some on horseback and others in carts, and a handsome retinue of gentlemen and pages. Taking her by the hand, the Emperor led her into the city, conducted her to her lodgings, and returned to his palace. On the following day, which was the 22nd, the Emperor visited her in her apartments and took her to his own residence, accompanied by all her train of fair damsels. On this occasion the Duchess was attired (*tocada*) in Spanish fashion, with a cap (*gorra*) on her head and a feather hanging from it; he conducted her to the apartments of the Pope, who received her at the door and sat down. There the Duchess kissed his foot, after which both the Emperor and her sitting on each side of His Holiness conversed for upwards of a quarter of an hour; then came the damsels, who, after going through the ceremony of kissing the Pope's foot, retired, and were soon followed by the Duchess and Emperor, whom His Holiness conducted till out of his own apartments. After this the Emperor accompanied the Duchess to the very foot of the stairs, and as it was then dark, and she would not allow him to go any further, the Emperor took leave of her and retired to his own rooms.

The Duchess is a graceful dame, very much resembling the Empress in manner and looks. She travelled in a litter of brocade trimmed and lined with black velvet. Since her arrival at Bologna not one day has passed without the Emperor visiting her in the afternoon or at night, although his palace is very distant from the house prepared for her.—Bologna, 10th March 1530, at four hours of the night.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

16 Mar. **270.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 20.

The bishop of Lincoln and an Italian cordelier, who went recently to Oxonia (Oxford), to obtain for the King the seal (*sceaul*) of that university, were driven away by the women of the place and pelted with large stones. The King, in order to punish this act of violence and prevent any more serious outbreak, also to intimidate the doctors of that university who dispute his opinion, has sent thither the duke of Sufforcq (Suffolk), and the treasurer of the Household,* charging them that where they could not meet the argumentations of the contrary party with reason, they should pay them with ready

* "Aussi le tresorier de l'Hostel avec charge que les arguments contraires que ne se pourroint payer par rayson se paient è beaulx deniers contens (*sic* comptants).

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money. The Duke has committed the said women to prison, and is eagerly following up the King's commission in order to obtain the seal by bribes or threats, as it may be.

I hear, and there is much talk about it, that recently at Cantabrigie (Cambridge), whilst the point was being discussed whether the university doctors should give in their opinion as well as the seal in the King's favour, as they had been urged to do, there was a squabble and a fight, six or seven of them being left dead on the spot. This I have on sufficiently good authority, but still, as it is only a report, and I have no letters in confirmation of it, either from the place itself or from Court, I do not vouch for its truth. If the fire, however, should be thus lit, there will be hereafter more harm done and more execrable deeds perpetrated than the parties immediately concerned in the affair foresee. There can be no doubt, as I have already informed Your Majesty, that the King, by fair means or foul, will at last wring consent from the English universities, *but there still remains that of Paris, which is said to have the privilege of the Apostolic See, and to be in great difficulty as to its decision; the fear is that the king of France, in fulfilment of the promise made here by his ambassador, will by "fas aut nephas" induce that university also to give her seal, and by threats or promises through those already on their side gain over many more, oblige their opponents to absent themselves, and then bring about a unanimous decision in favour of this king. To prevent which it would be well if the Emperor would represent to the king of France that he must refrain from giving any but strictly legal help to the king of England, for that, if this cause should be publicly disputed, any tampering with those who have written on the King's side will be brought to light. And also because the Queen has innumerable adherents, who fear to commit their opinions to writing until compelled to do so, it would be well that the Pope should issue a brief to the said university, commanding that this cause be brought forward for public disputation, and laying under sentence of excommunication any who should fail to speak the exact truth concerning it.* Were this done, there is no doubt, I am told, that the case would be settled as desired.

The Cardinal has not yet gone to York, probably he does not wish to remove so far from the Court, as he would then have less facility for watching his opportunity and returning to it, the hope of which he has not yet relinquished, as I gather from his physician who came the other day to speak to me about a pension which the Cardinal still holds on the bishopric of Pallance (Palencia) in Spain. The earl of Childara (Kildare), first among the Irish nobles, who has been so long a prisoner in the Tower, is soon to be set at liberty, with permission to return to Ireland. The Queen is at Vinsor (Windsor) with the King, treated as usual. The duke of

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Norfolk has been ill of late, suffering from neuralgia (*ung mal de teste*), which has become almost chronic with him; his eldest daughter, the wife of the Seigneur d'Alby (Derby), died yesterday of the plague at a house near here, belonging to her husband; it will be one of the greatest blows the Duke has ever received.

There is a talk here of lowering the value of gold and reforming the coinage of that metal, which for some time has been of very bad alloy, as is the case with the rest of the coinage in this country. There is also a report that Parliament, which was to have been re-assembled on the 22nd of April, will be further prorogued. The King, as I am told, wished to do this on his own authority and without formality; but it appears that the consent of Parliament itself is required.

Much anxiety is here felt about the object and result of this present mission. A rumour has been purposely spread that the embassy goes at Your Majesty's request, but in my opinion this is only for the sake of increasing their own importance, or satisfying their neighbours.

The King has heard from the auditor of the chamber (Ghinucci) since the coronation; but as the King has said nothing about it I conclude that the intelligence is not agreeable.

Jehan Jocquin has not been at Court since the day of the examination of the "fleur de lis." He can have but little business on hand just at present, for he is setting out on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Vouchinguan (Walsingham).

I had heard that the King had only given one half of his [French] pension towards the ransom [of the sons of France], but the said Jocquin assures me that he has actually given, or taken off the King's debt to him, 100,000 crs., which comes to the same thing.—London, 16th March 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A l'Empereur."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, xvi. March. Received at Mantua on the 15th April."

French. Holograph. pp.

16 Mar. **271.** Martin de Salinas to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Rc. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 235 v°.

After the departure of Mos. de Trent, who cannot fail to give a full account of the Emperor's coronation, as well as of his hasty preparations for his journey, Miçer Andrea and he (Salinas) waited upon him, and received from his Imperial lips the assurance that in a day or two he would hasten to the assistance of his brother, the king of Bohemia and Hungary. Nothing can now possibly prevent his being at Trent on the first or second day of April, for from the day of his departure till the end of the month 14 or 15 days at the utmost will be

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sufficient for his reaching that city; for Mantua is only five days' journey from this place; there he will rest four or five days, and three or four after he will be at Trent.

For the expenses of this journey the Emperor has just received funds [from Spain], out of which he has put aside for Queen Doña Maria 4,000 ducats.

The revocation of count Felix' powers is enclosed, as well as letters for the cardinal Azburg (Augsburgh), and for the Palatine and duke of Bavaria. These last have been drawn out by the advice and direction of Mos. de Trent for the purpose for which they are wanted.

A courier came yesterday from Genoa, announcing that a few days before his departure news had been received of the arrival at Niça of the French fleet, which is a sign that king Francis is willing to observe the treaty of peace. The same courier reports that one night, no one knows how, a fire broke out in the arsenal, and that 12 new galleys that were ready to be launched were consumed. This is generally believed to have been a deed of the French, for they have borne much ill-will to the Genoese ever since their expulsion from that city.

The duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) is dangerously ill. It would be a very serious affair were he to die now, whilst His Imperial Majesty is absent from Italy and engaged in this German campaign, though the castle [of Milan], being in the keeping of Juan de Mercado, no great harm need be apprehended.

The duke of Savoy did homage for his estates to the Empire yesterday. The Duchess, his wife, is daily visited by the Emperor.

Has been trying, though hitherto in vain, to procure bills of exchange on Germany, and remit to Queen Doña Maria the 4,000 ducats which the Emperor gives her.—Bologna, 16th March 1530, at night.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

16 Mar. **272.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d.Hist., c. 71, f. 236 v°.

To-day, at noon, His Highness' letter of the 5th was duly received. Immediately after, Micer Andrea and he (Salinas) waited upon His Imperial Majesty and read its contents to him.

With regard to the infantry, the Emperor will take with him all the Spaniards he has here, to the number of 2,000 men. He will take no Italians in his suite, but says that the 1,000 and more, if wanted, will follow him shortly. Respecting the captain who is to command them the Emperor approves entirely of His Highness' choice.

With regard to the 40,000 crs., the distribution has been made as follows: 5,000 on Milan have been handed over to

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the Bartholomé Belser (Welzer) and Co. to cash from Juan Mercado and transmit to Germany; the bills on Venice, amounting to 3,000, were given to Mos. de Trent (Clesi). Bills of exchange on various towns in Flanders are now being prepared for the remainder, and a banker from Rome has just arrived for that purpose. The same provision is being made for the money to be sent to Spain.

This morning His Imperial Majesty announced that his departure will take place on Monday next, the 21st instant, without fail. He purposes being at Trent about the 3rd of April. Thence he will proceed on his journey with more or less speed, according to the necessity there may be of his presence in those parts.—Bologna, 16th March 1530, at night.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

22 Mar. **273.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d.Hist., c. 71. f. 237 v°.

The present despatch is written at the very hour that His Imperial Majesty is leaving for Germany. He purposes reaching Mantua on the eve of Our Lady's Day; will stop there four days, attending to certain business which could not be concluded at this place, as likewise to rest his mind from the fatigues and worries of the recent ceremonies, and enjoy the pleasure of the chase, for which, it is said, there is every facility in the neighbourhood of that city.

The duchess of Savoy (Beatrix) left yesterday for her husband's estates, after being much feasted and handsomely entertained by the Emperor.

The confessor (Loaysa) has been created cardinal, and is to remain in Italy. He would have much preferred following the Emperor's Court, but His Majesty wishes him to reside for the present near the Pope at Rome, where he can be of much use.

The letter that came for Don Pedro de Cordoba was given to Don Antonio de Mendoza for him to take [to Spain]. Fancies that he (Don Pedro) will not be at Court when the letter arrives, firstly, because he has written to ask for leave to attend to the division of his father's property, and secondly, because, should the friendly terms on which king Francis seems now to be with the Emperor, and his readiness to fulfil the conditions of the peace continue, there can be no doubt that the Empress [Isabella] will move as far as Burgos or Valladolid, and if so Don Pedro is sure to go home to attend to his own private business. At any rate, Don Antonio has received instructions, in case the former should be absent from Court when he arrives, to break the seals, read the letter, and carry out the orders received by Don Pedro. Don Antonio will depart from Trent as soon as possible.

His Majesty takes so few of his Spaniards with him that those who remain behind are in more considerable number

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than those who accompany him; most of them having asked permission to quit the service and go home, first, on account of the dearth of provisions in Germany, and next, because they do not know how long the expedition will last.

(*Cipher:*) The galleys of France had anchored at Villafranca de Niça. Two of them had gone to Genoa to inquire how the fleet would be received at that port. There seems to be some underground play in this movement; for the truth is that no trust can be placed in the French, nor in their asseverations of their willingness to keep the peace.

(*Common writing:*) The governor (*capitan*) of Marano came here to give account of his mission to Venice. Miçer Andrea and he (Salinas) had occasion to peruse his instructions, which he exhibited without difficulty, and the truth is that they are limited to his receiving the money drawn upon the bankers of that city. The fact is confirmed by Rodrigo Niño, who resides there for the Emperor.—Bologna, 22nd March 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

17 Mar. **274.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 236 v°.

Received on the 8th His Highness' letter, addressed conjointly to Miçer Andrea and himself (Salinas), bidding them report to His Imperial Majesty on the state of affairs in Hungary. The letter arrived when Mos. de Trent (Clesi) was about to take his departure, as he actually did on Thursday, and when the Emperor himself was so engaged with the preparations for his journey that he had no opportunity or leisure to speak to him.

Mos. de Trent started on Thursday, the 10th. On the same day Andrea and he (Salinas) waited on the Emperor, who promised to leave on the 17th inst. without fail, and be at Trent on or about the 1st of April. From thence he will march in the direction and with the speed that shall be most convenient.—Bologna, 11th March 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

23 Mar. **275.** The POPE to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat. Re. Bul. S., Leg. 1°, f. 137. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 374.

Most beloved Son in Christ, &c. This morning the Revd. Fr. Hieronymo, bishop of Vaison (Vasionensis), our Nuncio at the court of Your Serene Majesty, left with our instructions. After his departure the orators of our beloved son in Christ, Henry, king of England, spoke to us of certain matters which ought to be communicated to Your Serenity. We now send the bearer of these present, Nicolas de Aragon, auditor of our Sacred College, for whom We beg full credence. We wish to know what answer to give to the English ambassadors, as We

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have declined giving one until we heard from you—Bologna, 23rd March 1530.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo V. Romanorum Imperatori, semper augusto."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

25 Mar. **276.** News from Mantua.

S. E. L. 849, f. 106.

This day the Emperor has made his public entry by the gate of La Pradella, on horseback, between two cardinals, preceded by a number of the officers of his household. He was received by 50 noble youths, all dressed in white and on foot, under a daïs of white satin supported by the principal amongst them, and in this manner conducted to the cathedral church of San Pietro, whence, after performing his devotions, he was led to his apartments inside the castle, which had been splendidly furnished.

It is believed that in a few days the ceremony of creating the marquis [Federigo di Gonzaga] duke of Mantua will take place.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

27 Mar. **277.** King Ferdinand to the Emperor.

Lanz. Corresp. d. Kay, vol. I., p. 424.

The advice contained in the Emperor's letter of the 4th, brought by Mr. de Bossu, respecting a treaty of peace or truce to be made with the Vayvod, is certainly very good and desirable. Has been working for some time to bring it about, for when Hieronimo de Lasco last came to treat of this matter on behalf of the Vayvod and of himself, orders had been already sent to the captains on the frontier to procure a truce, and if necessary give some castles as security. The negociations with Lasco, though much open to suspicion, I consented to place in the hands of the king of Poland (Sigismond), and of the duke of Sassa* (Saxony), until the cause of the dispute between the Vayvod and him should be properly investigated, as Your Imperial Majesty has been informed by my last. The negociations, however, had good issue and a truce of three months was concluded, the same which we at present enjoy, and which expires on the 21st of April. Lasco is gone to the Turk to procure, if he tells truth and does not deceive us, the prolongation of the same for one year or more, which I am most anxious to obtain, if possible, as it will give me time to breathe under present circumstances. But it is to be feared that Lasco will not succeed in his mission; for the Turk having made such immense preparations for war, and having already refused to grant the said truce unless I gave up all my rights on Hungary, is not likely to consent to its prolongation now that the influence of the Vayvod has completely vanished, and that neither he nor any one else in his name is likely to move him from his purpose which, as the Turk and Ibrain

* Always written *Jassa*, being a mistake for Sassa or Saxe.

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Bassá assure us, is to keep the Vayvod as his lieutenant in that kingdom. So it would be an offence done to me to say that I am the cause of the said difficulty, and that I reject all terms, since evidently the delay experienced in the making of this peace is for the above reasons more injurious to me than to anyone else. I have certainly done hitherto, and will continue to do everything in my power to bring about an agreement of some sort with the Vayvod; but should I be unsuccessful, it is for Your Majesty to decide whether I am to accept the terms proposed by the Turk, whereof I send Your Majesty a copy, or to reject them altogether. I need scarcely add that putting aside my own individual interests in this matter, which concerns me particularly, there will be greater danger for Christianity in thus delivering Hungary to the Turk than in our fighting for the possession of it; because once master of that kingdom the Turk will have a gate open for the invasion of Christian Europe. I am about to send again an embassy to the king of Poland (Sigismond), begging him to interfere in this affair; in fact, I am ready to do anything else Your Majesty may suggest; but as in spite of all my efforts the Turk may advance, it is not prudent or wise to be unprovided for the defence. Your Majesty advises and commands me likewise to deal with the Lutherans in such a manner that they may not unite and agree as to their religious ceremonies, and yet, at the same time, to avoid giving them occasion to rise or be angry with me. I will do my best to follow Your Majesty's instructions and counsel, which seem to me excellent; but the matter itself is so delicate, and the undertaking so fraught with danger, that I do not think there is anyone here who can treat this matter without some sort of scandalous publicity; because in having recourse to dissimulation with a view of turning aside the Lutheran princes from their opinions, it is impossible to match the sagacity of their malice;* neither is there anyone here whom we can trust with such commission, though several are on friendly terms with them, the sect being so widely spread in Germany. On the other hand, those who do not belong to it can do nothing, since they are suspected, as I myself am. To follow a more open course, it would be necessary to enter into new negociations with them, and cancel or modify the resolutions of the late Augsburg Diet, for which I have no powers, unless Your Majesty sends them to me, to that effect. Therefore, if, notwithstanding our labours, I could not before come to any agreement with the Lutheran princes, it stands to reason that now with only letters from Your Majesty, and without leisure or disposition for it, I cannot do anything. Your Majesty has long experience of the obstinacy and hardness of these people, and knows that they are so pig-headed that no force will avail with them; they have lost all fear and shame; they are aware of what passed at Augsburg, and of what was concluded and determined

* "Porque para apartallos ó divertillos de sus opiniones por vias disimuladas y secretas no ay prudencia que baste para la que ellos tienen eu su malicia."

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therein; lastly, they did impudently ask at Cologne that the resolutions of the Diet should not be carried into effect, and that Your Majesty's fiscal officers should suspend all proceedings till the meeting of the Council, which might now be made a pretext for granting their request and entering into new negociations with them. If the above, or some other means, be not carried out, it will be a matter for Your Majesty to consider that I am not sufficiently strong to recall them from their opinions and bring them to mine one way or the other; though I fully promise to do in a covert and secret manner what Your Majesty advises me. If, however, the affair is to be conducted in an open and public manner, so that we may come to some new agreement independent of that which was contracted at Augsburg, then, in that case, I will beg Your Majesty to send me the mandate powers and instructions required.

Respecting the dukes of Bavaria, with both of whom Your Majesty commands me to dissemble, as well as to interfere in the administration of the Empire, and temporize with the duke of Wurtenberg, Your Majesty's orders shall be strictly complied with. But I must observe that Your Majesty being now in Germany I cannot make any show or exercise of authority in these matters and those of the Lutherans, being at present engaged here in warlike preparations against the Turk as well as in other business relating to Hungary and Bohemia. Respecting the duke of Wurtenberg, if Your Majesty will only send me notice of the time or precise day in which the meeting is to take place, I will appoint a person of my court to go thither and treat the affair with the caution and prudence recommended.

With regard to the care which Your Majesty says ought to be taken with the Turk, so as to spy out his movements and know what his intentions are, I need not say that the advice has been followed.

Punishment of the inhabitants of Messingen not to be thought of for the present, but to be left for a better opportunity.

The papers and despatches brought by Mr. de Bossu have been received.—Prma (*sic*), 27th March 1530.

P.S.—Some of the Hungarians who are here with me tell me that some of their countrymen serving under the Vayvod in Hungary, and others who follow my interests there, have met together somewhere, and discussed the expediency of uniting for the mutual defence of that kingdom, and joining the army that is to go from hence. I have deemed it important to acquaint Your Majesty with the fact that you may know that if the means for this undertaking be speedily provided all those Hungarians who have decided to resist will be gained to our side, whereas if the Turk in the meantime takes possession of Hungary, he is likely to keep the said Hungarians so occupied that instead of being of help to us they will most likely prove an obstacle.

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Don Luis de la Cueva is here with me. He came from Hungary, and intended going to Your Majesty's court; but since he heard that the Turk was likely to come down he is about to return to his governorship.

Spanish. Copy. pp. 5.

28 Mar. **278.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 238.

His Imperial Majesty arrived in this city (Mantua) as happy and contented as a man who escapes from prison. He made his entry on Our Lady's Day, and was splendidly received by the marquis (Federigo Gonzaga) as well as by the two legates, nephews of the Pope, by the duke of Ferrara, and by several Neapolitan nobles.

The Palatine Frederic arrived also on the same day, and had an audience from the Emperor the very night of his arrival. Next day His Majesty went out boar hunting, and on the following Sunday to an inclosed park of the Marquis, full of game, where a splendid entertainment was prepared for the Emperor and his suite, upwards of 5,000 were present. He (Salinas) could not attend being engaged in writing despatches.

Miçer Andrea remained at Bologna, whence he was to start for Piacenza in a week.

Captain Marino and his mission to Venice.

Encloses copy of certain acts (*autos*) which have passed between His Majesty and the English ambassadors, also of a letter to the ambassador residing at the court of England (Chapuys.)

Has often alluded in his late despatches to the readiness with which the Emperor undertook to take with him 3,000 hackbutiers to serve under His Highness in the present German war. Two thousand of them were to be Spaniards, and the remaining thousand, or perhaps two, if they could be got, were to be drafted from Italy. Everything was ready and in good order when the Emperor bethought him to pay the Italians in advance, that they might serve with more alacrity in the forthcoming campaign. Scarcely, however, was one month's pay issued to them, when out of the 2,000 enlisted nearly 1,500 deserted. The Emperor was in a great passion about it, inasmuch as this ignominious desertion of the hackbutiers will prevent his helping His Highness as he wished. There can be no other cause for this shameful defection than the belief under which those soldiers laboured that war would soon cease, and their wish to be present at the sack of Florence, which is said to be imminent, as well as to their fear of being sent as far as Hungary to fight the Turks. Should there be still time for an answer, let His Highness inform the Emperor as soon as possible of the state of his military affairs, and whether Italian hackbutiers are still

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wanted as much as before, for in that case there are at this court several trusty "condottieri" and Italian nobles who will undertake to enlist any number of them, and conduct them wherever they are needed.

The desertion of the Italians took place the very day of the Emperor's departure from Bologna. His Highness must already know of it, for the Emperor told him (Salinas) that he had written to His Highness from Castelfranco. Owing to this the Emperor will be obliged to stop here four or five days more, for he hears that part of his army before Florence has mutinied, and behaved shamefully (*y hecho una gran bellaqueria*), and he naturally wishes before quitting Italy to leave everything in peace.

Close to the castle of this city, where His Imperial Majesty is at present residing, are 80 pieces of ordnance, large and small, besides 14 large ones (*cañones principales*) with the arms of France and other devices. The Emperor hears that they were all sold by Antonio de Leyva to the Marquis. He himself shewed them to him (Salinas) from one of the windows, explaining the whole transaction, and adding that many more that were missing had been disposed of in a similar way. From this His Highness will gather how difficult it will be to recover the artillery that came from his German states; besides, as the castle of Milan is still in the hands of the Emperor, it is impossible to say whether the artillery belonging to His Highness will not be sold like the rest.

The Imperial ambassador who resides at Genoa writes in date of the 26th inst., that the galleys of France had arrived at Savona, and were shortly expected at Genoa, which removes all suspicion of their tardiness being intentional as it was feared at first.

One of the Pope's chamberlains passed the other day through this city bearing a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Trent.—Mantua, 28th March 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

27–9 Mar. **279.** Gio. Ioachimo to King Francis.

I have told the King [of England] the news of Italy and Germany, at which he was much pleased. Respecting the deliberations upon, and answers to (*deliberatione o resposta*) the proposal of a conference to be held with the Emperor in Burgundy, the King thinks that Your Majesty ought to be very careful, and not expose your person to the dangers of an interview, especially before the restitution of the sons of France. In short, the King shewed by his words that he sincerely wished for Your Majesty's happiness and welfare. Mr. de Norfolk afterwards spoke to me in the very same terms, complaining bitterly of the ingratitude of the Emperor, who, he said, after the King, his master, had helped him with money, and enabled

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him to put down rebellion in his Spanish dominions, had not done one single thing to please him, and secure his friendship. The Duke then spoke at length (*diffusamente*) of the cardinal of York (Wolsey), and of the challenge and declaration of war sent to the Emperor, which, he observed, were entirely his doing.* Thanked the Duke in Your Majesty's name, but could not help remarking that the Cardinal had in these latter times shewn himself a friend to France, &c.

At the request of the said Cardinal, who for some days past had urgently desired me to call on him, especially as he said that he was to leave Richmond in a week, I decided to visit him as soon as I had an opportunity. He was then at the Chiartosa (Carthusian Convent) near that place where he had been for the last 20 days, on his way to his own diocese (York), which the King has fixed for his residence.† Consequently on my return from Windsor I visited him, and tried to console him in his misfortune. I found him so completely resigned, and so armed with patience that there was hardly any need for me to advise such a course. He thanked most humbly Your Majesty and Madame for the pity they have shewn him in the midst of his misfortunes, as well as for their kind and affectionate interference in his affairs, for the continuance of which he now most urgently begs and entreats, bringing to the recollection of both of you the many services he rendered at other times, as well as the offers and promises so often made by you, and lastly confirmed at Amiens, of cheering (*amarlo*), and helping him in times of need. He also promised to send me the three receipts for the three quarters of this pension due to him, &c.

To-day a courier has come from Bologna, dispatched on the 15th, advising the arrival in that city of the earl of Vulchire (Wiltshire) the day before. The Earl had been most graciously received by the Emperor and the Pope. The courier, who was dispatched by merchants, had brought no letter from him; but to-day, since the above was written, another courier has come, sent by Mr. de Vulchier (Wiltshire) himself, and though his despatches are still here [in London] to be conveyed to Moro (the More), where the King is at present, they have not yet been opened. I have reason to believe that the Earl is not very well pleased with his reception at the Imperial Court. Indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the Earl has been unsuccessful in his mission. It is, moreover, reported that about the end of this month the Emperor intends leaving Bologna for Germany, and will stay four or five days at Mantua on his way to that country.

I have tried, as much as was in my power, to bring the matters pending between this king and His Holiness to a settle-

* "Et della disfida e guerra ultimamente mandata et fatta a S. M.; la causa et origine d'essa in tutto et per tutto attribuendo al preditto sig. cardinale."

† "Quanto che fra otto giorni el se parte da Richemont, ove già a xx. giorni el si tiene alla Chiartossa, per andarsene alla sua chiesa do Diorch."

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ment equally satisfactory for both parties; but nothing, I hear, has been concluded yet. The affairs of Florence continue in the same state.—London, 27–9th March 1530.

Italian. Copy. pp. 3.

29 Mar. **280.** PRAËT to the PRESIDENT of BURGUNDY.

S. E. L. 27, f. 288.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 375.

Has received at Bayonne his two letters of the 20th and 23rd inst., and the copy of the memorandum sent to Mons. de Rocion, which seems very reasonable under present circumstances. That gentleman has not yet made his appearance, but is daily expected in company with Mons. de Laxao (La Chaulx).

On Saturday last the Grand Master of France (Montmorency) sent by Bayart the original of the bonds (*seguridad*) of the queen [Eleanor] in the event of a dissolution of marriage, that they might be read and examined; also the receipts (*quitança*) of the 400,000 crs. and assignation of her dowry (*dote*).

After examining the papers, called on the Grand Master and other members of the King's Privy Council, and pointed out to them certain irregularities observed in that instrument. The first being that in the original bond (*seguridad*), no mention is made of the King's promise to give that of the Dauphin instead of his own, if necessary,* but the estates are reserved in accordance with the Madrid Convention, where it is expressly declared that they shall be given up for this very purpose.

The second is that in the letters of "quittance and assignation" of the Queen's dowry there is one word erased, and another important one entirely suppressed; for in lieu of this sentence, "the said king promises never to aggravate, quarrel, or demand anything whatever," as the minute bears,† the word "to demand" (*demandar*) is erased, and instead of it two lines (*rayas*) are introduced in the following manner, —‖———‖—, as may be seen by the copy herein enclosed.

There is still another difficulty which he (Praët) has not mentioned to the King's councillors, namely, that in the letters of "security," which are dated the 7th of February 1530, it is expressly declared that on that very day the Emperor's "quittance" of the 400,000 crs. had been exhibited, which assertion is false, for the "quittance" is still in his (Praët's) hands, and has not been produced, and it may be doubted whether a false statement of this kind would not in after times invalidate the Papal bull itself. Has not told the councillors anything, for fear they should answer that the words objected to were likewise in the minute given to them.

With regard to the "verificaciones," told them that he could not say whether they were duly made or not, as he confidently

* "Queda el Rey con promesa de hacer dar el [la ?] del Señor Dolfin."
† "Agravar, querellar ni demandar."

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expected that the King would have ordered them to be made in the fittest form for the Queen's security.

The answer as to the first-named difficulty was that the ratification by the Estates General of France of the Madrid Convention and treaty of Cambray was sufficient for all purposes, and that it would now be too late to recover them (*seria muy tarde para los recobrar*). That the Madrid Convention did not stipulate that the King was to make two different ratifications for this purpose only. The contrary was proved to them, or, at any rate, that the ratification by the General Estates ought to have included expressly the abovementioned clause, which was omitted in the "seguridad." He (Praët) shares the same opinion as the President in his letter to Des Barres; a protest ought to have been entered at once respecting this point, but it has not been done, as he dared not do so without first consulting the Queen and him (La Chaulx) thereupon.

Respecting the second point, the councillors said that the erasure of the word *demandar* was of no consequence at all, because the other two verbs, "aggravar y querellar," meant one and the same thing.

The erasure, they maintain, was not in a suspicious place, and does not affect the validity of the deed. Yet it seems to him (Praët) that it argues little respect for a princess who is to be their queen, when the King's principal secretary cannot transcribe a document of such importance without making mistakes of that kind and erasing words. In fact the erasure in question, at the place where it is, makes him (Praët) very uncomfortable indeed.

With regard to the "verifications," they affirm that they are in due form. That may be, but nevertheless he (Praët) considers it his duty to inform the Queen thereof, and has already done so. Begs for an immediate answer to the objections which he has raised. La Chaulx himself might come over to [Bayonne] and inspect the original documents. Should there be, as he (Praët) has reason to believe, some flaw in them, there is still time to rectify it, for the deliverance of the King's sons has again been prorogued to the 25th of April.—Fonterrabia, xxix. March [1530].

Signed: "Loys de Praët."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

— **281.** COMMISSION and INSTRUCTIONS to Prothonotary Caracciolo, Jean de Montmorency, and Rodrigo Niño, to treat with Venice.

S. E. L. 848, f. .
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 306.

What you, Marino Caracciolo, Apostolic Prothonotary, Jean de Monmorncy (Montmorency), sieur de Currières, our steward, and Rodrigo Niño, gentleman of our Household, all three members of our Council, and our ambassadors to Venice, are to treat and negociate with that Signory is as follows:—

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After presenting your letters of credence to the Doge and Signory, you will tell them that the principal object of our visit to those parts is to undeceive the Italians in general and them (the Venetians) in particular, respecting our wishes and intentions, which are only to pacify their country. That, knowing how generously the Signory has hitherto co-operated, and will co-operate in future to so laudable a purpose, We now send you to them.

After delivering your peroration in public in the above or similar terms, you will call on the illustrious Doge (Andrea Gritti), our cousin, and explain to him that so intense was our wish for the pacification of Italy, and so great our anxiety to settle as soon as possible our differences with the Signory—then of paramount importance to us—that We neglected to inform our brother, the king of Hungary, of what had been negociated at Cambray in that particular case, persuaded as We were that if anything wanted amendment—though the treaty might be already concluded and signed—the Signory could not fail to do our pleasure in this respect, as We should have done to them in a similar case. Since then, though the King, our brother, has readily ratified the treaty of Cambray, which We sent him, he has nevertheless requested us to have certain clauses of it modified or remodelled in what personally concerns him and his estates. And since the Venetians know our intentions you will request them to reciprocate our good-will on this occasion, and accede to the wishes of the king of Hungary.

What our brother wants in the first place is that the term for the election of the arbiters who are to decide the accomplishment of whatever remained unfulfilled by the capitulation of Wormacia (Worms), be conveniently prorogued, and the period of one year, allowed for their giving sentence, shortened.

Extradition of Lutherans and other heretics who should happen to seek shelter in Venetian territory from Germany and Hungary; equal extradition of Venetian subjects from the kingdoms of our brother [king Ferdinand].

Another reciprocal article to be added to the treaty, namely, that all wheat and other species of grain or food from the Mantuan and other parts of Italy, destined to the estates of our brother in Austria and elsewhere, should be allowed to pass free of duty through Venetian territory. The same free passage to be allowed by the Archduke and King to all provisions and goods going to Italy through his estates.

All subjects of the Signory and of the king [Ferdinand] in Istria to be allowed the same privileges enjoyed by the natives of Friul.

Order to be given that the Trigestines (Triestines) and other subjects of the King inhabiting the coast [of the Adriatic] may be allowed to navigate to and sell their merchandize in Venice and its territory after paying the customary duties.

All sentences obtained by the subjects of our brother [the king of Hungary] from judges properly constituted, or other

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Venetian magistrates, to be punctually executed, and all suits-at-law which the King's subjects may have in Venice to be promptly decided and sentenced, so as not to cause the ruin of the parties concerned.*

The usual roads between Trigesto (Trieste) and Marano, and between Marano and Trigesto, to remain open and free for the subjects of both powers.

The subjects of our brother (the King) who may have property in Venice to enjoy the same freely, as likewise the Venetians who may have possessions, lands or merchandize in the estates of the King.

So far the slight alterations which our brother of Hungary wishes to have introduced in the treaty about to be made with Venice, and which We have no doubt the Signory will not refuse to grant: all and every one of them being just and reasonable, and the concessions for the most part reciprocal.

You must be aware that in virtue of the treaty newly concluded with that Signory, the Venetians are bound to pay us 25,000 at the end of last January, out of the 200,000 ducats stipulated by the treaty of 1523, and that in addition to that, our most Holy Father promised to give us 25,000, so as to make together a round sum of 50,000 out of the 200,000. The Pope, however, only engaged to pay that sum in case the Signory refused to pay. You will endeavour to obtain payment of the said sum, not only to free the Pope from that obligation, but also to cover our present wants, and you, Rodrigo Niño, individually will take particular care that the remainder of the 200,000 ducats be paid as soon as possible by the Signory.

You will also procure the ratification of the last treaty in the clause concerning count Gambara, our chamberlain, and his brother, the bishop of Fortuna.

The sum of 5,000 ducats which the Signory is bound to distribute every year among the "fuorusciti" of Padua and Piacenza, to be annually deposited for their use in the Mont de Piété of Padua.

The Signory to pay also the dowers (*dotes*) of the wives of the said "fuorusciti."

As Miçer Antonio Bagherotto has always served us well, you will try to have his confiscated property returned to him. The same may be said of Captain Pedro Crusich, a subject of our brother, from whom last year the Venetians took everything he possessed.

You will also try to get the property of count de Nugarole (Nogarolo), now in the service of our brother [Ferdinand], immediately restored to him.

That Juan Baptiste de Taxis and his brethren, David, Mafeo and Symon, our postmasters, be reinstated in the property confiscated from them in Istria, in accordance with a sentence of the Council of Preghadi in their favour, and you also will

* "Jueces, potestados ó rectores de Venecianos."

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see when the restitution is fully carried out, that no one brother be benefitted to the prejudice of the others.

Similar restitution to Miçer Nicolas Tripolino of all property confiscated from his family.

Juan Fermano to be recalled from exile.

Angela de Portonaon, the wife of vicar Gradisca.

Dr. Pietro Lavorgnano [Brasco Antonio di Muzan] of Vicenza, also in exile, to be allowed to return to Venice, since it is understood that the manslaughter of which he is accused was committed in defence of the Guelf party in the times of the Emperor Maximilian, our grandfather.

The inhabitants of Porto de Novo, a town formerly belonging to the House of Austria, have been and are still much molested and ill-treated by one Bartholomew d'Albiano. You will request the Signory to take the said town under their protection and government, paying, if required, an indemnity to the aforesaid Albiano.

Pedro Rain, our consul in Venice, having complained to us that the privileges, exemptions, and so forth, which our consuls once used to enjoy are not kept and observed, you will inquire into the nature of his complaint, and see that the Signory do act towards him as We act towards her consuls in our dominions.

Should Joan de Aurobello (*sic*), a native of Saragossa, in Sicily, apply to you for redress respecting a ship laden with sugar, which he says was captured from him in the Jacinto (*sic*), you will lend him all help in your power.

Joan Antonio Lombardo, an exile, to be allowed to return to Venice, and be reinstated in his house and property.

The Signory having promised to the marquis of Musso an annual pension of 2,000 ducats a year as indemnity for certain taxes he remitted to the Grisons at their passage into Italy—which pension was taken away from him the very moment he took our side and entered our service—you will do your utmost to have the said pension restored to him, for it would not do to have him suffer on our account.

You will do your best in favour of Ferrer Beltran, a Catalonian merchant residing at Venice, who, We hear, is greatly attached to our service.

After negociating the above matters, and especially those concerning our brother of Hungary, you two (Caracciolo and Currières) will come back, whilst you, Rodrigo Niño, will remain at Venice as our resident ambassador.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 12.

2 April. **282.** Martin de Salinas to the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. de Hist., c. 71, f. 239 v°.

His Highness' letters of the 12th and 20th came together to hand on the 29th inst., as well as one from the secretary and several papers in German. Their contents having been duly reported, His Imperial Majesty was pleased to answer their various paragraphs in the following way:

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Respecting the appointment of Rocandorf to the post of High Lord Steward and other private business, His Imperial Majesty replied that his nomination had better be postponed until the next meeting, and as neither His Highness nor Rocandorf have written about it, he (Salinas) did not insist on getting the Emperor's approbation.

In a separate slip enclosed within one of the letters, he (Salinas) is directed to inquire and ascertain in the proper quarter whether His Imperial Majesty is bringing the lists [for tournament] with him (*traia las telas consigo*), but has been told that as he is not coming with the intention of hunting or tilting, but with that of fighting he has only brought tents, and therefore that His Highness may send his own to be used in this expedition.*

In his despatch of the 26th ult° full report was made of the desertion of the Spanish hackbutiers. The Emperor was exceedingly angry when he heard of it, and immediately dispatched Don Pedro Velez [de Guevara] to Florence to bring back at least 1,000 of them, who, with 4,000 or 5,000 more now here, will be a sufficient force for all wants, besides which, as soon as Florence is taken and the Imperial camp broken up, there will be more Spaniards to enlist than is perhaps convenient to keep under banners. Having thus signified to the Emperor His Highness' wish that the men should be paid for one month, the Emperor replied that they had already received one half pay, and would get the other half on the road.

Respecting the 50,000 ducats on the Spanish treasury, which the Emperor consigned for the expenses of this war, the matter is still in suspense, as it could not be done in the way the Fucares (Fuggers) wanted. As it is not known where and in what part of Spain the payment is to be made the Emperor is unwilling to sign the obligation in the form and manner those bankers wish, but he says the whole affair will be satisfactorily arranged at his meeting with His Highness.

Prothonotary Caracciolo and Mons. de Currières have returned from Venice, and by His Majesty's commands shewed him (Salinas) a memorandum of what they had negociated with the Signory, as well as a copy of their proposals. The Imperial ambassador (Rodrigo Niño) now residing in that city writes to the same effect, and insists upon the urgency of an Austrian ambassador being also sent to Venice who may take care of His Highness' personal interest, as he himself has no information except what the ambassadors now returning have chosen to communicate. The prorogation of the period of two months, during which both parties are to name umpires is to be counted from the day on which they (the Venetians) received the answer, which was the 22nd ult°, and, therefore,

* "En una yjuela me mandé v. al hazer saber que supiese sy su Mt. traia las telas consigo, y [dixeronme que] como no benian con yntencion de caçar en lugar de telas traian tiendas."

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in about 20 days His Highness and the Emperor will be entitled to select the judges. Respecting the 25,000 ducats as complement of the 50,000, His Imperial Majesty has written to the Pope, and besides the Imperial ambassador who is to reside at that Court, has received particular instructions to promote the payment as soon as possible.

It is stated for certain that His Holiness has suddenly left Bologna to return to Rome. What the reason may be he (Salinas) cannot guess, for when the Emperor left Bologna it was distinctly said that the Pope would remain in that city until the fate of Florence was decided and the city reduced to obedience.

Has nothing else to report, save that the Emperor is very much amused with the chase and entertainments of all kinds which this marquis daily prepares for him, and that, as a reward for his splendid hospitality, he thinks of marrying him to the daughter* of the queen of Naples, which marriage they say will take place before his departure.—Mantua, 2nd April 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

8 April. **283.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d.Hist., c. 71, f. 240 v°.

His Highness' letters to Miçer Andrea and himself (Salinas), dated Prague, the 25th March, were duly received here [at Mantua] on the 5th inst. That ambassador is still at Piacenza, as stated in a former despatch. When he started from Bologna it was believed that the Pope would pass the Easter festivals in that city; but it was not so, for all of a sudden, without any plausible reason, he started in the direction of Rome, travelling so fast that he is expected to enter it at the beginning of next week.

Wonders how it is that his letters are so long on the road, for certainly he (Salinas) did not fail to advise, on the 22nd ult°, the Emperor's departure from Bologna, and yet in His Highness' last letter no allusion is made to that event.

The answer given to the ambassador of Sena (Siena) was certainly not favourable, but His Highness must not wonder at it, for in matters, if possible, more important the resolution has been equally hasty. Nothing, however, was omitted on the part of the Austrian ambassador to influence the Pope and the Emperor, but it could not be helped.

The powers for His Highness' agent to touch in Flanders the 25,000 ducats were duly forwarded from this city (Mantua) to Mos. de Trent, as well as a report of the steps taken at Venice for the recovery of the 50,000 ducats. The governor (*capitan*) of Marano received at once one half in cash, but a flaw having been discovered in the powers granted by His Imperial Majesty the payment was suspended. The governor then seized the opportunity to demand crowns instead of

* Julia, daughter of Frederic, the last king of Naples.

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ducats, but at last, the article being verified, the sum was paid in long ducats.*

The Emperor was glad to hear of the conclusion of the Diet and of the form in which the service in money has been granted. He is, however, of opinion that both the mode and times of the payment might have been more advantageous. In his kingdom of Spain this affair has been settled in a different manner, for on the proceeds only of the "quarta" and "tercia" bankers have been found to advance one million and a half, and it is believed that were the service to be put up at auction a larger sum would be obtained.

Of His Highness' proposed journey to Yspruck (Innsbruck) due notice was given to the Emperor, who calculates to be there at the same time as His Highness, for he intends leaving Mantua on the eve of Palm Sunday, and reaching Trent in five days. He will spend there the Easter festivals, and shape his journey according to the information he receives of His Highness' movements.

In the affair of Esteban Bioderos, ambassador of the Vayvod [Zapolski], Miçer Andrea and he (Salinas) have done what they could in pursuance of His Highness' instructions. Both His Holiness the Pope and the Emperor were informed in time that His Highness' wish was that he should on no account be received. It was, however, decided for certain reasons (*por ciertos respetos*) that he should be admitted, and Prothonotary Caracciolo, just returning, was appointed to hear him.

The nomination of umpires for the settlement of the claims against the Signory ought to be attended to, for although the term has not yet expired the press of business that the Emperor has in hand is such, and so great his anxiety to reach Trent that it is doubtful whether he will be able to do anything in the affair.

Wednesday night, the marriage of the marquis of Mantua to the youngest daughter of the queen of Naples was concluded. His Imperial Majesty gives them 50,000 crs., one half now and the other half at short dates, besides an annual pension of 4,000 ducats to the Queen Dowager, to be enjoyed after her death by her eldest daughter.

The duke of Milan is very ill, so ill that some of His Majesty's councillors advised his stay at this place until it should be known how God disposes of him. His illness is very severe and dangerous, but as he has gone through many others of the same kind, and has seven lives like a cat (*tiene siete almas como gatto*), it is not wise to postpone so important a journey for an event of which there is no certainty.

Received on the 6th inst. a letter from Francisco de Villena, dated Naples, the 10th of February, on the subject of

* "Ducados 'largos' para los quales pusieron en el poder de su Mt. alguna falta, la qual suplió el embaxador, y remediado esto quisiera [el capitan] que fueran escudos, no ducados, y al fin verificado el capitulo, le pagaron ducados largos, ante los quales partió el dicho capitan a los dos de este de Venecia."

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the monies to be paid by that treasury. Has avoided mentioning this to His Majesty, because he (Salinas) thinks it better for His Highness to treat the affair personally at his meeting with the Emperor.

To-day (the 8th of April), His Highness' letters of the 29th ult°, in answer to his own despatches of the 24th and 16th, have come to hand. There was no need to remind him of what he (Salinas) considers his duty. Ever since he has been in attendance on the Emperor, and his arrival at Bologna, he has reported on every incident worthy of notice, such as the cause and object of the English mission, and the instructions they had from their master; copies of the answer that was made to their memorandum, similar in all to the one sent to His Highness' ambassador at the court of England, have already been forwarded.

Has also reported on Sforza's illness, and will continue to do so as long as he is at Court; but the Emperor's Chancellor is also very unwell, and unless God disposes of him first there is very little hope of His Highness gaining his object, for in his (Salinas') opinion the latter is as near as the Duke to undertake a journey to the other world.

The money for the Queen (Dowager of Hungary) is already in his possession. Is anxiously waiting to know what he is to do with it, for it is a tantalizing thing to have such a sum in his possession when he himself is so poor.

The deed of revocation of count Felix' powers, as well as the ratification of the Venetians, he (Salinas) takes with him, for fear they should be lost, as couriers are nowadays rather insecure.

Of the desertion of the Spanish hackbutiers whom the Emperor intended taking with him His Highness has been opportunely informed. The marquis del Gasto (Vasto) has been written to on the subject, and a special messenger has also been dispatched to him from this place, respecting the fresh mutiny of the soldiers before Florence, and to induce the Spaniards to serve under His Highness in Hungary.

Pressing business of all kinds, important affairs at Naples and Milan have again prevented the Emperor from starting on the day fixed for his departure. Believing that four or five days more will be quite sufficient to conclude all matters, he has now resolved to stay in Mantua the whole of this Holy Week, and leave on Easter Monday, so as to reach Trent on the following Friday, rest Saturday and Sunday, and leave on Monday for Ysbruc (Innsbruck).—Mantua, 8th April 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 4.

9 April. **284.** The SAME to the SAME.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 242 v°.

To-day, Saturday, eve of Palm Sunday, Mos. de Trento (Clesi) forwarded to him (Salinas) His Highness' letter of the 3rd, to which no reply is required, as the points touched in it have been mostly answered.

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Respecting the money to be paid by the Venetians, nothing more can be done. The Emperor has written, begging the Pope to take the affair in hand and recommend it particularly to his Nuncio to the Signory. The same recommendation has been forwarded to the Imperial ambassador there.

The paragraphs of His Highness' letter, as well as those of the future cardinal of Trent, respecting the disturbed state of those kingdoms, and particularly of Hungary, were read to the Emperor, who shewed the greatest concern about it. To the suggestion, however, conveyed in the Bishop's letter, that some money might be advanced for war expenses, the Emperor replied that it was not in his power to do so at present, as the infantry had mutinied at Bologna for want of pay, and the Spanish hackbutiers whom he intended taking with him had also deserted. As to the money promised by king Francis, it was not forthcoming as quickly and regularly as was thought. He (Salinas) has more than once expressed his opinion on these matters; he still thinks that His Highness, for the defence of his kingdom, ought to rely principally upon his own resources, and not count too much on those of the Emperor who, hampered as he has hitherto been by the Italian wars, cannot, without the assistance of other Christian princes, bear all the expenses of a crusade against the Infidel. Has no doubt, however, that all these points will be satisfactorily settled at the next interview.

To-day the marriage of the marquis of Mantua with a daughter of the late queen of Naples was duly celebrated, the duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, acting as proxy for the lady, who is absent.

Orders have been sent to the governor of Asti to stop the Vayvod's ambassador on his return, and confine him to prison. Prothonotary Caracciolo, at Milan, has received similar instructions, and as those two places, Asti and Milan, are the only ones through which he can return there is every probability of his falling into our hands. Caracciolo, moreover, has been ordered to go to Venice; if so, he will gladly take charge of His Highness' affairs there.—Mantua, 9th April 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

9 April. **285.** Doctor Garay to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 67.

Sent many days ago through Guillen (Guillaume) de Barres, the Imperia secretary, a letter wherein a most minute account was given of the doings of this Faculty of Theology, that His Majesty might provide for the better defence of Her Highness the queen of England. Sent likewise a copy of the conclusions signed by no less than 15 doctors of the said faculty and university, all of whom decided against the King and in favour of the Queen, his legitimate wife. The copy was attested in due form by two notaries, for the original, which was in his possession, had been wrested from him

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(Garay) by a sentence from the judges, obtained through the King. At the same time a suggestion was made by him (Garay); he pointed out the necessity of applying to His Holiness for a brief, addressed to the doctors of this university, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, to meet within six days after the receipt of the same, and putting aside all personal feeling to declare, each of them, on oath that which his conscience dictated. This being done, the conclusion duly sealed with the seal of the Faculty, to be forwarded to His Holiness without delay, that he might make such provision in that important affair as befitted his authority. Is also of opinion that king Francis himself ought to be persuaded to write to these doctors in the same strain, in order to avoid the inconveniences and scandals so common on such occasions; he (himself) wrote to the Queen and to the Lady Margaret, enclosing also an attested copy of the papers, conclusion, &c., the whole of which was sent by private and trusty messengers so that the letters must ere long have reached their destination.

Such were in substance the contents of his despatch of the 11th of November, besides which he (Garay) forwarded at the time, through Mons. de Lachaulx, a long report in Latin, written in his own hand and afterwards translated into Spanish at that ambassador's express desire, wherein he (Garay) stated his own individual opinion with such arguments and proofs as his poor talent and abilities suggested.

All this was done more than four months ago, and yet, strange to say, not a word has come in answer to his urgent representations on this most important affair: one in which the service of God, the peace of Christendom, and the Emperor's own honour and reputation are so deeply concerned. Unable to understand the causes of such injurious negligence, he (Garay) imagined that perhaps it was wrongly presumed at Court that matters would not proceed thus far, or else that the Imperial ministers had been misinformed respecting the case, or that perhaps councillors were wanting near His Majesty's person to impress upon him the necessity of acting with decision and promptitude in affairs of this kind.

Meanwhile the king of England has worked, and is working so furiously in this matter of the divorce, that his doings are enough to set the world on fire. Fearing lest he (Garay) should obtain the signatures of the majority of these doctors—which might easily have been accomplished had not the above-mentioned obstacles been thrown in his way—he has hit upon a diabolical device to mar our success and ensure his own, which consists in the appointment of a gentleman named Langes (De Langeais), a brother of the bishop of Bayonne, French ambassador at the English court, and as it is to be believed well trained in civil law, to serve his plans. This is the very man, who, as above stated, caused the original conclusion in favour of the Queen, signed by 15 doctors, to be snatched out of his (Garay's) hands by the Rector on the plea

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that in doing so they were only acting in obedience to superior orders, and fulfilling their duty. The same individual has since managed to call together, sometimes 10 at other times 12 doctors, as many in fact as he could collect, in order to serve king Henry's purpose. The way he set about it was this: he called together a number of doctors, all whom he could secure, of the opposite party, and gave them a dinner, after which he exhibited a conclusion already drawn out in favour of the English king stating that the Pope had no right to dispense in such a marriage as this, which was contrary to Divine Law. The consequence was that some of the doctors out of shame (*verguença*), others out of fear, owing to Langes having frequently said in public that whoever opposed this conclusion was no friend to his king, many again by downright bribery —for he has given them one crown per head—and several more overcome by sheer importunity have voted in favour of the English king. Has been told that no less than 30 doctors of this university have thus signed the conclusion prepared by Langes. Nor is this all; some of those who signed in the first instance, of which document an attested copy was sent in at the time, and which is entirely in favour of the marriage and its perfect legitimacy, have now been compelled by all manner of shameful bribes and threats to adhere to this later one. Such, at least, is the public rumour, and no wonder at it, if the fact of these Frenchmen being generally very patriotic, and such enemies of Spain and the Emperor, be taken into consideration.

What precedes will shew the wickedness and malice of the practices which the English are employing to gain their purpose, so much so, that if 100 briefs from the Pope, similar in tenour to that which he (Garay) applied for several months ago, were to come now in succession, they would be of no possible avail to us, and only useful to the opposite party. If, however, the Pope would but act in the present case as true shepherd of the Christian flock, a remedy might still be applied to this increasing and scandalous evil; for His Holiness would meetly punish this audacious behaviour by sending here a Nuncio of notorious wisdom and learning, and at the same time a God-fearing man, who, after taking cognizance of the affair at Rome—where the source of the whole thing lies—should come here and reform these iniquitous practices to which the Infidel Turk himself, the bitterest enemy of Christianity, would not resort. The Nuncio should bring full powers to punish the criminals according to their misdeeds; he will, no doubt, have much work in hand, but God's justice must ultimately prevail against men's injustice and wrong, and it is to be hoped that the evil may still be arrested. The course would be to command the English king to restore conjugal rights to his Queen, and, if disobedient, to compel him to change his ways and not listen to the reports of his ambassadors, who, it is said, are already on their way [to Rome] to achieve their purpose. The said

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ambassadors maintain that the Faculty of Theology in this university and in that of Pavia are of their opinion, and that the Queen will be satisfied if a fit place in England be assigned to her with an annual pension of 700*l.* for her maintenance, to live as a widow.* They further assert that the Emperor consents to this arrangement, adding that should His Holiness refuse to allow the divorce to take place, the king of England, as an injured man to whom justice is denied, will choose in his own kingdom judges to decide the case according to his wishes. By means of such falsehoods as these, the English ambassadors have been able to gain the votes of most of the doctors belonging to this university, and of others [in France]; they are now trying to hold a meeting of the entire Faculty, declaring that they are only in search of truth without any leaning towards one or other of the contending parties. Thus, after having bribed and corrupted each doctor individually, they now propose that all together should approve and ratify the conclusion which they have already signed, and thus have an excuse to obtain a decision of the whole Faculty.

Such is the state of the affair, but he (Garay) will lose no opportunity to let these traitors know that it is too late for such intrigues. Is determined to stake his life, for this cause which, as it concerns Faith and the Emperor's honour and reputation, as well as the peace of mind and welfare of so pious, virtuous, and holy a princess, is well worthy of death and martyrdom.

Has acquainted François de Bonvalot, the Imperial ambassador, and secretary Guillen (Guillaume) des Barres, who, as far as he (Garay) can judge, are the Emperor's most faithful and diligent servants, with this resolution of his, as well as with all the details of the affair, that both may report home on the precarious state in which it now stands. Has done and will do his duty; it now remains for the Emperor, of whose wisdom and virtue nobody can doubt, to make such provision that our enemies may be defeated, and then after putting an end to the heresies and evils that distract Christendom, take up arms against the Turk, the capital enemy of our Faith, vanquish him in the field, and take another crown that will constitute him the monarch of the whole world, to be afterwards crowned in Heaven, where a most splendid reward for his labours and virtue awaits him—Paris, 9th April 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord, at Augsburg."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

Indorsed: "Dr. Garay to His Majesty, 9th April 1530."

* "Que la Reyna ya es contenta con que la señalen en cierto lugar del Reyno su asiento con vii. D libras de gruesos para su plato, y biua (*sic*) como viuda."

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9 April. **286.** Dr. GARAY to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 851, f. 87.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 379.

Wrote many days ago advising what the Faculty of Theology [here at Paris] had decided on the affair of the queen of England. The letter was sent to secretary Guillen (Guillaume) des Barres to forward. Sent likewise a transcript of a conclusion in favour of the Queen, subscribed by 15 doctors of the said Faculty, and attested by two notaries. Could not remit the original owing to its having been taken from him in virtue of a judicial sentence with the consent, and, perhaps, also with the connivance of the King. Begged His Imperial Majesty to obtain a Papal brief, ordering these doctors, under pain of excommunication, to assemble within six days after the notification, and give their opinion in writing: the conclusion at an end, to forward to Rome the result of their deliberations properly attested, and under the seal of the Faculty. Wrote in the same terms to the Queen [Eleanor] and to Madame Margaret, and sent his several missives through trusty persons, who he has no doubt, have delivered his letters. More than four months ago, in December 1529, at the request of Mr. de Lachaulx, at that time the Emperor's ambassador at this court, he (Garay) composed a treatise in Latin and Spanish, wherein every argument in favour of the English marriage, and against its dissolution was carefully adduced. Yet to none of these letters and reports has he yet received an answer: a most wonderful thing when the scandal likely to be raised in Christendom by this divorce is taken into consideration.

Now the king of England is so fiery and violent on this point, that he is striving to hasten on the divorce lest he [Garay] should be able to procure the signatures of most of the doctors of this Faculty against it. This he would easily have obtained had it not been for a most diabolical trick practised upon him by one Mons. de Langes (Langeais), the brother of the bishop of Bayonne, French ambassador in England. Since the original conclusion signed by 15 doctors of this Faculty was violently taken from him, the Rector of the University, stating that he was acting legally in so doing, the said Langes, who is a gentleman of the Chamber to king Francis and also a doctor "utriusque juris" has been contriving to collect 10 or 12 doctors at a time, and whilst dinner is being prepared for them to have a conclusion announced for consideration after their meal, when they all vote in favour of the King, declaring that the Pope could not give dispensation in such a marriage as this, it being contrary to Divine Law. This some did through shyness, and others through fear, because Langes says publicly that whoever does not say so is no friend of his king. Others for money, for he gives them a crown each; others by sheer importunities. In this manner no less than 30 doctors have signed, and in that number several who had formerly subscribed the contrary!

The Pope ought to command king Henry to live a conjugal life with his wife and if he disobeys, compel him to do so, as

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Law (*como manda el derecho*) prescribes, and listen no longer to his ambassadors, who, they say, are already on the road [to Rome]. In order the better to accomplish their object, the English give out that this Faculty of Theology is in favour of their master, and the University of Pavia publishes that the Queen [of England] is willing to live apart from the King, somewhere out of London, provided 700*l.* (*libras de gruesos*) are consigned for her maintenance. And they add that the Emperor tolerates this and takes no notice! Should the Pope not allow the divorce, the king of England (they say) will take justice into his own hands, and appoint judges to pronounce sentence as he wishes.

With such inventions and lies, and the support which the French give them, the abettors of the divorce have lately gained much ground. At this very moment almost all the doctors of this University, even those who live out of Paris, have been made to subscribe certain papers, and on the plea that they are not influenced by personal motives, but wish merely to inquire into the truth, will one of these days hold a meeting, wherein all assembled together will be made to subscribe what they have already signed separately, and in this way it will look as if the whole Faculty had decided unanimously. Will do everything in his power to defeat their plans, even if he were to die for it. Has written to Francisco Bonvalot, the Imperial ambassador, and also to Guillen des Barres.—Paris, 9th April 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

14 April. **287.** The Pope to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom. 850, f. 75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 382.

By Mentebona, my chamberlain, whom I dispatched yesterday evening, Your Imperial Majesty must have been apprized of the message sent me by the prince of Orange, the substance of which was that unless I immediately provided money to pay the Switzers (*Suizi*), great inconvenience, and perhaps mutiny, might arise among the troops under his command. I confess that this message gave me much annoyance at the time, and would have still done so had I not trusted that by the well-known virtue and kindness of Your Imperial Majesty means would be speedily found to avert the danger. That this has been the case I perceive by Your Majesty's letter of the 11th, just come to hand, as well as by another from Muscettola (*sic*), informing me of what has been done by your commands. I thank Your Imperial Majesty most earnestly; I have not the least doubt that the disorderly habits of the army before Florence will be put a stop to, now that the troops have been supplied with money, and I beg and entreat that such measures be taken as may prevent the recurrence of similar mutinies, the only hope which the Florentines in their obstinate defence can have.

As far as I am personally concerned, and the Apostolic See, it would be desirable that Your Imperial Majesty's stay in

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Italy should be as long as possible, and yet I know how beneficial to the whole of Christendom the journey to Germany will be. Therefore, I will do anything in my power to contribute to that laudable enterprize, sure as I am that wherever Your Majesty goes good care will be taken of me and my affairs.

I am anxiously expecting an answer to my letter by Centurione, my chamberlain, in which I informed Your Majesty of the preparations which the Turk is said to be making.—Rome, 14th April 1530.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo, Romanorum Imperatori, semper Augusto."

Indorsed; "A su Mt. del Papa 14 dias de Abril: De su mano."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

15 April. **288.** Prothonotary CARACCIOLO and RODRIGO NIÑO, Imperial Ambassadors in Venice, to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 33. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 384.

I, the prothonotary [Caracciolo], arrived here on Wednesday, and, it being then Holy Week, no business was done.

I, Rodrigo Niño, wrote on the 11th, sending advices lately received from Constantinople. The Signory has also had letters. Having inquired from the Doge (*Principe*) what news he had of the Turk and of his armaments, his answer was that Solyman was evidently making great preparations by sea and land, not perhaps for any serious undertaking in this present year, but merely for some slight excursion to the coasts of the Mediterranean. If so, orders ought to be sent to Puglia and Sicily for the people to be on the alert. The Signory, however, has requested them [the ambassadors] not to mention that the above information comes from them.

Have also learnt that the English ambassador has brought before this Signory his master's business with the Queen, and that, the better to justify his case, the King wishes to have it examined by the doctors of the university of Padua. Aware of this, both the ambassadors went to the College-hall and made strong representations, as will be seen by the enclosed despatch.—Venice, 15th April 1530.

Signed: "Prot. Caracciolo.—Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

15 April. **289.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 33. B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 384.

The English ambassador has laid before the Signory the particulars of the divorce suit, and applied in his master's name for permission to take the opinion of lawyers at the university of Padua. No sooner did the fact come to their notice than they (Caracciolo and Niño) determined to wait on the Doge in private and represent to him the importance of the affair, and how very detrimental such a permission would prove for God's service, for the Queen, and for the Christian religion itself. Were well received by the Doge, who expressed similar senti-

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ments and promised again to entertain the question in a few days at the College-hall. The application was not made "ex officio" and in the Emperor's name, but in a private manner, and to let the Doge know that they were informed of the ambassadors' designs, and to impress him with the mighty importance of this affair. Nor have they absolutely asked the Doge to refuse the permission applied for, lest the king of England should say one of these days that His Imperial Majesty had been the means of preventing his taking the opinion of the Paduan University, and should in consequence proceed to hasty action (*vias de hecho*). Wish to know how to act in the matter, and wait for instructions from Court.

The Emperor should know also that both the English ambassador, resident at the Imperial court, and the one who accompanies the Pope (*que va con el Papa*) have written a letter to the bishop of Quieta (Chieti)—now here in Venice, leading a most retired and holy life—and have dispatched a confidential messenger, a countryman of theirs, to inform him of the whole affair, and explain the causes and motives of the divorce which they say the King is trying to procure by all possible means and ways. They have earnestly requested him to look into the affair and send them his opinion in writing, that they may know how best to justify their master's proceedings. The Bishop has accepted the charge, but being, as His Imperial Majesty must be aware, a man of good sense and wisdom, is much disposed to decide against the King and his unreasonable demands, notwithstanding that the information he has received from the English ambassadors is, as may be supposed, anything but favourable to the Queen's cause. The Bishop called the other day upon him (Niño) before Caracciolo's arrival, and asked for particulars, the better to shape his answer. He has accordingly been furnished with all the details of the affair, and also with such information respecting the proceedings both in London and at Rome, as he (Niño) was in possession of through the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza). Has no doubt that the Bishop's opinion will be favourable to the Queen.—Venice, 15th April 1530.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of letters from Prothonotary Caracciolo and Rodrigo Niño. From Venice, XV. Apr. MDXXX."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

23 April. **290.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 23.

The Emperor's letters of the 14th and 25th of March were duly received, the latter only reaching me on Tuesday in Holy Week. Sent the following day to inquire whether the King would receive me; heard in reply, through the duke of Norfolk, that if there was no very pressing business the King would defer his audience till Easter Monday. The Duke on his side also requested this delay, partly because Holy Week

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is not a good time for the transaction of business, and also because he will be away from Court for a few days and does not wish me to go to the King during his absence.

On the said day, accordingly, the King ordered the duke of Norfolk to send a messenger to remind me of the appointment, and I met the messenger as I was leaving for Vinsor (Windsor). On my arrival there, I was, as usual, a long time with the King, who received me without any appearance of displeasure (*marrison*), though he said that he had been expecting me for some time, and was surprised that I had not been sooner to report on those points, which, as his ambassadors had informed him a long time before, were mentioned in Your Majesty's letters. This apparent negligence on my part, however, the King himself proceeded to excuse on account of the season at which the letters had arrived. The King having thus given me an opportunity to speak on all and every one of the subjects mentioned in Your Majesty's letters, I did so according to my general instructions, the King frequently interrupting me, especially to contradict and repudiate certain statements, which, he said, were not quite correct. For instance, he denied that his ambassadors had ever refused to abide by the decision of learned men after the cause had been thoroughly argued, and he maintained that they were fully empowered to do this without having to refer home. He also denied their having refused to state their motives (*leurs motifz*) in writing, and threw all the blame on Your Majesty and your commissioners, who, he said, either dared not, or would not, do the same. Indeed, on these two points, it almost seemed as if the King would risk the assertion that greater faith was to be attached to the reports of his ambassadors than to Your Majesty's letters.* Some altercation then followed, when the King, finding he was beaten by reason and honesty on the first point, made his retreat through an argument which I myself had used a little before whilst debating another matter,† namely, that the secretary might have amplified and written more than was intended without Your Majesty's knowledge. Had the Emperor (he observed) written in his own hand, it would have been a different thing. As to the second point, he was obliged to confess that his agents had really refused to state their reasons in writing; but it was because they were waiting until the Queen's advocates had given theirs. It was for the Queen's lawyers (he maintained) to produce their allegation first, before the English ambassadors sent in theirs, in proof of which he (the King) quoted certain points of Law, which he declared established that right and were unanswerable. I brought forward many arguments of sufficient weight

* "Sur ces deux pointz yl sembla quil se vousisse mettre ung peu au chans (champs?) veuilliant que en ce ses ambassadeurs fussent ausy bien ou mieux de croyre que les lettres de votre maieste."

† "Et apres avoer quelque peu alterque en çecy, estant vaincu de rayson et honnestete, yl trouva ung echappatoyre quant au premier, du quel luy aves (avois) use ung bien peu avant en autre propos."

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as I thought, to convince the King, and suggested that if he were not satisfied with them, he might perhaps allow me to speak with the learned doctors of his Council, sure as I was that I could bring them round to my opinion. To this last proposition the King made no reply, but went on to say that it was clear to everyone that the Queen had neither justice nor right on her side, that no one had been found to plead her cause, which was one of the strongest arguments against her and for him; that most of the Italian doctors had written on his side, whereas, notwithstanding all Your Majesty's solicitations, not one had undertaken to defend the cause of the Queen; that he was well informed of Your Majesty's proceedings on this question of the marriage, which, he did not hesitate to say, were of very questionable legality, and might easily have been avoided; adding that I myself was not without my proportionate share of the blame. My answer was that I was not surprised that false reports had reached him from Italy, for in this country itself much was said concerning this second marriage, which, in my opinion, was quite untrue. He (the King) had repeatedly told me that all the theologians of his kingdom agreed with him, and that the kingdom greatly desired this second marriage, and yet that besides the prelates and divines of this country whom I had formerly named as opposed to the King's wishes in this respect, several more dissentient voices had since been heard in the universities, and that if he (the King) could only hear the hundredth part of what his people said about it he would infallibly change his mind. The King had once reproached me with sending to Your Majesty false reports concerning this matter; but neither I nor any individual was to blame for the reports he complained of as being current in Italy: it was public opinion that spoke so loud, and if the King would not heed it, the stocks and stones would cry out as in the days of king Midas. It was the common misfortune of princes that no reports reached them, save such as would be agreeable and in accordance with their wishes, but if he would have the opinion of the country honestly and conscientiously taken, he would find that, with the exception of the four or five persons immediately interested in the affair, this opinion was totally opposed to what he thought; that I had spoken with the author of those writings, on which the King laid so much stress, and that he had assured me that they had been written merely to please the King, against the writer's own convictions; but that in a few days the said Doctor would go to the King and make full confession on this head. That regarding the intrigues (*practiques*) to which the King alluded, if he would openly specify them I should be better able to refute the accusation. I did not know whether he (the King) credited me with sufficient talent for intrigue; all I could say was that had there been as little on his side as there was on ours, affairs would be in a much better state than they are

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now. The King replied by again repeating his former assertion, namely, that all the learned men in his kingdom agreed with him; those who did not, he said, were foolish, ignorant, or obstinate. As to his not knowing what public opinion was, he was not like Your Majesty, who had made a difficulty about even hearing his ambassadors personally; he was accessible to all and ready to listen to everyone, and seek for information. And lastly, that he would some day or other enter into particulars with me about the intrigues whereof he complained. Further remarks passed between us on this topic, too lengthy to be recorded here.

The King then went on to complain that Your Majesty, who, he says, is more indebted to him than a son to his father, should at the instigation of an aunt, who can neither harm nor serve you, be ready to forget all past kindnesses received from him (the King); and also that Your Majesty would not take the opportunity of hearing the liberal proposals, whereof the ambassadors were the bearers. He further observed that Your Majesty had by no means shewn such an interest in the affairs of the king of Denmark and of the Queen, your sister, to whom you were much more closely related, as you had in this case of the Queen, your aunt, for the furtherance of which you had spared no pains in the past, and, as it seemed, would spare none in the future; whereas in the case of the king and queen of Denmark, not only had you taken no measures to reinstate them in their dominions, but had absolutely left them without supplies, so that but for the help of Madame, the Archduchess, they would have had to endure great privations. Replied that, as I had stated at various times, there was no real cause of complaint against Your Majesty; if he (the King) wished to test Your Majesty's gratitude towards him, he should ask for such services as you could justly and rightly confer, not for those which you neither could nor ought to grant. As regards the king and queen of Denmark, it would be found upon inquiry that Your Majesty had done towards them all that they could claim; great had been the obstacles raised against the restoration of their kingdom, as great perhaps as those now raised against other more sacred enterprizes which Your Majesty had wished to set on foot, such as the one against the enemies of our Faith. That even if you had otherwise had the power of at once restoring the said king, your brother-in-law, to his kingdom, time and circumstances were not favourable, and the undertaking must have been delayed. The King, however, would not allow that the king and queen of Denmark had been rightly treated, though he seemed satisfied, as regards the restoration, which, he said, he did not himself desire. I added that Your Majesty had certainly much more cause to complain of him than he had of you, since he would not follow in the path of justice from which no man should deviate, and further wished to do you wrong by accusing you of tampering with and corrupting the judges, a thing which

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Your Majesty would not do for the wealth of two worlds put together, and that surely now that you were out of Italy all suspicion must necessarily cease. To which the King replied: that the justice to which you alluded was entirely in your own power, and that you held the Pope completely in subjection; but on my retorting that as proof of such subjection Your Majesty had reverently kissed the Pope's feet, and had always been submissive and obedient to the Apostolic See, he interrupted me by saying: "Not, indeed, at the time that the Pope made the Holy League with the French, for then the Emperor did not always obey His Holiness' commands." "However, this may be," continued the King, "though the Emperor is now absent [from Italy], his army is not, and the Pope once wrote to me, as I can shew you, that as long as the [Imperial] army remained in Italy he could not venture to give judgment in this cause. Besides which, I ask you, if the two cardinals* were without any legitimate cause declared open to suspicion (*allegues pour suspetz*) why should I not also, in similar case, challenge in my turn the judges named by the Emperor?"

A long debate was then carried on between us concerning the causes there were for suspecting the said cardinals, and also those of the Rotta. At last the King said that as he had taken such pains to shew the justice of his cause it must be clear to everyone that he knew what he was about, and that he was determined to follow up his suit before God and his conscience. He could not but regret at the same time that the last embassy, distinguished as it was, should have produced no fruit whatever, and he went on further to say that I had been partly the author and promoter of the embassy. Replied that as far as the rank of his ambassadors was concerned he had no occasion to repent, only of his not having sent people less open to suspicion of self-interest in the matter, who would have made a more true and favourable report of things. As to rank and quality, theirs, I said, could not be too high, considering the prince to whom they were sent, and that Your Majesty had often sent here to England quite as noble and distinguished personages as his ambassadors, and in greater number. The King (I added) did me too great an honour in saying that I had partly promoted this embassy, as if he (the King) would have consented to be guided by my advice in such matters. My conscience, however, would not allow me to accept the compliment, for I was sure that the contrary was the case. I then reminded him of what he had said to me when he first announced his determination to send this embassy, namely, that ever since the beginning of the discussion about the divorce he had wished to send one to Your Majesty; but that war had supervened and prevented it. The King remembered the circumstance perfectly well, and all else he had said on the occasion, as related in my despatch of January the 13th, and, therefore, was obliged somewhat to modify his

* Wolsey and Campeggio.

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former statement, declaring that he only meant that I had then considered it a good and desirable measure, and hoped that it might have a good effect. Replied that I had certainly never opposed the embassy, but had merely suggested that Monsgr. de Norfolk would have been a fitter personage to send. It was not for me, I said, to offer any opposition in this affair. As to the result to be expected from the embassy, I had not the least doubt that had the demands laid before Your Majesty been just and reasonable, as I had told him at my first audience, it would have been beneficial and satisfactory to both parties.

It was not difficult to see that the King was sorry and angry at having made such a mistake as to charge me, by way of argument, with having been the promoter of this embassy. I, myself, do not regret it; on the contrary, I am glad of what has happened, as it may perhaps stop him in future *from such misrepresentations*, and as it was the means of my getting afterwards *from Monsgr. de Norfolk* a most positive declaration *that the Pope himself had been the author and promoter of the embassy* and especially of the appointment of *Dr. Stoclens* (Stokesley).

Then, in pursuance of the Queen's orders and advice, I spoke to the King about the violent measures resorted to by his commissioners (*commis*) for obtaining the seals of the two universities of this kingdom, of which measures people complained greatly. I told him that it would have been far better for him to have sustained some great loss than have brought things to such a pass as this for several reasons, some of which I brought forward then and there, reserving the rest for another occasion. The King replied that he would withhold nothing, but would, on the contrary, speak the simple truth, as he always did to me. He declared upon his honour, and said he was quite ready to make the declaration in writing under his signature, that no violence whatever had been used; that out of 30 doctors who had been consulted at the principal universities 29 had agreed with him, and that though the 30th, who differed from the rest, was held to be the most learned of them all, still he was very old and somewhat given to intemperance (*et ung peu subjectz au vin*). That there were also apart from these 30, seven dissentient voices, but they were not men of any reputation for learning. All the rest the King entirely denied, to which statement my only reply was that I was not at all surprised that false reports reached him from Italy and from elsewhere, since he was so misinformed as to what took place in his own kingdom. I then entered into a detailed account of various matters and things—too long to be related here—in which he (the King) had been notoriously deceived, whereof I have written to apprize Messire Mai, that he may in the event of their trying to make their case good at Rome, by the number of votes obtained at the said universities [of Oxford and Cam-

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bridge] know what he is to answer, and I have likewise forwarded to him, by express messenger, who left yesterday, all the information I could gather on these points, as well as the new books published on behalf of the Queen.

After this conversation, the King, taking me by the hand, asked what other news I had of you from Italy. Told him of your triumphal entry into Mantua, and of the arrival of the Count Palatine there. He interrupted me and asked whether the Palatine was count Frederique (Frederic) whom he praised beyond measure, speaking for some time of his own friendship and regard for him. Told him also that I had learnt from the Venetian ambassador that Your Majesty had given the sister of the duke of Calabria in marriage to the duke of Mantua, with a very rich dower, at which he (the King) seemed much pleased. He then said that he considered the siege of Florence as raised, and that the Pope was in great difficulties (*en grosse perplexite*), and had pledged in Venice* all the jewels he had, in order to raise money for the equipment of the Imperial army, and that even with this he would hardly be able to raise a sufficient sum. The King also praised the Florentines much for their constancy and courage during the siege; said it was a wicked and damnable enterprize for the Pope to have undertaken, and that Your Majesty should not have assisted him therein, whatever I might say of the promises by which you were bound. Your Majesty, he had no doubt, would now regret the part taken in that business, not so much indeed for the failure of the enterprize, but on account of the great sufferings of the Florentines during the siege.

The King next questioned me concerning Germany. I told him without hesitation that the courier who had just passed through that country on his way to England reported that in every place where he had been universal joy was felt at your approaching visit; that Lent was being strictly observed, and that no one shewed Lutheran tendencies, at which the King seemed greatly surprised. He pondered over this a little, and then asked me: "Who do you think will be king of the Romans?" Answered that I had received no information on that score, and could not venture to express an opinion on so important a subject,† but that from his frequent intercourse with Germany, his thorough knowledge of that country, and of the inclinations and nature of the electors, as well as of the qualities and parts required for that high office, and likewise because similar affairs had once gone through his own hands, I considered him better able to calculate on whom the election would ultimately fall. His reply was that what I said was very true; the emperor Maximilian (whom may God forgive) had once wished to confer this dignity upon him, and the greater part of the electors had agreed and pledged their

* "Et quil avait mande tout autant de bagues quil avoit a Venise pour recouvrer argent et fournir aux soudards."

† "Et [que] mon sens ne discours ne vouloit si hault."

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word to it, though they had afterwards requested to be released from their pledge, when, after the death of Maximilian, they were called upon to give their votes either to Your Majesty or the king of France, when but for his aid the king of that country would certainly have carried off the election. He said he had formerly much intercourse and correspondence with Germany, but that he had quite discontinued it of late, and did not even read half the letters that came from those parts.

He then said that he was much surprised at the way in which Your Majesty's commissioners for one trifling cause or another were continually delaying the restitution of the children of France. To which I readily replied, that if those who had informed the King of the delay had also stated whence it arose (*ou tenoyt la maladie*) the King would not have blamed the Imperial commissioners. By saying which I really think that I touched the sore point, for he said to me: "Perhaps you think and mean to say that the real cause of the delay is that the money is not yet ready. That may be the case, but the French will never own it."

I ended by asking the King to instruct Monsgr. [the bishop of London] to undertake the settlement of the dispute concerning Crieveceur (Crevecœur) between the king of France and Monsgr. de Bevres according to the letter of the treaty of Cambray, which he consented to do, and sent at once for Monsgr. of London, who had, however, already left the Court. The king of France has also sent a councillor from Paris on this very business, but up to the present time it seems as if the said councillor had come purposely to keep the affair out of sight or delay its conclusion till after the restitution of the children, for he has never said a word about it.

After the above conversation and much more, which I omit to avoid tediousness, it being now time for vespers, I asked for leave to withdraw, which was graciously granted. No sooner, however, had I left the room than the King communicated to Monsgr. de Norfolk part of what I had said to him, for the latter overtook me, made me enter his room, and then much agitated in manner, and indeed quite the reverse of the King—who on this occasion had been more composed and temperate than the last time I saw him—began to speak to me with great vehemence, saying: "The Emperor has now refused to listen to the most advantageous proposals that were ever made to him. He must not expect the same offers to be made again when he wants them; the more powerful the Emperor becomes the more he will stand in need of friends. He should besides consider the great want which his brother, the king of Hungary, has of the friendship and aid of all the Christian princes. The Emperor's persistence in having the Pope as judge of this trial is only caused by his belief that a sentence will be given at Rome in accordance with his wishes; but before six years have passed neither the Pope nor the greater part of Italy will be at the Emperor's devotion,

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and many strange things may have come to pass (*l'on verroit plusieurs choses*)." The Duke, no doubt, said "six years" merely as a "façon de parler," for he evidently does not believe that the realization of his prognostic is so far distant. Then he added, *rather angrily, that it would be vain for the Emperor to attempt to put any pressure on or assert authority over this king or country*, for they would certainly not give way (*point le pied*). The Duke then asked me point blank: "Should the King, after having thoroughly proved the righteousness of his cause, and obtained the sanction *of the ecclesiastics and of the Anglican Church, marry this woman,** what will the Emperor do? will he make war upon us?" If so, I hope *we shall defend ourselves well.*

The Duke likewise made it a ground of complaint that Your Majesty had said *that you would certainly employ all the resources you had in this world to support the Queen's cause.*

After replying to all and every one of the above points, I said to the Duke, in substance, that the words to which he alluded had never come out of Your Majesty's lips, as far as I (Chapuys) was aware; he (the Duke) knew quite as well as myself that all the requests of Your Majesty had been made in the most moderate and friendly terms, and that *I was very far from thinking that Your Majesty would ever use force or assume authority, and I was also quite certain that you had no intention of making war.* I could not imagine that *the King would ever give due cause for* it, and even in the event *of this second marriage taking place* there would be no need for any foreign prince to declare war against England, as the Duke must know that if the King divorced his Queen and took another wife there would soon be mortal strife among his own subjects. As to the troubles and revolutions to which the Duke alluded as likely to take place in Italy, Your Majesty had taken no measures involving such a change; but that should it come to pass, neither the Italians themselves, nor those who stirred them on to revolt, would be the gainers by it any more than in past times, and that I should think the experience of the past must have taught them to be more guarded, and not listen to every idle talker. I knew many (I continued) who were at the bottom of these intrigues, and promoted discord more for their own individual profit than from any other cause, and that I did not say more then, but would unravel the mystery at a future time. My allusion had regard to *Jehan Jocquin*, of whom I will speak hereafter, though I considered it unadvisable then to mention his name to the Duke.

Notwithstanding this altercation I again begged the Duke to continue his endeavours for the maintenance of the friendship between Your Majesty and his master, and likewise to ask him

* "Si le Roy apres sestre mis en tout debuoer en justiffiant si clerement son affere vouloit par lautorite des [ecclesiastiques] et eglise anglicane esposer ceste femme, si penseriez leur faire guerre."

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in what way he thought Your Majesty could have shewn a more friendly or upright spirit than he had done. The Duke replied that as to the first point, the maintenance of friendship, he had always been most anxious to forward it, but that somehow it seemed to him now that Your Majesty did not respond to the wish. As to what Your Majesty could have done on the present occasion to please his master, the King, and lead the way to an enduring friendship, he had certainly out of his great zeal for your service *ventured to give his opinion and advice on Your Majesty's* affairs; but that for the future, seeing how things were going on, and that Your Majesty *had such good counsel at home, he would never again undertake to do so.* After which the Duke shewed me a letter from Jehan Jocquin, who, he said, was to arrive the following day. This the Duke did with a certain air of mystery and warning, as if he wished to make me understand that if we did not please him in this affair he would listen to what that ambassador had to say in his master's name.

Continued in this way talking for some time on various subjects, the Duke returning to the point, and saying to me more than once: "I would not for ten thousand crowns have taken charge of this embassy, as I thought at the time of doing." Replied that he ought to wish exactly the opposite, for that had he gone his opinion would have had more weight with Your Majesty, and he himself would have seen more clearly the path to justice, in which he should try to keep the King, his master, since there was no longer during Your Majesty's absence from Italy any fear of the judges being afraid of giving their decision, and that as the Pope desired to consult with Dr. Stocler (Stokesley), he (the Duke) would do well to send him to His Holiness. He assured me that nothing should be omitted which could further justice in this cause, and I am given to understand that an express messenger has been dispatched ordering Dr. Stocler (Stokesley) to proceed at once to the Pope.

The Princess having expressed a wish to see me, and I myself being anxious to pay my respects to her, I begged the Duke to let me know whether the King would approve of the visit. The Duke was doubtful as to this; but said he would write and consult the King, who, being asked about it, replied that as he was coming shortly to London* I had better wait a few days. Indeed, the Duke says that the King will be here this week for the purpose of proroguing Parliament and their Estates General† till the month of September, and that he will be able then to enter into further explanations of his views with me. On leaving the Duke accompanied me much further than is his wont.

* "La reponse du Roy fust que pour ce quil se mouvoit à Londres que eusse patience pour quelques jours."

† "Pour fere la prolongation de leurs estatz et parlement."

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Neither the King nor Mr. de Norfolk made the least mention of the brief which has been obtained, nor of the summons (*citation*) made [at Rome] to the English ambassadors personally. As to their having been allowed to quit without the usual civilities and ceremonies, and their not having been visited or accompanied for any length of time when they took leave, the King has been the very first to excuse this want of etiquette, on the ground that Your Majesty was much pressed with business of all kinds.

I have not thought it expedient to go to the Queen just now, but have acquainted her by letters and in other ways of everything that is done or said respecting her cause, at which she is much comforted, and, certainly, she greatly needs consolation. She had intended writing to Your Majesty, but has not yet been able to find the opportunity.

On my way back, on Easter Tuesday, I met Jehan Jocquin, who said he had anticipated his visit to Court by one day, in the hope of meeting me there and speaking about this Crieveceur* business. He walked on a little with me, and shewed me a supplement (*addition*), which he said was to be made to the deed of release (*decharge*) drawn up by this king in favour of Your Majesty. He also said that he was the authority for the Italian news which the King had communicated to me at our last interview. He should (he said) remain at Court till after the Festival of St. George, but the fact is that he only stayed 24 hours then and returned the day after. Exclusive of this last time, Jocquin has been twice at Court since the news came of the unfavourable answer given by Your Majesty to the English ambassadors. He has each time stayed three or four days, and had long interviews with the King and Mr. de Norfolk. I have been told that on one of these occasions some one overheard the Duke say to the ambassador: "I beg you to spare me any reference to matters relating to war, or what may lead thereto, for we have already had too much of it." I cannot say for certain what takes Jocquin to Court now; the ostensible reason for his first visit was this business of Crevecœur, and, for the second, to obtain, as he said, the addition to the deed of release. This last time he must have brought certain papers from the Paris doctors concerning the affair of the marriage.

I cannot help thinking that Jehan Jocquin will make all the mischief he can. Ever since his arrival here he has been abusing admiral Andrea Doria, and persuading the Genoese merchants that Genoa will never recover her former prosperity until she is fairly under French protection, and telling the Florentine ambassadors openly they may be quite sure his master only delayed the payment of the ransom until the siege of Florence should be raised. Further, that it was the Pope who had induced Your Majesty to go to Italy, and that now he was served right, for you had made your peace with the duke of

* Crevecœur.

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Ferrara and left him (the Pope) in the lurch. He does not approve at all of the governors of towns in the Milanese (*capitaines des places*) having taken the oath of allegiance to Your Majesty on the re-investiture of the Duchy. He has been saying continually that on the return of the hostages to France some surprising events (*de grans miracles*) would take place, and that he hoped he should not die until he was in full possession of the title of count, and the property which the King, his master, had promised him in the kingdom of Naples. Many other similar expressions have escaped him (Jocquin) that shew the ill-will he bears us, but, however able to work miracles, he will find it difficult to acquire in this country any reputation for steadiness and discretion; and with the single exception of the pensioners of the King, his master, he is looked upon here with great disfavour, in spite of the many attentions (*familiarites et bonnes chieres*) which the King showers upon him. Hears that he has just obtained permission from the King to buy 4,000 oxen and send them into France, at which the whole city greatly murmurs.

Respecting the *Grand Equerry*, about whom Your Majesty wrote to me, I can only say that he seems favourably disposed, but I have had no information from him except that recorded in my despatch of the 24th of February, wherein I explained what will be my line of conduct towards him in carrying out Your Majesty's instructions. I met him (the Grand Equerry) once at Court, where he shewed me great attention, and afterwards sent me some venison. He afterwards came to see me at my lodgings, but there were too many people present for any private conversation, and therefore he promised to call again, and went away. Next day he came again, though much too late, for I had gone out, and therefore we have not met since the said 24th of February. As to *the Dean*, he has never spoken to me; and. as I hear from *the Queen*, he is acting in total opposition to his engagements.

To-day, the King and Mr. de Norfolk have sent me an English student from Paris, who came over four days ago to report on the progress of the Sieur de Langeais' doings at the Paris University respecting the marriage question, and who is to return thither to urge on the prosecution of the affair. The Englishman came purposely to say on the part of the King and Duke that I was quite misinformed as to the quality of those doctors who advocate the divorce at the Paris University; but, being much pressed by me to speak upon his conscience, he deprecated those doctors much more than I had done to Mr. de Norfolk, and strongly commended the doctrine of those who hold for the Queen.

The Cardinal (Wolsey) set out for his bishopric 12 days ago with a train of more than 120 horses.* He has sent his physician to me on three different occasions to vindicate his past conduct and to offer his services to Your Majesty, declaring

* "En train de plus de vi xx. chevaux."

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that though no longer possessing any power, yet knowing so thoroughly as he does the nature of men and the condition of things in this country, he thought his advice might be of use. He begged me to intercede that he might be restored to Your Majesty's favour and grace, so that every one might see here that you bore him no ill-will. I have promised to write about it, but suggested at the same time that the best thing for him to do is to give some proof, whenever the opportunity offers, that he really does feel that desire for service which, according to his physician, he so strongly professes. It can do no harm to temporize with him for a while and see how he behaves and what he will say or do, which can easily be done without his enemies getting wind of it. He has still great hope of being taken into favour again. It was thought here at one time that he would have been murdered by the people of his diocese, and that in spite of his great reputation he was quite afraid of going thither; but it appears on the contrary that he was very well received at York. He is not at all sorry for Mr. de Vulchier's (Wiltshire's) failure, but very much so that he is returning home so soon.

Since the Princess was separated from the Queen the latter has had no household of her own, being waited upon by the King's own attendants; now she has been provided with a separate establishment and a large retinue of officials and servants. Cannot guess why such favour should be granted just at this juncture, but as she is not allowed to receive visitors it may be that they intend watching her more closely than before, or that they think by such gentle means to induce her to consent to some measure which they desire.

Thanks the Emperor for his kindness, &c.—London, 23rd April 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. 23rd April."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 13.

23 April. **291.** The Same to Mr. de Granvelle.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 23.

Cannot in any way adequately thank him for the kind and cordial letters which, in spite of the mass of affairs pressing upon him, he (Granvelle) has been so good as to write to him, as well as for the many friendly services he has rendered him, for which he must ever remain his debtor and say: *cum omnia fecero adhuc servum inutilem oportet me profiteri, necessumque esse me ingratum et vivere et mori.* And as regards any delay in answering letters from England, the Emperor has now amply repaid his arrears to the Queen by this last, which has quite revived her. Though she knows very well that the Emperor from inclination, kindness of heart and duty, is bent on protecting her, she, nevertheless, feels herself in no small degree indebted to those about him who have so cordially

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worked in her behalf. The Queen greatly regrets that she has not yet written to him (Granvelle) herself, nor is she able to do so at this moment on account of the festivals now being celebrated, and also of the despatches she has been obliged to prepare for Rome, but she will not fail to do so at the very first opportunity. Monseigneur has indeed paid his debt with usury (*cum amore, sed etiam usuras usurarum*); when he (Chapuys) is told of the satisfaction which his proceedings here at this court have given at home, he cannot be too thankful for this piece of flattering kindness which can be more easily accepted than that with which he was served at Toledo and Barcelona.*

"Sed ad divertendam materiam." Monseigneur may perhaps ask whether he (Chapuys) has really ventured to say so much to the King now and on former occasions. Can only answer as a man did once to his father confessor, "Yes, Father,"† and a good many things more which he can never communicate, as there would not be time to relate them or to unravel such a Penelope's web as this. Speaks to the King just according to the mood in which he finds him. Were he (Granvelle) behind the curtains (*derriere du tappis*) he would inevitably exclaim NOVI, NOVI, ISTOS POLIPPOS. Has spared him the account of the dispute between the King and himself as to whether the King or the Queen should be first heard, not wishing to clog with a fifth wheel the heavily laden chariots of his innumerable and highly important avocations.‡

The other day the King said (though not precisely in these words) that the clemency shewn by the Emperor to the duke of Milan, and his consent to make terms with Florence, looked very much *like the abstinence of the fox of the fable who relinquished what he could not grasp*, for had it not been for the reasons and arguments he (Chapuys) adduced, which are notorious enough, *the King would have stuck to his erroneous opinions* (*içelle heresie*). Forgot to write to the Emperor that the King makes some difficulty about the king of Hungary being elected king of the Romans and would prefer the election to fall upon a prince of the House of Bavaria; also that one of the reasons which the King has for giving up his German intrigues is that he may not appear to favour the Lutherans.

Is greatly delighted to hear that Monsgr. de Savoie and Madame have so fully and honestly done their duty to the Emperor and thus afforded him an opportunity for displaying his great magnanimity and generosity. Indeed he

* "Mays la gaudisserie quant vous dittes de contentemant que lon a heu de ma negociation n'est pas de compte, cest un tourd de gentillesse, et toutesfoys yl est plus ayse a boyre (*sic*) et souffrir que ceux que lon me faysoit a Tollede et a Barcellonne."

† "Padre, ouy."

‡ "The copy has: "Je [ne] vous ay cuyde fere le discours de la dispute que heusmes sur larticle qui debuoit premier exhiber ses escrits, ou le Roy ou la Royne, pour [non] mettre la cinquiesme roue au charriotz de vous innumerables et invariables negoces." The two negations between brackets have been added to the passage for I consider them to have been involuntarily omitted by Chapuys or by the transcriber of this letter.

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(Chapuys) thinks that should the Emperor, wish to bestow landed property on some prince, it cannot be more wisely bestowed than on the Duke for many a reason, which he (Granvelle) will understand much better than himself. Thanks him (Granvelle) very much for his good offices and commendation of his person to the said Duke and his suite (*compagnie*). As to the English ambassadors he (Chapuys) does not think there was proper opportunity for doing the same, as it seems that they did not deliver either to him (Granvelle) or to others [among the councillors] the letters they had from this King. Is, therefore, glad that he was thus spared the trouble of listening to them, for in reality it was not worth it, and certainly with the exception of the parties chiefly concerned in this cause, there would have been a general feeling of satisfaction if the English ambassadors had been less favourably received than they were.*

Respecting the intentions of the French there can be no doubt that they are as bad as possible. He (Granvelle) understands their malady better than any physician in the world, *vidi et ego illorum totium ; sit honos urinantibus.* What he (Chapuys) is now writing to the Emperor will bear witness to this, at least in part, for to write all would fill a whole book (*il faudroit faire une bible*), and still leave a good debt behind and say: *de longissimo sermone malicia longior.*

This King has been informed that the Imperial commissioners have objected to receive the crowns (*escus*) of the ransom by weight in a lump as regulated by the treaty of Cambray, according to which (the French say) it is easy to calculate at once how many marks 1,000 crs. ought to weigh, and that the said commissioners would choose only the heaviest, insisting that no single crown should be below a certain weight. Spoke of this to Jehan Jocquin, who denied having made such a report, though he implied that the article in the treaty touching the weights and alloy of the crowns had been much too strictly† worded, and that neither the Emperor nor his commissioners ought to have raised difficulties or scruples in an affair of this kind. That however well persuaded they (the French) might be of their own right, after consulting accountants and bankers thereupon, they had to submit and accept the arrangement, though by this mode of payment the loss to them amounted to four per cent. He then made some rather irrelevant remarks about some protest or other of

* "Vous merciant bien humblement de loffice quil vous a pleu fere pour moy envers luy et la compagnie. Envers nous ambassadeurs je pense bien que navez heu lopportunite de ce fere, puys que [a] ce quil me semble, yl ne vouz presentarent (*sic*) ne aux autres les lettres que le Roy escrivoit. Et vous asseure que seray joyeux quayes espargnie cest poynne, cart yl ne le valloint pas ; excepte ceux a qui principallemant touche l'affere, toute la reste heust este mervellieusemant jouyeuse que les eussiez traictez beaucoupt pirement."

† "Que lon avoit par tropt subtillement couche larticle du poix et alloy des escus."

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his master's before he left Spain of not observing the treaty. This naturally led to some altercation, and there was a good deal of tilting* between us, though without irritation or excitement. Jehan Jocquin said also that Octavian (Ottavio) Grimaldo, former general of Milan, had written word that the Vayvod had assembled an army, and that seeing that Vienna was entirely unprotected thought of taking possession of it, and that the Turks had also assembled an army to invade Sicily. Cannot tell whether the news is correct or not, but Jocquin seemed remarkably glad to hear it.

Leaves his own personal affairs and the payment of his salary entirely in Granvelle's hands; has no doubt that infinite trouble is taken about them; but there are two great difficulties to be overcome: one is that the money assigned him has already been spent, and the other that it will be exceedingly difficult for him to recover it. Madame writes that she will do her best, so does Mr. de Tholowze (Thoulouse), but the latter observes that he is afraid the finances [of the Low Countries] are very low just now. Regrets so much not to have means of his own or some fixed salary on which he can depend without having to importune his master (*le maystre*) so frequently. Feels more distress at the constant trouble he is giving him (Granvelle) than at the straits to which he is himself reduced; still as he (Granvelle) is the only person on whom he can rely, he (Chapuys) entreats him to bear kindly with his frequent applications.

With regard to the second proposal (*des secondes pieces*), he would wish, as Granvelle is so good as to think of it, that the benefice was in the Low Countries. He (Chapuys) would then look out for that which has the best preferment in its gift. He is expecting the arrival of a young man, a good Greek and Latin scholar, who wishes to enter the Church, and if he should turn out as he (Chapuys) anticipates, he would like the assignment to be drawn out in his name; will shortly advise Granvelle further upon this matter.

Has delayed writing for some days, from want both of matter and messengers, and also from fear of being too troublesome; nor could he well write without receiving an answer to his preceding despatches, when the first courier came, for the letters he brought referred to others which a second messenger was to bring, and that one arrived during the Holy Week, and thus a further delay was caused, for all which he begs to be excused.—London, 23rd April 1530.

Begs to apologize to the Emperor and to him (Granvelle), for his prolixity on this occasion, which he promises to avoid in future.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

* "Sur cella nous passames quelque petite carriere et gracieuse."

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24 April. **292.** Martin de Salinas to the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 243.

To-day, Sunday, after dinner, the Emperor left Valero (?) to come to Trent. Ever since entering His Highness' territory there have been incessant rains which have refreshed the atmosphere, and made the fields look very green. His Majesty made his entry, accompanied by the Papal Legate and the cardinal of Trent, though with a very poor attendance of courtiers, owing to the very rough weather. He (the Emperor) had intended leaving behind the whole of the men-at-arms; but when close to the town he changed his mind, and made three companies follow him.

Though the Emperor had formed his plans about the distribution of his forces, his Highness' letters from Prague, and the happy news conveyed in them, have led him to make a different arrangement. The whole of the men-at-arms, five companies of 300 men each, are to be sent forward by way of Augusta (Augsburg), that they may be quartered wherever it is most convenient, and nearest to the spot fixed for the interview. They may from thence march in the direction required. They are to leave on Tuesday next, a few hours before the Emperor's departure, and will be paid to the day. As to the Germans, it is contemplated to pay and dismiss them. The Spaniards are not so numerous or well appointed as might be wished. For this reason the Emperor purposes leaving them at Trent, or in its immediate neighbourhood, until the interview takes place, when it will be decided what is to be done with them, for, as the Emperor says, they are in so small a number that if His Highness does not absolutely want them they had better remain behind until those from Florence and the Italians join them as agreed; for it would hardly seem reputable for His Majesty to go to his brother's assistance with a mere handful of men.

The Emperor intended leaving Trent on Tuesday, but both the Cardinal (Gattinara) and he (Salinas), having begged him to suspend his journey till Thursday, to give time for His Highness to arrive—the distance being greater, the roads not so good, and the train being followed by a number of women—the Emperor has consented to do so. He will leave on Wednesday, and on the preceding day will join in a sport that has been prepared for him.—Trent, 24th April 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

26 April. **293.** The Same to the Same.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 243 v°.

Wrote on Sunday last advising the Emperor's determination. This has changed since in consequence of His Highness' letters, and of those lately received from the governors (*Regimiento*) of Ispruc (Innsbruck). It is now agreed that the Spanish hackbutiers shall be dismissed. Their number, already

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very small, was likely to diminish the very moment the expedition to Hungary was announced; besides which they have no experience of war (*no estan instrutos en cosas de guerra*). Had they been sent on the people of those countries would have formed a bad idea of the Emperor's power, since he could not dispose of a more efficient set of men to assist his own brother against the Turk. To leave them behind, as the Emperor proposed, until a larger force was actually collected, would have been equally dangerous, for their want of discipline is well known, and they would have ravaged the land and harmed the country people, as they had already begun to do on their passage. For these reasons and others, which it would take too long to relate, the "Regimiento" of Ispruc (Innsbruck) advised the immediate dismissal of the Spanish hackbutiers, and the Emperor, after consulting his Council thereupon, has actually paid up and dismissed the whole force. He has, however, written to the marquis del Gasto (Vasto) to hold in readiness 2,000 or 3,000 Italian hackbutiers, well trained to war, with their corresponding officers, in case His Highness should want them.

The Emperor's departure is definitively fixed for Thursday; on Saturday he will sleep at Brizene (Brixen) where he may, perhaps, stop the whole of Sunday for the sake of Don Jorge [de Austria?] At any rate, on Tuesday or Wednesday, at the latest, he will be at Ispruc (Innsbruck). To-morrow he intends going to a bear hunt which the Cardinal has prepared for him, and next day he will depart.—Trent, 26th April 1530, at night.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

29 April. **294.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 386.

Don Miguel de Velasco arrived here on the 24th inst. with the Emperor's letters of the 17th. As Prothonotary Caracciolo, his colleague, was already in Venice, both called on the Doge (Andrea Gritti) and reported the substance of the Imperial despatches.

Wrote on the 15th inst., sending intelligence about the king of England and our conversation with the Doge. After that, on the 19th, we again spoke in the College-hall, as if coming from ourselves, when all the senators and the Doge himself agreed that the application of the King was a most preposterous one, and decided not to trouble themselves (*empacharse*) about it, or interfere in the business by allowing the case to be discussed at the university of Padua.

Mentioned likewise in the College-hall the Bagaratto* affair, and that of the prior of Barletta (Martinengo). About the former no hope was given of a favourable settlement for the

* Elsewhere written Bagherotto. No. 281, p. 490.

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claimant. The latter has been referred to Cesare Fragoso, and an answer is hourly expected. The claims of Nicolas Trapolino are still unsettled.

The 5,000 gold crowns have actually been deposited in the Mont de Pieté at Padua.

The prothonotary left for Milan on the 26th.

All the ambassadors residing here at Venice—of the Pope, king of France, England, Milan, Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, &c.—are very much discontented at the unusual manner in which they are treated. Not only have they taken from us the houses we used to have rent free, with furniture, gondolas, &c., but they make us pay taxes (*dacios*) on everything we eat, a most unusual thing, considering that hitherto we were exempt from all taxes, and that in the time of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella] the Spanish ambassadors were in the enjoyment of privileges now taken from them, and even got an allowance of 100 ducats per month for their table. His colleagues, without exception, have written to their respective courts about this, and have determined not to visit the Doge on grand occasions. Wishes to know whether he is to join them, or not, in this public disapproval of the Signory's acts, since he happens to be the first Imperial ambassador in Venice who has been subjected to the payment of taxes.

Letters have come from Constantinople, of the 28th of March, in confirmation of those of the 8th, which the Doge communicated to him (Niño) the other day. Private ones from the same city, as well as from other parts of Turkey, agree on one point, namely, that Solyman is still making preparations, though not very active or on a great scale. Last Wednesday, an agent of the community of Pagsa* who resides here came to him to say that by order of the Turk certain vessels of war (*fustas*) were being built at the castle of Obrovazo (*sic*), not far from Ragusa, with the intention, as his correspondent says, of molesting the inhabitants of that town. The same letter says that a few days since 500 Turks made their appearance in those parts, and that they are infesting the villages which the king of Hungary possesses in that province.

An ambassador from Austria is much wanted here. There are many questions of arbitrage, &c. pending with this Signory, which he (Niño) cannot discuss, being, as he is, unacquainted with their origin.—Venice, 29th April 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

— April. **295.** Luigi Alamanni to the Dieci (?) of Florence.

S. E. L. 850, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 65.

Has this very morning had letters, of the 18th inst., from the consul at Lyons and from the Emperor's court, as well as

* Evidently a mistake for Ragusa.

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from Giuliano Bonacorsi,* of the 10th. All agree that when the bills for 30,000 crs., drawn by Florentine bankers on the king of France, were about to be accepted and paid, the Pope's nuncio, a bishop of Como, of the Triulzi family, having got scent of the transaction, called on the King and on his chancellor, complaining that any assistance given to our Republic at this time would be equal to an infraction of the treaty of Cambray. The King moreover said to the Florentine ambassador† and to Giuliano Bonacorsi: "For God's sake do not press me any more on that particular subject, until I recover my sons, who are now at Victoria together with the Queen (Eleanor) and the Imperial treasurer. I have already sent thither the greater part of the ransom money, and hope that by the end of this month, at the latest, the restitution will be made. Let it be accomplished, and I will help you afterwards." Francis' chancellor, and the rest of his ministers, said the same, not without expatiating at large on the poverty of the kingdom, which, they said, had been drained of all its money.

Such is the substance of the letter received from the Florentine consul at Lyons, but I must observe that our countrymen in France have also had letters from Francesco Bardi, our consul in England, announcing that the Florentine merchants in London had had a meeting and agreed to subscribe 1,060 crs. towards the expenses of the siege, which sum, added to the 4.000 crs. previously collected, is already in Lyons, at the disposal of the Signory. But the most important service rendered on this occasion by Francesco Bardi is his interview with the king [of England] and the encouragement he received from him. He says that after a long discourse on the affairs of Florence, to which he listened with as much attention and pleasure as if he himself had been a native of our city, the King began to praise the courage and determination of our countrymen, to inveigh against the Pope and the Emperor, uttering blasphemous expressions of both, and shewing the great enmity he bore to the one and to the other. And it is not to be wondered at, for the brother of the Dame (so does Francesco Bardi always call her) having gone to Rome in the King's name, to promote the divorce so many times promised to him by the Pope, was so badly received, and got such an answer from him, that he had to go back to England suddenly. No words can describe the indignation of the English [at receiving such a rebuke]. Day and night nothing is thought of in that island save arranging matters in such a way that the English may not be obliged in future to apply to Rome for the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices and other similar matters. Bardi further relates that, having commended our poor city to the King's

* Giuliano Buonacorsi, a Florentine merchant, who according to Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, p. 358, procured, along with the writer of this letter, and with Thomasso Sestini and Ruberto degli Albizi the payment of the "Cedole del Consolato," and recovered from Francis 20,000 ducats which he owed to the Republic.

† Baldassare Carducci, who, having been dismissed by Francis, died in 1530.

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attention, the King answered: "Were it not for my wish that the sons of France should be as soon as possible restored to their father, there is nothing I should like so much as to help so just a cause as yours against such wicked princes as the Pope and the Emperor. But as soon as the restitution takes place I shall take care to prove what I say."

The consul adds that if a person of character and reputation should now be sent to England with sufficient power to sign obligations to the amount of 40,000 crs., there can be no doubt that this sum, or perhaps a larger one, might be obtained, as the King is so favourably disposed that he would himself lend the whole or the greater part of the money. I consider this very feasible, and the expedient ought to be tried at once, notwithstanding the great respect which the king of England seems to have for the sons of France; because this kingdom, being so far away from the rest of Europe, and there being no Papal nuncio at present in it, if a Florentine should go as ambassador, he might at once commence negociations for the loan before anyone was aware of it. In the meantime, either the present peace might be accidentally broken, or else, the sons of France being restored to their father, the king of England would be at liberty to help our Republic at once.

With regard to news, I have little to communicate, save that the whole of the Imperial fleet, 29 galleys in all, including those of Andrea Doria and the French, is about to sail for Catalonia in two or three days. Once at sea, it is to be hoped that the passage to Pisa will be free, and the other projects in contemplation will thereby be rendered more easy. If so, my presence at this port will no longer be required, unless the fleet returns suddenly from Spain, which is not likely, for, as Doria himself told me the other day, he expects to be back in May; and, if so, whatever may be my destination, I can easily return to my post if required.

I have not yet received an answer from Roberto de' Albizi or from Paolo Guadagni,* respecting the bills of exchange I enclosed to them. I will wait, and when the money is paid it shall be duly remitted to Pisa.†

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.‡

2 May. **296.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 1.

Has been expecting letters [from Mantua], which have come at last; has communicated to the prince [of Orange] the Emperor's orders. Perceiving the Pope's refusal to pay more than the 60,000 crs. per month, the Prince decided some time

* Two individuals of this name are mentioned by Varchi, namely Oliviero and Philippo Guadagni, pp, 153, 180, and 329. As to Ruberto degli, or de' Albizi, he also has already been alluded to at p. 522. Though slightly differing from No. 237, this letter of Luigi Alamani to the Dieci must be one and the same.

† It was Giovampagolo, or Giovan Paolo Orsino, son of Renzo, who, according to Varchi (p. 358), took the money to Pisa.

‡ The letter has no date, but was probably written at Genoa. Two copies of it are at Simancas, one sent by Muxetula on the 16th of May, the other by Cardinal d'Osma on the 26th.

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ago to disband part of his men and invest Florence more closely, so as to stop the supplies which the Florentines still receive from the neighbouring towns. To this effect he has resolved to bring 11,000 infantry on this side of the river; *i.e.*, 3,000 Germans, the 2,000 Spaniards who came last from Naples, and 6,000 Italians, after taking from each colonelcy (*coronelía*) what is over that number. For the pay of these 11,000 men there is enough with the 60,000 crs. of the Pope, but then there is the light horse most indispensable in a war of this kind, and other minor expenses will arise for which 10,000 crs. are required. The object of the Prince is to surround the city in such a manner that the enemy may no longer receive supplies from the outside. The very day of his (Muxetula's) arrival, about 600 foot and 100 horse sallied out of Florence, and having joined at Empoli another force, went together to Volterra, 40 miles from hence, and as they still hold that fortress, were able to overrun the country and bring cattle and provisions into the city. To prevent the recurrence of such acts the Prince has now decided to lay siege to Empoli, half-way between Pisa and Volterra. To this end and in order to take the burden from the shoulders of the Sienese, who could no longer bear it, and for fear so many disbanded men should get together and do mischief, the Prince thinks of sending colonel Fabricio Marramaldo against Pisa and Volterra to engage the attention of the enemy in that quarter for some days.

Cesare di Napoli has received instructions to disband his men, and so will the other Italian colonels. As to Fabricio and the "aventureros" it will be seen what can be done with them; should His Imperial Majesty wish them to go to Hungary they will be glad to serve there.

The Prince has also, in a very polite way, dismissed many hundreds of Albanese light horse and sent them to Naples, to be paid and disbanded there. He could not do it here, as he was ordered, because had they been dismissed at this place there was a risk of their taking service with the enemy, for they are Greeks and are in the habit of doing this sort of thing. However, the Florentines did not want them, nor could they all be kept here. The Prince has kept 250 of them, the best of the lot, and given to those who have left for Naples 1,000 ducats out of the money furnished by Siena.

The 1,000 Spanish foot dismissed met together the other day and threatened to mutiny. There was evidently some trick about it, for many other Spaniards on this side of the river attempted also to join them, intending no doubt to compel the Prince by their great number to give in and keep them here. On his arrival at the camp he (Muxetula) spoke in very strong terms, explaining how sorry the Emperor would be of the mutiny of the Spaniards, and what a shame it was that soldiers of that nation should refuse to serve, when they ought to offer their service gratis, &c. This and other arguments have produced good effect, for not only has the desertion

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stopped, but most of those who did desert have returned to their banners, and others have separated from the bulk of the mutineers, who are now in a village of which they at first possessed themselves. Their captains are still in treaty with them, to make them obey orders and march to Hungary, or return to Spain.

The Imperial letters of the 27th April have come to hand. The mutineers still persist in their disobedience, and although the Imperial paymaster has offered them one month's pay at Bologna, and another at Trent (for such he says are His Majesty's orders), they still refuse to move, alleging that they have not one "real in their pouches." The Prince has promised them one ducat per man if they will go, but they are obstinate and will not give in. Nor does he dare make an example of them, for, after all, they have served the Emperor well. He is still trying to bring them round, and, if so, will be able to send 3,000 or 4,000 of them, for he has here more than he wants. Cesare of Napoli is also ready to start with his 1,000 Italians; but unless a ducat per man is issued to them at starting it is not likely that they will go.

Grant to the Viceroy (Chalon) of a pension of 15,000 ducats on the treasury of Naples.

Naples and the administration.

Cardinal Colonna and bills of exchange on Naples for 40,000 ducats.

Siena.—Military preparations against the Turk.

Ansaldo Grimaldo to pay the overplus of the "decimas" or tithes.

Has spoken to the Marquis [del Vasto] and to the Prince [of Orange], and made them friends again.

Ferrante Gonzaga and his commission of captain of the light horse, just as count Potença had it. As, owing to the new arrangements made at Milan,* the post of captain which Zuccharo† held, ceases, there will be more facility for such an arrangement.

When back at Rome he (Muxetula) will not fail to complain to His Holiness of the innovations introduced by his Nuncio at Naples.

Siena pays 5,000 crs. down in consideration of Fabricio having gone away with his Italians. The men, after all, did not molest the citizens so much as was said at first, but, nevertheless, the Sienese are very contented with the bargain they have made.

Will leave for Rome to-morrow, execute the Emperor's commission, and then start for Naples as ordered.

—In sight of Florence, 2nd May 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

* "Y pues que agora cessa lo del estado de Milan."

† A Burgundian (or Albanian?) captain in the service of the Emperor, elsewhere called *Zuccaro, Suchero,* and *Chucharo.* See vol. iv., part 2, pp. 223, 560, 946, 1012, and part 2, p. 281.

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4 Mai. **297.** Rodrigo Niño to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 851.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 45.

The "fuorusciti" of Naples, who reside here [in Venice], are continually spreading most alarming rumours concerning the Emperor's affairs in Italy; Renzo da Ceri (they say) is going soon to France for the purpose of doing all the harm he can to the Imperial cause the moment that the liberation of the King's sons has been accomplished. His son (Giovan Paolo) left Naples on bad terms with him, as it would appear, but in reality with a view to assist his father in his wicked plans. He has already with him 14 Italian captains, all of whom were formerly in Puglia, and boasts that, whenever he chooses, he will cause 4,000 Italians to desert the Imperial camp, and go over to him. Six thousand Switzers (he says) will soon descend into Italy, and with that force he can at any time succour the Florentines, who have promised him 70,000 (?) ducats in bills of exchange upon Lyons.

The news of the Turk in date of the 28th March is that although the armaments go on very briskly it is firmly believed that they are intended not for this year but for the next. Later advices of 14th of April from Constantinople state that there is no rumour whatever of war for the present, and that the Turk [Solyman] is only thinking of the pageant and rejoicings that are to take place on the circumcision of his three sons.

With regard to England, the information is that the King is doing his utmost to gain the votes of the Paduan doctors through his ambassadors. No sooner did the Prothonotary (Caracciolo) and he (Niño) hear of it, than they both called on the Doge and Council on their own responsibility, and without waiting for instructions from home. Represented to them how unfriendly it would be on their part to allow such meetings to take place in the territory of the Signory. Their answer was that they were determined to prohibit them altogether, and had already intimated this resolution to the English ambassadors. Having since learned that, notwithstanding this prohibition, the English had gone to Padua and tried to do there all the mischief they could, he (Niño) went again to the Doge and complained. His answer was that he would see to it and stop their proceedings, as both their manner of negociating (he said) and the affair itself seemed to him a most diabolical contrivance. Is told that during the English agent's stay at Padua he made the acquaintance of a friar of the name of Symoneta, a very perverse man, whom he induced to go to a place 20 miles from that university, and arrange the whole affair with another friar called Fray Francisco de Lavina. Similar steps had been taken at Venice to promote a meeting of theologians; but, as before stated, the Doge and Signory will not allow such meetings. To this end the English agents had brought letters from their king to the bishop of Theati (Chieti), but perceiving that his answer was unfavourable, they procured another introduction from the bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberto), and tried, though unsuccessfully, to win the Theatine

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over to their side. In short, the English say that since they are not allowed to have the matter discussed in Venice or Padua they intend going to Bologna and holding their meeting there.

On the whole, the Signory's conduct in this affair has been most praiseworthy, because, whilst the English were trying to make the Paduan doctors vote in their favour, the Doge managed matters so well that out of six professors in that university, only one—named Mariano di Sena, the same who gave his opinion in writing more than six months ago—persists in his resolution to vote in their favour, but all their efforts in this way will be unavailing as long as the Doge keeps his promise, and since no danger is to be apprehended on this side, let the Imperial ministers keep an eye on Bologna.

The bishop of Quieti (Chieti) left the other day for Padua, to bring to trial and punish a friar who preached certain heretical propositions in a sermon; also to institute an inquiry respecting several German Lutherans who have taken shelter in that city, and who, it is said, are successfully spreading their wicked doctrines in that locality. Has himself written to the Paduans in the Emperor's name, exhorting them not to give shelter within their city to men professing and preaching such heresies. No answer has yet come, but as they are equally interested in preventing the spread of Lutheranism through their territory, has not the least doubt that a remedy will soon be applied to that evil.

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of letters of Rodrigo Niño for Miçer Mai at Rome, of the 4th, 13th, and 17th May."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3½.

7 May. **298.** The Emperor to Miçer Mai.

S. E. Div. Desp., L. 1,557, f. 49. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 9.

Our ambassador at the court of France has written to us respecting the business of the queen of England; you will see what he says by the copies of the enclosed despatches. A master of theology, named Garay, residing at Paris, has likewise written to inform us of the doings at that university, as you will see by the enclosed copies. We have written to the most Christian king of France, requesting him to procure the signatures of those doctors and theologians, who, according to the said Garay, have voted in favour of our aunt; but you and the other lawyers of the Queen's counsel, who have charge of her affairs in Rome, ought to consider that for many reasons, which cannot escape your penetration, it would be dangerous and much open to suspicion to adhere implicitly to the opinion of the said theologians of Paris, especially owing to the intrigues (*platicas*), which the king of England has been and is carrying on, and the favour he has or might have at that court. It would, however, be advisable that whilst discussing the subject with His Holiness you should tell him in our name that his nuncio at the court of France has done and is doing in this affair, as well as in all other matters concerning him and us, all that could be expected of him. This will induce His Holi-

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ness to write to his nuncio at Paris, who is well informed of the course of this affair, that he may in union with our ambassador concert measures for the success of our cause, as well as any other that may occur. You will take care to inform us as soon as possible of whatever may pass at the conference with His Holiness.—Inspruch (Innsbruck), 7th May 1530.

P.S.—Matters concerning Castille and the "quarta."*

Since writing the above the English ambassador, who resides at this our court, has asked us permission to return to Rome for the affair of the divorce, saying he has orders to do so from the King, his master, owing to a gentleman of that king's chamber coming shortly to replace him. He told us more; he said that although his general orders were to go to Rome for the divorce case, he has reason to think that he is sent thither to advocate in favour of his master, and that the bishop of London (Tunstall) was for the same reason leaving Lyons for Rome. We give you proper notice of all this that you may be on your guard, and prepare, together with the Queen's counsel, the measures and acts most conducive to her welfare, without attending to what the English ambassador there may say, or losing any time since the term of one month lately granted has already expired. The said English ambassador purposes going to Trent with his family and servants; there he will take post to Rome. Should His Holiness or any of his cardinals allude to his departure you can make a suitable answer.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

7 May. **299.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

E. L. 21, f. 227, f. 11.

Wished to dispatch Don Antonio [de Mendoza] from Trent, but press of business prevented it. On Tuesday his brother [Ferdinand] met him on the road. Was much rejoiced to see him. Travelled together to Inspruch (Innsbruck), where they arrived on Wednesday, and discussed German affairs.

To day, Thursday, letters have been received from Andrea Doria and from the ambassador at Genoa [Gomez Suarez de Figueroa]. The former would already have set sail had not the winds been contrary and the sea boisterous. In a later despatch dated the 1st the ambassador advises that Doria had actually left the port with part of the fleet, and that the rest of the galleys were to follow him soon. He has with him 29 galleys, namely, 15 of his own, 13 of France, and one of Naples. He will touch at Palamos, or at some other port on the coast of Catalonia, to collect information about the enemy (*tomar lengua*).

Provision and pay for the galleys.—Ysprough (Innsbruck), 7th May 1530.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

* About the meaning of this word "Quarta," See vol. iii., part 2, pp. 931, 976.

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8 May. **300.** De validitate matrimonii Henrici VIII. regis Angliæ cum Catherina Regina, a fratre Anselmo Vochterino, Augustiniano Vicentino.

S. E. L. 4, f. 109.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 14.

Conclusio Prima. Nullus potest secundum legem divinam nec humanam accipere in conjugem uxorem fratris sui, et quando decesserit absque liberis.

Secunda conclusio. Papa non potest dispensare, et si dispensat facit quod non potest, et quod non debet in predicto casu quando frater vellet sumere in uxorem conjugem fratris sui mortui, dato quod esset mortuus sine liberis.

Adduces his proofs and then the writer continues: "These, I believe, were the reasons and the authorities brought forward in support of the above conclusions; but I (Vochterinus) had scarcely looked over them and over the proofs when suspicion was aroused concerning me, and the paper snatched out of my hands. Everything, however, was already in writing in the hand of Francesco Zorsi, who read the whole to me in the presence of a gentleman, not an Italian, whom he (Zorsi) called "Dominus Ricardus." This latter offered me 30 ducats if I would annotate the paper in my own hand, but I, who have written thrice for the faith of Christ and the Church of Rome, refused. Saw many signatures appended to the document, and some of them quite fresh.

If Holy Mother Church bids me to disprove the above false conclusions I am ready to do so with the authority of Holy Scripture, not with the arguments of those doctors who, though very holy and very learned, are generally called "scholastics," as I did once, writing against the Lutherans and in defence of the Sacred Consistory. Saw their writings on the 4th of May 1530.

This declaration was written by me on the 8th, at the command of the most Reverend Girolamo Saledeo (*sic*), bishop of Vaison, Papal Nuncio at the Imperial court.

Signed: "Humilis servitor frater Anselmus Vochterinus, Augustinianus Vicentinus."

After this follows: Revocation by Giovan Pietro, of Vicenza, friar minor, of his subscription to a paper in favour of the divorce. Given at Vicenza on the 7th of May, addressed to Girolamo, bishop of Vaison.

Latin. Original. pp. 6.

10 May. **301.** Mai to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 851, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 20.

Wrote from Ferrara by one of Castaldo's servants advising what had been done up to that day in the affair, which they both know. Left in company with cardinal d'Osma (Fr. Garcia de Loaysa) and arrived at Rome on the 2nd inst. Found there the Emperor's letter of the 21st ult° and delivered its enclosure to the Pope.

The Pope's "advogado fiscal" is a good Imperialist. We want him continually. He it was who went to Spoletto at the time

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that a treasurer of the French was there distributing money and raising men for the Abruzzo; he succeeded in preventing the enlistment, &c. Your Lordship might address him a letter of acknowledgment as you did to the others.

Fray Felice del Prado* is the friar of Ancona, who wrote in favour of the Queen. He applied once for naturalization as a Spaniard, but it was refused to him because in reality he did not want it, being a native, as it appears, of Barcelona. He himself knows this, and therefore has not renewed his petition. He is the cousin of Dr. Coronel, and wishes for a letter to the Pope in his favour, that he may get a reserve of 500 ducats a year.

Don Juan de Borja has come here to claim the duchy of Camerino, which is held at present by a niece of the Pope,† and sister of cardinal Cibo.

Cardinal Ancona is still absent. Cannot say whether he will come to Rome this summer. We may want him for our affairs, but perhaps Your Lordship had better ignore him altogether, like Monte and La Valle.

Rome is at present full of Spaniards. Miçer Andrea del Burgo with the Countess, his wife, has just arrived.—Rome, 10th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent lord, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

10 May. **302.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 25.

Since my despatch in date of the 23rd ult°, two letters of the 9th have been received, which arrived two days ago, and yesterday the Queen was to her great satisfaction informed thereof.

I have this day waited on the King, who arrived late last evening accompanied by the Lady. After presenting him Madame's letter in favour of a Flemish physician, who some time ago suffered ill-treatment in this country, the King asked me when had I heard last from Your Majesty. Told him that my last advices were those of the 9th, wherein Your Majesty expressed gratitude for the care and affection he had shewn in the restitution of the "fleur de lis." That the objection raised by Your Majesty's commissioners respecting the release (*quictance*) given by him in your favour, and to which he himself had alluded, had not proceeded from you, who were perfectly satisfied with the terms in which it was originally

* Elsewhere "di Prato."

† Catharina Cibo [di Massa], sister of cardinal Innocencio Cibo; both were the children of Francesco Cibo, natural son of Giovan Battista Cibo, better known as Pope Innocencio VIII. Catharina married Giovan Maria Varana, after whose death, in 1527, their daughter Giulia, became possessed of the estate of Camerino. What may have been Juan de Borja's claims to the duchy of Camerino is difficult to say, unless the short possession of it in 1502, by his ancestor Cesar Borgia or Borja be considered a lawful title.

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couched, but from the commissioners themselves, and that he could easily imagine and understand from the general tenour of your letters, as well as from the trust Your Majesty had at all times placed in him, that it would never spring from you. "Indeed, I am fully convinced," I said, "that had the other conditions of the peace, or the greater part of them, been fulfilled, Your Majesty would immediately have ordered the liberation of the princes, even without waiting for the release of the 'fleur de lis' in the form and in the words demanded by the commissioners; and most certainly the Emperor would not have given occasion for the reproach that he had for such a trifle led to a rupture of the much desired peace, feeling quite sure that at the required time and place he (the King) would give the release (*quictance*) in due form." I felt justified in expressing myself in this manner now that both the "fleur de lis" and the release (*quictance*) have been sent away. I should never have dreamt of such a thing before. I then added rather drily (*ung plus secchemant*): "the Emperor is surprised at Your Highness tolerating and allowing the circulation of such slanderous reports at your court, about princes in general, and especially about one, who, like the Emperor, my master, professes the greatest esteem and affection for Your Highness." These words of mine were very acceptable to the King, for his countenance suddenly brightened, and he seemed very much pleased to hear them. He then asked me whether Your Majesty was already in Germany, to which I answered that I did not know for certain, but had no doubt you had arrived there. To his inquiries about the state of affairs in that country I replied that advices from Envers (Antwerp) stated that everything was improving, and all hoped that Your Majesty would soon make a complete and permanent reform. On this the King observed that there was a report in circulation that the cardinal of Mayence (Maintz) had taken a wife to himself, which was a very scandalous proceeding, and a bad beginning of reform. The report, he said, had been brought to London by an Englishman coming from Hungary, but comparing the date of the report and of the news lately received from Germany he had reason to believe that all was a pure invention.

Coming then to the point of the liberation of the children of France, the King said to me that he fancied that all the conditions stipulated had not been fulfilled. Replied that I was not aware of any wanting, except perhaps the restitution of the property once belonging to Mr. de Bourbon, which had not yet been accomplished. "That is a sort of thing," replied the King, "which cannot be an obstacle to the peace being consolidated," (and he said this under the impression, as he afterwards declared to me, that Your Majesty wanted a portion of that property for himself). He even maintained that there was a clause to this effect in the treaty of Cambray, but having informed him how the case stood, he praised Your

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Majesty's magnanimity in not claiming that for which you had a much better title than the Queen Mother (Louise de Savoie) as being descended from the elder branch of the family.

The King then told me that the gentleman whom he was about to send as resident ambassador to the Imperial Court, whose name was Elbi* would set out in five days.

With regard to the Crieveceur † affair the King told me that he had appointed Mr. de Londres (Cuthbert Tunstall) to look into it and report; but that he made difficulties about accepting the charge. I fancy, therefore, that nothing will be done in it (*se coulera par dissimulation*).

On taking leave of the King I asked and obtained permission to visit the Queen and the princess, who are to pass five or six days together at Richmond. I hope to go there to-morrow; indeed, had the permission been refused I should have gone all the same in disguise, the Queen having sent me word that she must absolutely see me one way or other.

The audience lasted a long time, and indeed had it not been that the hour for going to mass was approaching, and that the French and Venetian ambassadors were also waiting, it would have lasted longer. The said ambassadors were in the hall when I arrived, and were still there when I left the Royal chamber. The Frenchman was transacting business with the King's first secretary and Brian Tuke, but the subject could not be very important, for they were discussing it in a corner of the hall where the greater part of what was said could be overheard.

Whilst awaiting the King's audience I went into the apartments of the duke of Norfolk, who is now lodging at the Palace, and asked him the cause of the present convocation of prelates and theologians of this country. The Duke said that had I not asked the question he would of himself have volunteered to give me the required information, as many persons wrongly supposed, and perhaps I was one of them, that the assembly was for the purpose of discussing the Queen's case, and bringing about the new marriage. He assured me on his honour that there was nothing of the sort, the sole object of the convocation being to take measures for preventing the Lutheran heresy from entering this kingdom. It was for that exclusive purpose that the King had come here [to London], and he intended to be daily present at the meeting of the said prelates and doctors as one most competent to decide on those religious matters.‡

* "Que le gentilhomme quil envoye pour resider ambassadeur en la court de Votre Maieste, nomme Elbi, partiroit dans cinq jours." Elbi may be for Sir Nicholas Hervey.

† See above, p. 510.

‡ "Et quil me asseuroit sur son honneur que la dite assemblee n'estoit en nulle sorte pour cella, et quil ne s'en parleroit ainsi, tant seullement pour remedier que ceste peste lutherienne nentre en ce royaume, et que pour ce effayt et non autre estoit ici venu le Roy que desliberoit journellement assister avec les dits prelatz et docteurs, comme celluy que sentent (s'entend) en cieulx afferes."

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Notwithstanding the Duke's asseverations, the Queen is afraid that something is about to be attempted to her prejudice. I have, therefore, sent in all haste to Madame [Margaret] for copies of the Papal brief in an authenticated form, that it may be exhibited before the King, if necessary.* The execution of the brief took place in Flanders some time ago, but no noise has been made about it here.

The Duke shewed me to-day a letter from the Staple (*Debit*) of Callaiz (Calais) which he said contained bad news for the King. Before declaring, however, what the news was, and having protested that he would not for the world that the King heard of it, he said with much solemnity that he would communicate it to me, provided I promised not to tell the King. The intelligence received proved after all to be nothing more than the execution of the Papal brief [in Flanders] which he (the Duke) considered a bad thing (*mauvayse chose*).

The Queen, though meeting with the accustomed treatment (*oires quelle soit trayttee a laccoustumee*), is so comforted by the many proofs of Your Majesty's affection, that she is now firmer than ever in her purpose. She hopes and believes that either out of regard for his own honour and reputation, or for fear of Your Majesty, the King will not dare make the other marriage. Should it take place, which may God prevent, I suspect that the King will hastily repent, and that he will be thankful to return to his first marriage if by so doing he could be freed from his second. This was also the opinion of the Cardinal (Wolsey) and of many others, for the said cardinal would willingly have given up his archbishopric [of York] that this had been attempted two years ago, for then he could not have been better revenged of an intrigue, which has caused his ruin.†

The Duke also said he had heard that the Turk had collected powerful armaments, both by land and sea, and that the Vayvod had occupied the whole of Hungary. He greatly lamented the trouble which the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) had hitherto had, and was likely again to meet with, should the Turk return to the attack. It was, indeed, a pity (the Duke remarked) that one of the most virtuous princes that ever lived should be exposed to such troubles and dangers without being assisted by the rest of the Christian princes. Upon which, having forcibly represented to him that the danger was indeed imminent, and that the affair did not

* "La Royne craign quil ne procedent a quelque chose en son preiudice; a ceste cause pour plus grand seurte jay envoye en diligence a madame pour avoer des copies du brefz en forme auctentique pour en fere foy au Roy en cas quil en fust necessayre."

† "Et quant cella aduinse que Dieu ne veullie [je ne doubte quil ne sen repentit incontinent, et que pour rompre ce second mariage il retourneroit volentiers au premier]. Et de cest opinion ont este [le Cardinal] et plusiers autres, et vouldroit [le dit Cardinal] quil luy eust couste [son archeuesche] que cela eust este attente yl y a deux ans cart mieux n'eust yl peu estre [vange de ceste guerre qui le deffait (*sic*)]." The words between brackets are in cipher.

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concern only king Ferdinand, but all and every one of the princes in Christendom, I could not help reminding the Duke of the cold and curt answer (*la froyde et crue responce*) sent by the King when requested to give his help. The Duke replied that the vexation experienced by the King at seeing his project of a new marriage opposed in every quarter was the real cause of this, and that perhaps greater evils and inconveniences might spring up from the same source than we were aware of.

The King has not yet been officially informed of the answer given by Your Majesty to his ambassador respecting the overtures he himself once made to me,* that the suit should be limited to proving and establishing whether the Queen had, or had not, been known by prince Arthur. It has not been necessary, therefore, to speak about it. There are many persons who can give evidence on this point, but being English, and residing in this country, they will not venture to speak out the truth. The only way would be to obtain from the Pope a secret and extraordinary brief in the form I have recommended to Miçer Mai, to whom, as Your Majesty has been informed by my last, every particle of information that could be collected for the Queen's benefit has already been forwarded.

The earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) has not yet arrived. Nor has the King heard of him since his arrival at Milan on the 3rd of April, at which he is very much surprised. I hear, on good authority, that the King is very dissatisfied at his manner of conducting negociations, the Earl having given no proofs of the intelligence and ability generally attributed to him here. The King, when he first heard of the Earl's ill-success and subsequent dismissal from Your Majesty's court, was for two consecutive days deliberating whether he would or would not dispatch a courier to him with orders to return immediately to Your Majesty, for there is a rumour current that he was very rudely treated, at which people were greatly rejoiced and failed not to praise Your Majesty for it. Indeed, considering who the Earl is, and what errand he went on, everyone thinks that he might have been treated much worse.

There has been quite recently here an ambassador from the king of Scotland (James) seeking reparation and compensation for the invasions and injuries inflicted in former times upon his master's kingdom, stating, after a good many representations of this kind, that unless immediate redress was granted to his master's complaints the Scots would have recourse to war in order to obtain it. The ambassador must also have been the bearer of some message or other from the Queen Mother to this king, for having, in the presence of all his Council, made an answer, the latter said, among other things, that he was not at all satisfied at his nephew of Scotland being surrounded by

* "Sur louverture quil avoit fayt dinsister tant seullement a la probation si la Royne a este cogneue ou non du prince Arthur; pour ainsy n'a este question den parler."

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such young and inexperienced councillors, and being placed under the guardianship of a queen, who, having deserted her second husband, had now taken another. As to the war to which the ambassador alluded, he should indeed regret having to commence it against his own nephew, and against people so impoverished and ruined as the Scots were. Upon which the ambassador, either in pursuance of his instructions, or prompted by his witty and facetious humour—of which he has a considerable share—or perhaps also thinking that since war was spoken of he could not but give a martial answer, said: "If the king of England, as a good uncle, regrets the bad counsels which he says have been given to his nephew, my master of Scotland, as a dutiful nephew of the King, his uncle, regrets still more those which his councillors have given him from time to time, and of which experience has shewn the bad consequences. As to the Queen Mother, she has hitherto conducted the affairs of government so much to the satisfaction of the Scots that all to a man are ready to die for her. She cannot be blamed for her separation from her first husband, since the Holy Father and the judges of the land have approved of it; and besides, that is not a thing to be wondered at, when Your Majesty, after so long a union with such a princess as queen Katherine is now seeking for a divorce!" "In short" (he added) "the kingdom of Scotland is singularly thankful to Your Majesty for your considerate regard for its safety and welfare, much greater, as it appears, than you have for your own subjects, some of whom might also be the sufferers if things came to a rupture."* The ambassador has not had a definitive answer to his claim; he has gone home to his master to relate what he has seen and heard here, and is to return [to England] in a few days.

It is now a long time since the duke of Suffolk has been at Court. Some say that he has been exiled for some time owing to his having denounced to the King a criminal connection of the Lady with a gentleman of the Court who had already once been dismissed from Court on such suspicion. This time the gentleman had been sent away at the request of the Lady herself, who feigned to be very angry with him, and it was the King who had to intercede for his return.† Others attribute the Duke's absence from Court to other causes with which I will acquaint Your Majesty at the very first opportunity.

The King shews greater favour to the Lady every day; very recently coming from Windsor, he made her ride behind

* "A la reste que le pays dexcosse luy estoit mervellieusement tenu puys quil avoit plus grand respetz a non le destruyre quil navoit a ses gens quil pourroit perdre venant les cas en telz termes."

† "[Et dit lon quil en est banny pour quelque temps a cause quil reuela au Roy que la dame avoit este trouvee au delict avec ung gentilhomme de court], que desia en avoit autrefoys este chasse par suspicion, et ceste derriere foys lon lavoit aussy vuyde de la court a linstance de [la dite dame qui fagnoit estre fort courrource] contre luy; mays enfin le Roy a intercede [vers elle que le dite gentilhomme retournast a la court]."

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him on a pillion, a most unusual proceeding, and one that has greatly called forth people's attention here,* so much so that two men have been, as I am informed, taken up and sent to prison merely for having mentioned the fact [and commented upon it].

Some vessels have already been chartered, and there is some talk of raising 500 men to go to Ireland under the count of Quildara (earl of Kildare).

There is here one (Michiel), a native of Grave (Gravelinghes), long a servant of Mons. de Gueldres, and who has the reputation of being a great rogue (*cant varlet*), owing to which circumstance some people imagine that he is after no good here. I will have him closely watched in order to ascertain what his business is. The Master of the Horse [grand escuyer] not being in London at the time I could get no information about the man.—London, 10th May 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Angleterre, x^me^ May. Reçue le xxv^me^ a Ysbroug."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

12 May. **303.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 831, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 32.

Two days after his leaving Mantua he (Mai) arrived at Ferrara, where he overtook cardinal d'Osma, when both took the road to Rome.

Relates a conversation he had with the Duke (Alfonso d'Este).

Arrived at Rome, kissed the Pope's feet and spoke to him about different affairs. Begged him to attend to the business of Isabella Colonna, which he readily promised. Sent Don Diego and one of his chamberlains called Mentabona to fetch her. She is to live here at Rome with the wife of Jacopo Salviati, and we shall try to have them both lodged at the Sacred Palace, that the whole thing may be more secure (*para mayor seguridad*). Agents both of Ferrante and of Luigi Gonzaga are in Rome soliciting her hand for their respective masters.

Is daily expecting from Naples the money for the white steed and the census. The vice-chancellor, Miçer Sumer, (?) and the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) left for Naples.

Yesterday Giovan Antonio Muxetula arrived.

Hears that the English have made great efforts to procure opinions in Venice. Has written to Rodrigo Niño to ascertain if the report be true, and if so, to do all he can to prevent it, just as the Imperial ambassador in France is now

* "Et encoures dernierement partant duinsor (*sic*) yl la fist monter a la croppe de son cheval que [a] este chose bien nouelle, et fort nottee du peuple."

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doing. If the opinions have been obtained to ascertain whose they are.

A courier arrived from England yesterday with letters from the Queen and from the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys). Will endeavour to procure the brief they ask for.

Now that the objections raised in England are known he will draw up the case so that Your Majesty may at once send for the opinions of your own kingdoms [in Spain] where there are hosts of lawyers as good or better than the English. Begs to be excused for not having done it at Bologna, because, as he then told the High Commander and Mr. de Granvelle, he was waiting to learn what could be the objections (*dudas*) raised by the opposite party the better to meet their arguments. Copies of those objections ought to be sent to Castille, Aragon, Sicily, and Majorca, where good lawyers abound, and also to Naples. And since the king of England decides upon following this course, let him know that we are prepared and that he is as likely to lose in this as well as in the other game. Meanwhile the principal affair is not to be disregarded, and though, in his opinion, it would be best to solicit the said brief first, everything else shall be done.—Rome, 12th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cæs et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

12 May. **304.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 39.

Is ready to execute the Emperor's orders and instructions respecting the English affair, and very much flattered at the trust placed in him. The King's conduct has met with general disapprobation in this city, and both the Doge and his Council have assured him that no permission shall ever be granted to the English to consult the Paduan university about the divorce. Though the Doge's resolution was made public, the ambassador residing here for the English king has nevertheless taken his departure for Padua to procure, if he can, the private opinion of the principal doctors of that university. No sooner was he (Niño) acquainted with the ambassador's intention than he called upon the Vice-Doge and spoke to him warmly in the presence of his Council assembled for the purpose, recalling to his memory the whole affair in the very words used on a former occasion by prothonotary Caracciolo and himself, when, he (the Vice-Doge) was put on his guard as to the designs of the English and duly informed of all the circumstances of the case, as well as of the fact that right and justice were entirely on the side of the Queen. He was further told that the English ambassador, perceiving that the permission to consult the University at large as to the merits of the case had been denied to him, had suddenly taken his departure for Padua to obtain, if he could, the

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private opinions of some of the doctors whom the English had previously gained to the cause of their king by the offer of bribes, &c. He (Niño) needed not to point out the wickedness of such proceedings, for certainly no conscientious vote could be expected in a case of this nature from men previously corrupted, and who no doubt were prepared whenever called upon to decide in favour of the English king, and against the very excellent and good princess his legitimate wife, who certainly does not deserve the treatment her husband has in store for her.

Such was his (Niño's) reasoning before the assembled Council, to which he added after a pause, that as a servant of the queen of England, and not because he had instructions from the Emperor, he did not hesitate to request that an order should be sent to all doctors and professors of the Paduan university forbidding them to assemble, interfere, or otherwise give opinion in the affair without the Signory's express commands.

To this the Vice-Doge and Council assented, and having thanked him (Niño) for the information, promised to issue the order.

Such is the state of this business at present. The Emperor may be sure that nothing shall be left undone to counteract the plans of our opponents.

As to the bishop of Quieta (Chieti) there is nothing to be feared from him. On the contrary he (Niño) has persuaded him that he cannot fulfil his duties as a Christian and an ecclesiastic unless he forsakes the life of abstinence and retirement that he is leading and consents to go at once to England and exhort king Henry to forsake his errors and make peace with his Queen before the wrath of God overtake him and his kingdom: and remind him how many kings, especially in England, have lost their crowns and their lives with much less cause.

No one better for such a task than the Bishop himself, for he has been once in England, knows the Queen well, and can appreciate better than anyone else in Christendom her eminent qualities, her piety, and her virtues, which certainly do not deserve the cruel treatment to which she has been subjected for the last few years; besides which the King has more than once asked his advice in the matter. Has told him so, and likewise that it is far better for his soul and more meritorious in the eyes of God to employ himself in such a service as this than to shut himself up in a convent, and lead a life of abstinence and penance with his companions, though they may flagellate themselves twenty times a day.* Keeps continually urging him to undertake the journey, persuaded as he is that should he (the Bishop) see the King and speak to him on the subject, his wisdom in all worldly matters, his

* "Ahunque se açoten cada dia veynte vezes."

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reputation, and learning could not fail to produce an effect on his mind.—Venice, 12th May 1530.

Signed: "Niño."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Empr., our Lord."

Indorsed: "Paragraph of letter from Rodrigo Niño, Venice, 12th May."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

12 May. **305.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 851 ff. 26, 36–37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 34.

Two days after his departure from Mantua he (Mai) arrived at Ferrara together with cardinal Osma. Saw the duke [Alfonso d'Este] who expressed a wish that some sort of agreement should be made with the Pope respecting his own affairs. He (Mai), considering that it would be for the Emperor's service, if the proposed agreement could only be carried out, promised to speak to the Pope, as if the proposal came from himself. Will do so as soon as he has an opportunity, though he is told that His Holiness himself is about to dispatch to the Emperor an auditor of the Rotta, and two more lawyers, one an advocate, the other a proctor, on this very business. They are to leave eight days hence. Having inquired why so many people were sent, he (Mai) was told that in reality it was to give the embassy more solemnity, and shew how much the Pope is interested in the settlement of his differences with the Duke. This latter, on the other hand, has promised to send here a lawyer, once his (Mai's) companion at the University, with most positive orders to follow his instructions. He wishes this step to become as public as possible, because he professes that he has not, and will not have, another lord in this world but the Emperor. Some of his ministers, and especially those with whom he (Mai) was personally acquainted at Ferrara, did not hesitate to add that their master, the Duke, had now very good reasons to be discontented with France, for, besides giving his son [Ercole] a wife from whom he expects no children or consolation of any sort, it has since become apparent how very little the king of France cares about him (Ercole) or her.

The day after his arrival at Rome waited upon the Pope, to whom he (Mai) delivered the Emperor's letter, requesting him to give orders that certain business should be attended to. He promised to do so, but as these people are apt to forget, will take care to remind him.

Letters from Constantinople and La Bellona, coming by way of Venice or Naples confirm the fact of the Turk having somewhat relaxed in his military preparations.

The Pope has promised to see to the affair of Isabella Colonna. This very morning Don Diego and one of the Pope's chamberlains, named Mentabona, went to fetch her. She will be lodged here with the wife of Jacopo Salviati, and then

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apartments are to be prepared for them both in the Sacred Palace, that the affair may be conducted with greater security (*vaya la cosa mas segura*). Here are proctors of both Ferrante and of Luigi Gonzaga, so that the case will not fail for want of pleading.

Wrote on the road to cardinal Colonna to provide the white steed and 3,000 ducats, wanted for the new census of this year. Hears that everything is now ready [at Naples], so that on St. Peter's Day he hopes the ceremony will take place.

The day after his return to Rome the abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) sent to congratulate him (Mai) upon his arrival and to offer his services. On former occasions (said the Abbot) he had been so bound by alliances and so forth that his hands were tied; now that he was free he wished to be useful to His Imperial Majesty. Thanked him for his offers, and said that if His Holiness was willing to forgive and excuse him for the past, he was sure that the Emperor would not bear him ill-will, and that in future if he (the Abbot) was such as he professed to be, he would find mutual acknowledgment on the part of the Imperial ministers. Did not say more to him because it is difficult to guess what his motives may be at the present moment in thus courting our friendship, nor does he (Mai) know whether the Abbot has actually married, as the report goes, the daughter of Julio Colonna. All he knows is that just at present he is in bad odour with the Florentines for having deserted them, and also with the Venetians, and with the whole of Italy, and some add with the king of France. Will have his eye upon him, and report about his movements after duly communicating with the Pope.

Giovan Antonio Muscetula arrived yesterday. He says that the prince [of Orange] has dismissed part of his troops, and that the Florentines are gradually losing courage through it.

Carbonell, who has done good service in Naples, and lent money in times of general distress, has applied to Fornari for payment. That banker happens to be without cash just now, and has given him instead a bond (*obligation*) of the brother of the late Cesar Ferramosca, count Miniano. The latter ought to be advised of this.

Has just heard that the English are trying, at Venice, to get lawyer's opinions concerning the divorce case. Has written to Rodrigo Niño for particulars, telling him to prevent it if he can, as he hears the Imperial ambassador in Paris is doing, and if he cannot succeed to report what has taken place in that affair. Yesterday a courier arrived from England. Enclosed is the substance of what the Queen and Imperial ambassador (Chapuys) write from that country. Will do his best to procure the brief they require,* forbidding

* "Para que nadie aqui aconseje ni hable en este articulo a gratia sino solo lo que sintiere por la verdad y por la justicia so graves censuras." The rest to the end as in his despatch to the King No. 290.

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people under pain of excommunication and other censures to counsel or talk of that affair "a gratia," but only as justice and conscience demand, &c.—Rome, 12th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesaræ et Catolicæ Maiestati."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

12 May. **306.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 23.

After holding a conferenec with the prince of Orange as the Emperor wished, he (Muxetula) returned to Rome and waited on the Pope, to whom he related all he had seen at the camp, and the Prince's resolution to invest Florence more closely, so that no supplies should enter it, &c. Explained to him how the loss of Volterra* had occurred, and that it was no fault of the Prince.

The day he (Muxetula) left the camp, some companies of Spaniards among those quartered on this side of the river mutinied for their pay, and the captain of one of them, Luys de Mendoça, was killed by the Field Master (*Maestro de Campo*). Another mutiny of 1,500, also Spaniards, who were to go to Empoli, has since been put down by the marquis del Gasto (Vasto).

Has written to Naples and Genoa, to Ansaldo and Squarciafigho about cashing the bills. The Pope, moreover, has already, as he says, his contingent for June ready, and therefore things will go right enough at Florence.

Thought he should have found the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) at Rome; but it appears that wishing to arrive at Naples before the summer set in, he made a very short stay. Is sorry, for he had many things to communicate to him.

The French ambassadors told the Pope that their master had been obliged to melt down a good portion of the coin destined for the payment of the ransom owing to the Emperor's commissioners having rejected it, by which operation he has lost upwards of 60,000 crowns. Many other things have they told him, more or less false, and made many offers in order to detach him if they can from the Emperor's alliance. Only the other day they proposed to him a marriage between his grand-daughter (*nieta*) and one of the sons of the king of France;† but the Pope does not believe them to be in earnest, and wishes to know Your Majesty's will before he answers.

The abbot of Farfa has gone without the Pope's consent to take possession of certain towns and villages belonging to his

* The town was taken on the 28th of April by Ferrucci. See Varchi's *Storia Fiorentina* p. 392.

† Catherina de Medici, daughter of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino and Maddalena di Bologna, who was ultimately married to Henri III. of France. She was the niece, not the granddaughter, of Clement VII.

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brother. The Pope is very angry and intends to assert his rights.—Rome, 12th May 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant° Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Ces^ae multumque Cath^cae M^ti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

12 May. **307.** RODRIGO NIÑO to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 39.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 29.

Wrote last by Don Miguel de Velasco, who left Venice on the 28th ult° and since then by a courier of the German merchants in this city.*

(*Cipher:*) Has no further news of the Turk than those communicated in his despatch of the 7th. Suspects that the Venetians do not report to him what they know of the Infidel's real movements from fear of compromising themselves. Strongly recommends the Emperor to procure information from other quarters.

(*Common writing:*) Will gladly comply with the Emperor's instructions about the affair of the queen of England. The King's conduct towards her is so highly disapproved by this Signory and the whole of the Republic, and appears so bad to them and to him, that no opinion, he is assured, will be given in the King's favour by the university of Padua. Seeing that such was their determination the English ambassador has gone thither to take the private opinions of the principal doctors, making considerable offers to each of them, which offers, as may be supposed, will prevent the parties from deciding according to justice and conscience. On being informed of this, he (Niño) went to the College and reminded the Vice-Doge of the exposition made by the Prothonotary (Caracciolo) and by himself of the justice of the Queen's cause, advising them as their servant, and not as ambassador (for he had no commission on the subject), to forbid the professors of the University to give an opinion in the matter without orders from the Signory.

This advice was accepted thankfully, and he is assured it would be followed.

The bishop of Quieta (Chieti) His Majesty may be sure can do much good in this affair. He (Niño) is continually telling him that he will do well to leave his retirement and go to England to exhort the King to desist from his error. Has strongly urged this case upon him, pointing out the arguments he might use from the examples of kings who have ruined themselves and their kingdoms for less occasion, especially in England. Told him that he was more bound than any man in Christendom to take this task upon himself, for he knows the Queen personally, and is well aware how little she deserves such treatment at the hands of her husband; moreover the King has sought his counsel about the matter, and it would

* Probably a gentleman of the family of Velasco.

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be more acceptable to God to do what he could in this cause than remain in religious seclusion.—Venice, 12th May 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

13 May. **308.** J. DE BALBI to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. Corresp. I., p. 385.

Has mentioned his departure for Persia guided by some trusty guides "mores fiables" procured by Andrea Morezin, but soon after was obliged to change his plan and take another route owing to the Arabs he met at Cans (*sic*). After two months travelling arrived at Babylon, a city belonging to the Sophi of Persia. Spoke to the Viceroy, who offered to forward his letters, and give him an escort to the court of the Sophi. Has already got a favourable answer, from which he concludes that His Majesty's affairs in this country will have a favourable issue. The Sophi is now at the head of an army against the king of Tartary. Will make all haste to go thither, but is afraid that he (the Sophi) will no longer be at Tauris when he arrives, and that he shall be obliged to go to his camp, which is 40 miles from this place, and in these countries there are no post houses or relays of horses.—Babilone, 13th May 1530.

French. Original in cipher.

17 May. **309.** PARAGRAPH of a LETTER from GALEOTTO FONSECA.

S. E. L. 849, f. 50.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 49.

Has received letters from Gripho of the 10th inst. to say that the Turkish armament "e refredata et quasi resoluta in fumo," that the 50 sail of which Curtogoli is the admiral, were being fitted out for sea, and that some of them had gone already.

He further says that a corsair named Sessut Vassi, who is now on the coast of Barbary, is arming a good number of vessels. In consequence of which the Signory of Venice had at the Emperor's request given orders to the proveditor of her bastard galleys to go to Sicily with 10 galleys. Accordingly the proveditor sailed from Gripho for Candia on the 6th, there to meet the proveditor in command of the fleet, whence they will sail to meet the galleys of Doria, and of the Grand Master of Rhodes.

Italian. Copy. p. 1.

17 Mai. **310.** RODRIGO NIÑO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 38.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 45.

Since his despatches of the 29th April, 7th and 12th inst. nothing new has occurred except that this Signory has received letters from their ambassador at Constantinople, advising that the Turk [Soliman] has considerably relaxed his warlike preparations, and is at present very much engaged with the festivities for the circumcision of his three sons. There is, therefore, no fear of his invading any of the

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Christian estates this year. Yet such was the power and greatness of the Turk (observed some of the senators in the College-hall) that he might all of a sudden raise a considerable armament by land and sea, against which it would be well for the Emperor to be prepared, &c.

Further advices from the same quarter have been received stating that the Albanese, inhabiting the mountains close to La Belona, among whom the Turk generally enlists his infantry, had lately revolted, and that Soliman had sent against them a powerful force. Having inquired from the Vice-Doge what he knew about this, was told that the rising of the Albanese was quite true, but that the forces sent against them were considered insufficient to put it down.

At this very meeting in the college hall he (Niño) was officially informed of what had been done in the affair of the queen of England. A man had been sent to Padua with letters of credence for all the doctor-professors of the university, forbidding them to give an opinion in the contemplated divorce of the king of England from his wife. On no account were they to counsel (*conseiar*) one way or the other, for it was not fair that persons who received a salary from the Signory should judge in a matter so arduous of itself, and so injurious not only to the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, but to the person of a princess so closely allied to the Emperor as the queen of England was. The injury might also extend to the present king of Portugal (Joao), whose father [Manuel] had married two sisters,* and had obtained a dispensation from the Pope in the second degree. Matters of this sort, so closely related to the authority and power (*potencia*) of the Pope, and principally affecting some of the Emperor's nearest relatives, ought not, and could not, be discussed at a university like that of Padua, nor could the Signory tolerate that its doctor-professors should give an opinion thereupon, especially when it was known that they had received beforehand presents and money from the king of England, which implied that they were disposed to vote in his favour. The Apostolic See might be offended, as likewise the Emperor and the other princes concerned in the affair, &c.

Out of six professors five have answered that they are ready to obey the orders of the Signory, though they had been promised a great reward by the English agents. One only, Miçer Mariano, of Siena, persists in his determination, alleging that his holding a professorship at the university does not incapacitate him for giving counsel to whoever applies and pays for it. He had more than six months ago given opinion on this very case, &c.

The senators having then asked him (Niño) what was his advice respecting Miçer Mariano and how his obstinacy could

* King Dom Manuel of Portugal (1495–1521) married first *Isabella* of Castille; secondly *Maria*, both daughters of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. After the death of Maria, in 1517, he married Eleanor, the sister of Charles V.

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be conquered, he answered that they had better write to him again and upbraid him for not having immediately informed the Signory of it. He was expressly forbidden not to give counsel in a matter of this sort, so closely connected with the Holy Apostolic See, and naturally with the whole of Christendom, and with so great princes. Should he persist in his determination he ought to be ordered to state all the opinions given by the doctors, as well those in favour of the king of England as those against him, because the counsel being of this sort, His Holiness, the Emperor, and the rest of the princes concerned, will have less cause of complaint.

The senators approved and promised to follow this advice.

After this he (Niño) told them what further information he had respecting the case. The agents of the king of England (he said) had determined to apply to the Signory for permission to hold a meeting here, at Venice, of all the doctors and theologians who favour the King's views, which meeting the bishop of London (Stokesley) and all the King's ambassadors who have had anything to do with the divorce suit, will also attend. It was for the Signory to think beforehand of the answer they would give to such application, for it would certainly be made unless the rebuke received from the University caused the King to change his mind. The Vice-Doge and all present thanked him for the information and promised not to allow of such meeting or anything else that may be injurious to the Queen.

Hears also that the agents of the king of England have again asked the bishop of Quieta (Chieti) to state his opinion in this case; and have brought him letters from his friends inviting him to do so. His answer has been such as might be expected from a man of his learning and parts, namely, that he is considering and studying the affair that he may speak of it in a manner favourable to the Queen. He (Niño) still urges him to go to England, and to conceal as much as possible what his ideas are on the subject, for fear people should say that it is not his own conscience and the King's iniquity that take him thither, but the Emperor's interest. However, he has been unable to dissemble, and as he has flatly refused to counsel for the King, the solicitations of the English agents are now directed to prevent his counselling for the Queen: such at least was their request the last time they spoke to him, which was on the 12th inst.

The same people are trying to procure the opinion of a Franciscan friar of the name of Francesco de la Vina, a native of this city, and who resides now 20 miles from hence. No sooner did he (Niño) hear of it than he called upon the bishop of Civittà di Quieta (Chieti) and informed him of the fact. The bishop advised the friar not to mix himself up with affairs of this kind. Cannot tell what the answer has been.

In the case of this friar and other private lawyers whom the English agents are endeavouring to gain over, he (Niño) has not thought fit to interfere or inform the Signory;

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because as they receive no pay from Venice nobody can prevent them from giving an opinion, but as they will not have the authority of the Paduan university it does not matter much.

Before the Signory had informed him of the provision made for this purpose and the answer made by the doctors, he learned that they complained bitterly, saying that they had been cheated; the doctors had taken their money and now refused to give their opinion.

Hears, however, that the meeting of these doctors has been fixed for Bologna.

The bishop of Civittà di Quieta (Chieti) left this on the 15th for Padua, by the command of His Holiness, and also of this Signory, to report about certain heretical propositions which a friar preached there during the Holy Week. He is likewise intent upon ascertaining what sort of a life a German leads who has lately gone thither with his wife and children, and is suspected of being a strong Lutheran. Should he ascertain anything about him he will not fail to apprize the Signory, that he may be punished according.

News has come that Barbarroxa was in sight of Alicante the other day with 40 fustees; a most furious storm surprised him, and he lost six of his vessels.—Venice, 17th May 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

17 May. **311.** The Same to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 30–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 62v°.

Has written to the Emperor through Don Miguel de Velasco. The "fuorusciti" of Naples, who reside here in Venice, do nothing but boast and spread all manner of bad news. So does Renzo da Chieri (Ceri), who openly says that he is going to France to do all the harm he can [to the Emperor] as soon as the French princes are delivered from captivity. His own son had left apparently in disgrace, but in reality to forward his (Renzo's) projects. He had with him 14 Italian captains, of those who had served in Pulla (Puglia), and boasts that he can cause 4,000 of the Italians, who are now serving the Emperor, to desert. Six thousand Switzers will join, and the entire force shall be sent to the relief of Florence, the besieged having furnished bills to the amount of 70,000 (?) ducats on Lyons. Of all this the Prince has been duly informed.

News of the Turk, &c.

On his return from Padua, whither he had gone on a mission of his king, the English ambassador called on a friar named Symoneta, a very bad man (*mal hombre*), after which he attempted calling on another friar, Fr. Francisco de Lavina (*sic*), who resides 20 miles from Venice. This, however, he could not accomplish. The same ambassador has been contriving to get lawyers to subscribe certain papers in favour of his master,

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but the Signory is so opposed to this that it will not be allowed. The English have likewise tried to gain over the bishop of Theati (Chieti), for whom the ambassador brought letters of introduction from their king. As the bishop did not answer them they [the ambassadors] called again with letters from the bishop of Verona (Gianmatheo Giberti). Finding every door shut against them here they are now about to try Bologna.—Venice, 17th May 1530.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

17 May. **312.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 38.

Hears that the Doge and Council have, according to promise, dispatched a secret messenger to Padua with executorial letters to the doctors and professors of that university, forbidding them entirely to counsel or give opinion in the affair between the king and queen of England, as it was repugnant to the Signory (said the letters) to allow people who received a salary from Government to mix themselves up with such an arduous undertaking, so injurious to the authority of the Apostolic See, and to the interests of a princess so closely allied to the Emperor, one which affected equally the king of Portugal, who, besides being nearly related to the Queen, had himself been married by Papal dispensation under the same degree of consanguinity. This being a sort of thing which affected singularly the authority and power of our Holy Father, as well as the honour and reputation of His Imperial Majesty, the Doge and Signory could not possibly tolerate that doctors and professors in the pay of their treasury should give opinion in an affair of the kind, especially knowing, for it was public and notorious, that they had received grants and money, which excluded all idea of impartiality and justice on their part.

Out of six professors five of them answered that they were willing to obey the Signory's orders. They had, it was true, been engaged by the English ambassadors, and promised their co-operation; but since the reasons adduced were of such nature, and the affair itself one of such importance, they would get out of the engagement as honestly as possible. The remaining one, whose name is Mariano di Sena, still persists in his resolution not to abide by the decision of his colleagues. He alleges that, although a professor at the university of Padua, he cannot be prevented from giving counsel to whomsoever pays him for it. He gave his opinion in writing more than six months ago, and could not retrocede.

Having been asked by the Doge and councillors what was to be done with so obstinate a man, he (Niño) suggested that he should be told how wrongly he had acted in this business by not informing the Signory of the attempt made by the English the moment he heard of it; and warned not to deliberate or counsel in future in affairs of this kind, concerning

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especially the Holy Apostolic See, and consequently affecting the whole of the Christian community, and principally such mighty princes as those above mentioned. Should he still persist in his idea of expressing his own private opinion on the subject, he was positively forbidden to do so in writing, unless he took care to embody also those of other doctors consulted, whether in favour of the King or of the Queen: this being the only mode calculated to give the Council, the Pope, and the Emperor less ground for complaint.

The Doge having assented to this proposition, he (Niño) proceeded to acquaint him with more facts, which had come to his knowledge since their last interview. Told him that the English, seeing themselves baffled in their purpose, were determined to ask the Signory's permission for all doctors of the party, who approve of their master's divorce, to meet here, at Venice, together with the bishop of London and the rest of the ambassadors or agents who have hitherto taken part in the affair. Pointed out to him the danger of allowing such a meeting to take place in this capital, in express contradiction to his own orders about Padua, and warned him against such an attempt, that he might prepare his answer accordingly. The Vice-Doge was thankful for the information, promised to refuse the petition of the English, when made, for as before stated, the conduct of the King and of his ambassadors in this affair has met with general disapprobation. So far the plans of the English ambassadors have been defeated; but, nevertheless, the bishop of Quieta (Chieti) still continues to be the object of their importunities. They surround him on all sides, bring letters from his most intimate friends, and press him to take up the affair and give his opinion in writing. His answer to their application is such as might be expected from a man of his wisdom and parts, and who is also a faithful servant of the Emperor. He absolutely declines all their offers, and yet expresses himself in moderate terms, avoiding as much as possible all that might make them suspect that he is entirely on the Queen's side. He (Niño) keeps pressing him to undertake the journey to England, and shew by his words and conduct that he disapproves the King's wicked doings, and is attached to the Emperor's interests. But though he has strictly followed his (Niño's) advice, it would appear that he has not succeeded in concealing entirely his attachment to the Queen, for lately the English ambassador, suspecting something, has requested him that since he cannot make up his mind to counsel in favour of the King, he should not take up the Queen's part openly. Such at least was their proposal when they called upon the Bishop on the 13th instant.

The same ambassadors are trying to get sight of an opinion delivered by a Franciscan friar named Fra Francisco de Lavina, a native of this city, but who resides now at a place 20 miles distant. No sooner was he (Niño) informed of it

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than he called upon the Bishop and begged him to write a letter to the friar, bidding him to excuse himself, and have nothing to do in the affair. Cannot say whether an answer has come, nor how it is couched.

Respecting the said Franciscan and other private lawyers and theologians, whose opinion has been or may hereafter be solicited by the English ambassadors, he (Niño) has not considered it prudent to interfere, inasmuch as not receiving a salary from Government, they cannot be prevented from giving counsel to whomever applies first and pays for it. But as such opinions cannot possibly have the authority and force of those delivered by doctors and professors at such a renowned university as Padua whatever counsel the English can procure in this way will be of little use to them.

Must not omit a circumstance which shews how disappointed the English have been, for some time before he (Niño) was officially informed by the Vice-Doge and the Council of the preventive measures taken at Parma, the said ambassadors began to complain most bitterly and in public of the manner in which they had been treated by the Paduan doctors, who, they said, had taken their money beforehand, and now refused to give counsel.

Has just learned that there is some idea among the English of transferring to Bologna the meeting of doctors which the Signory will not allow here in Venice. Miçer Mai at Rome has been advised of it, that he may tell the Pope and be on his guard.—Venice, 17th May 1530.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "From Rodrigo Niño, the ambassador at Venice, 17th May 1530."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

19 Mai. **313.** Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 50.

Wrote yesterday by Paolo, a secretary of the count of Potença. Nothing new to report except that the prince of Orange writes to say that as the 40,000 ducats remitted from Naples will only pay the force now [before Florence] up to the 15th of June, money must needs be provided for another month's pay. The siege might last longer than was anticipated, especially if the men do not receive their stipend regularly.

Florence is reduced to extremities (*muy estrecha*). If the marquis del Guasto succeeds in Empoli the city will be reduced to the last extremity, for it is almost the only place whence they receive men and provisions. Marramaldo has closely invested Volterra, thus preventing the Florentines and Pisans inside the place from scouring the country. The same is being done with respect to Pisa.

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The marquis del Guasto has determined to remain, notwithstanding the leave of absence he lately obtained. He has made his peace with the Prince and gone to the undertaking of Empoli. Gonzaga is absent on leave at Mantua but has promised to return soon.

The Pope's Nuncio at Naples.—Rome, 18th May 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant° Muscetula."

Addressed: "S. Ces^{e} et Cath^{ce} M^{ti}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

22 May. S. E. L. 851, f. 27.

314. Miçer Mai, Imperial Ambassador in Rome, to the Emperor.

Two English ambassadors are shortly expected here at Rome to take up the divorce suit instituted by their king. May it be so, for if they come and commence judicial proceedings there can be no doubt that we shall gain our cause. It is said that they will be here within three or four days. Immediately after their arrival will not fail to apprize the Emperor of their doings.—Rome, 22nd May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from Miçer Mai of the 22nd May 1530."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

23 May. Arch. de l'Emp. Neg. Pap. de Sim. L. 1,483, No. 47, f. 53.

315. Dr. Garay to the Emperor.

Has been unable to obtain, notwithstanding the assistance lent him by the Imperial ambassadors, the signatures of the doctors and theologians who concluded in favour of the queen of England. The opposite party, however, enjoy so much favour at this court, and have, moreover, employed such means of seduction, money, prayers, and importunities that they have been able, as the report goes, to obtain no less than 35 signatures in their favour, among which are four or five of doctors who had formerly subscribed a contrary opinion. This will convince His Imperial Majesty of the violent and unruly (violento y desordenada) manner of negociating these people have. Is much afraid that they will end by causing the whole Faculty of Theology to assemble, and as half the votes are in their favour, and besides they are all powerful at Court, may prevail on them to decide for that which the king of England wants most. Thinks that in order to parry such a blow it would be advisable for the Pope to issue a brief annulling the said signatures, and whatever else has been done hitherto against the queen of England, since it is decidedly against the authority and prestige of the Holy Apostolic See. The brief might enjoin to all universities, doctors, and private persons under pain of excommunication not to meddle in an

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affair so scandalous and so much commented upon in the taverns (*bodegones*) of this capital. Indeed the scandal has been so great in Paris and in other universities of France that he (Garay) would rather live among the Turks than witness such a spectacle.

Should the ecclesiastic, who is to bring the brief post haste, be a man of letters and authority, capable of instituting an inquiry into the acts of these people, much might be gained for the justice and honour of the Queen. Fancies that the Pope cannot refuse to grant a brief of this sort, especially when, as reported, he has sent a message to the King to restore conjugal rights to his Queen under pain of excommunication.

Begs and entreats the Emperor to attend as soon as possible to this, because any delay under present circumstances might prove exceedingly injurious to the affair. If his advice is followed a letter might be written to say so, and perhaps powers to be drawn out for him to follow up the affair, for not unfrequently he has been asked what his business is in an affair of this kind. Had he had such powers as are required he does not hesitate to say that four months before these people began their game he (Garay) would have remitted to Court the signatures of the doctors, and perhaps also the conclusion of the faculty in due form with the university's seals, &c. But a Spaniard without letters [of credence] or authority has very little chance in a capital like this; every-one is against him.—Paris, 23rd May 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

Addressed: "A la Sacra, Cesarea, Catholica Majestad del Emperador nuestro Señor, en Augusta."

24 May. **316.** Pope Clement to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 55.

Such are his love and esteem for the Emperor that he would not for the world conceal any fact or intelligence likely to be injurious to his interests, which course he sincerely hopes the Emperor will carry out towards him. The fact is that he (the Pope) has received information from Spain to the effect that some of the Spanish grandees and others grumble at his long absence and are discontented with the government of the Empress Isabella, or rather of those persons who compose her Council. Should the Castillian nobles imagine that they can find favour either with him, who is so much bound to His Majesty, or with the king of France and others, they might attempt some revolutionary movement, inasmuch as Prince Philip, having been sworn, and the Constitution of the Spanish monarchy requiring the King to reside in Castille, this might afford them a plausible excuse for any change.—Rome, 24th May 1530.

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

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25 May. **317.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 47.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 56.

After his despatch of the 17th, giving an account of what has passed here [in Venice] respecting the English affair, he (Niño) was informed that the bishop of Vasone (Vaison), the Pope's grand steward (*majordomo*), on his return from the Imperial court went to Vincenza, where he learned the doings of the English agents with the doctors and theologians of this country. He spoke to them and told them how wrong they were in taking up the King's case, bad and detrimental as it was to Christianity and to His Holiness. Those to whom he (the Bishop) could speak were easily converted from their bad purpose; to others he wrote in the strongest possible terms saying all he could to induce them to change their opinion. One of the doctors gave him the conclusions which the King wants to be maintained and voted, as well as a copy of all the allegations made in his favour. Encloses the whole that it may be seen and examined by the doctors whom His Majesty may be pleased to appoint, for in these things it is always useful to know before-hand what the contrary party allege. The Bishop has done more, he has caused one of his friends, a great lawyer* and they say a good servant of the Emperor, to write a paper against the opinion of the English king. This, however, he would not shew, or mention the author's name until the Pope saw it first. This being done he has promised to let the Imperial ambassador at Rome have it that he may forward it to Court.

The Bishop left this for Rome on the 23rd. He takes the road to Bologna that he may do in that city all that is required for the success of this affair. The Emperor might write him a letter of acknowledgment for certainly he is a good Imperialist. These English agents are doing such things that it is impossible to find appropriate terms to describe them; they are continually looking out for people who can counsel in these matters, and there is no Jew or Christian whom they do not solicit and bribe to gain their object. Yet with all this they are not over satisfied with their success. All of them have met at Bologna. To-day prothonotary Casale, the English resident ambassador at this Court, has arrived. He is the same who was in company with Ricardo, the solicitor, who went about getting the opinions of Padua and of all this territory (*comarca*), and with all the Jews here and at Bologna (*y con quantos judios aqui y en Boloña ay*). The first thing they tell them is that both the Pope and the Emperor are very glad that the affair is to be disputed, and that after that their King will grant them more favours than they can wish for.

The bishop of Civittà di Quieta (Chieti) has returned from Padua. He is quite concerned at the spreading of the

* "Á un grande hombre su amigo;" probably Vochterinus. See above, p. 529.

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Lutheran doctrines in the dominions of this Signory. Has found much sympathy and good-will in the Doge as well as in some of those who hold the reins of government here, though he has met with so much coldness on the part of others that he does not know what to do (*que no sabe que se haga*). He (the Bishop) wants Niño to speak to the Signory about it in the Emperor's name. Has promised to write home on the subject, for although he knows that no one in this world desires the destruction of the Lutheran heresy as much as His Imperial Majesty, yet as the Emperor is now engaged in war against the Turks he wishes to consult him first as to the form in which the application to the Signory is to be made. Meanwhile he has exhorted him to continue his exertions, assuring him that they will be most acceptable to the Emperor. The poor Bishop (*el pobre hombre*) perceiving the great injury that is being done [to Christianity] is determined to solicit the Signory to promulgate a general edict in this city and in the territory of the Republic commanding under severe penalties that all those who possess books of the Lutheran sect shall bring them to a certain public place here to be burnt, and that in future no one dare approve the doctrines of Luther by word or deed under pain of confiscation of property by the Camara (Fiscal Chamber). This for the first offence, if he should repeat it he is then to be condemned to the stake. The same punishment to be incurred by those who being aware of the existence of such heretical books or persons do not denounce them within so many days.

Such are the terms of the edict which the Bishop wants the Signory to publish. Doubts much of his success, for although the Doge and some of the senators hold this to be a pious work, so many votes are required in favour of the motion that it will be almost impossible to pass it in Council, especially if the said senators think that they may lose one single vassal through it. Is the more inclined to believe this because, notwithstanding the many entreaties made by prothonotary Caracciolo, Mons. de Currières, and himself (Niño) to the Doge, not to permit Lutherans and other heretics from the estates of the king of Hungary, to take refuge in Venice and its territory, the Doge would never promise to do it. Mentions this that the Emperor may at once send him instructions how to act, because, though anything undertaken against Lutherans cannot fail to be highly meritorious in the eyes of His Majesty, yet he (Niño) dares not join in the application without a special mandate. Has, nevertheless, encouraged the Bishop to persist in his demand, because the thing itself is very important, especially in a city of this sort, inhabited by people who live in complete freedom.

To-day the Signory have letters from their ambassador in France, dated Angoulême, the 18th inst., saying that the delivery of the sons of France is delayed. The French ambassador in this city has also letters from his king con-

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firming the fact. Indeed, some of the Venetians who still adhere to the French party give out that the cause of all this delay is that the Emperor does not wish to keep his engagements towards the King, whereas the latter has completely fulfilled his: and that it is the Pope who persuades His Imperial Majesty to act in this way and delay the liberation until the affairs [of Italy] are quite settled and Florence reduced. His answer to those who hold such language has been that neither the Pope nor any other person in the world can prevail upon the Emperor to disregard his engagements, and that immediately after the fulfilment by king Francis of the terms of the treaty, the liberation of his sons will take place. It is also added that the Constable of Castille (Pedro Fernandez de Velasco) has removed the Dauphin and his brother to a place 13 leagues in the interior of Spain. To which he (Niño) has answered, "If the news be true it must be owing to the delay in the fulfilment of the conditions and that the Princes may be better lodged and entertained, Fuentarrabia and its immediate neighbourhood being a poor mountainous district without any accommodation and where provisions are scanty. No other cause can be assigned for it."

It has also been rumoured that the Emperor does not choose to deliver the sons until their father has consummated matrimony. His reply has been that he (Niño) cannot believe this, for in granting his sister to the King the Emperor thinks he has conferred upon him the greatest boon that ever one prince bestowed on another, and therefore such an idea could never cross his mind.

The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) has also come to Venice to solace himself, as he says. He arrived this morning. Was about to visit him when one of his secretaries called to say that he has come incognito, and will see no one for the present. The duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) and the marquis of Mantua are also daily expected, and what with this and with the coming of the others (*estotros*), who are said to have also promised to be here, the minds of these people generally inclined to speculation are sensibly affected, and conjectures of all kinds abound. Nor is the Papal Legate less moved than the rest, suspecting that the duke of Ferrara's arrival in Venice has something to do with His Holiness, so much so that he has actually set spies upon him in order to see whom he visits and what he is about.—Venice, 25th May 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

26 May. **318.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 30–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 60.

On the receipt of the Imperial letter of the 7th, he (Mai) called and communicated its contents to the Pope, as well as the copies of those sent by the Imperial ambassador in France. Failed not at the same time to commend the services of his

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Nuncio in that country, and the Emperor's acknowledgment of them. The Pope answered that his Nuncio could not do less; he was in every way opposed (*era parte contraria*) to cardinal Trivulcio, and besides was also dependent on the duke of Milan.* He would in future continue to do good service, not only because he had orders to that effect, but also of his own free will. His Holiness promised to address a brief to the King, or if not to him, to his Nuncio in France, begging him not to allow the lawyers (*letrados*) of Paris to discuss matters injurious to the queen of England, and derogatory of his Papal authority and power, merely through the unfounded reports of the English.

Has also obtained the Papal brief which the Queen has lately applied for to the effect that nobody shall, under pain of excommunication, judge, allege, counsel, procure, solicit, or otherwise speak "á complacentia o gratia," of this matter of the dissolution of matrimony between the King and Queen, unless it be as God and his conscience may dictate. The brief itself is herein enclosed; a duplicate shall be forwarded to the Queen, in such a form that it may be published in any churches that may be selected for the purpose in England, and as many as required to Spain, Flanders, and other countries, for it contains a clause giving the copies the same authenticity as the original.

Suspected that the English agents intended meeting at Venice. Wrote accordingly to Rodrigo Niño about it. His answer was that he would prevent their meeting there, and at Padua, but could do nothing if they eventually chose Bologna for their meeting place. Waited again upon the Pope, who owned that the English ambassadors had really attempted to hold a conference in that city, but had been prevented by the governor, who refused them permission. He (the Pope) would again write to his Legate on the subject. These colleagues of Casale as they are clever and bold, and have money in abundance from the king of England stir much in the matter.† Intends writing to Lope de Soria, at Siena, to confer upon the case with the lawyers of that Republic, and principally with Miçer Philippo Decio, nowadays the most able lawyer in all Italy.

The Pope has had a letter from the bishop of Vaison, now at Venice, informing him how a friar had shewed him certain conclusions he had made and signed in favour of the king of England, and against the Queen, or rather against His Holiness, conclusions which other doctors had subscribed and signed with their names. The Bishop exhorted the friar not to hand them over to the English, and so worked upon him that he actually gave them up, and they were torn in his very presence. The Pope was very glad to hear the news, though it

* "Y que depende tambien del duque de Milan."

† "Estos de Casal como son algo resabidos y tienen dinero del Rey de Anglaterra, hasen estas diligentias."

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must be said that the last reports from Venice about Joan Matheo (Gianmatheo Giberti) have rather alarmed him, and that he seems to think there is no truth in them. He (Mai) has done in this matter what he considered his duty, that the Pope may know whom he can and whom he cannot trust in this affair.*

Was told by His Holiness that the bishop of London (Stokesley) and Dr. Benet are daily expected. They have written to say that upon their arrival [at Rome] His Holiness shall acknowledge their master's good intentions. Cannot guess what the English mean by this, unless it be that they consider it a worthy act (*buena obra*) on their part to be contented that the case be judicially tried (*verlo por justicia*). As they will most probably arrive the day after to-morrow, he (Mai) is waiting to begin and prosecute the case (*introducir y proseguir la causa*).

As the Pope is naturally good-natured (*bueno*), he believes without difficulty whatever sounds well for his interests (*lo que quiere sonar en bien*). So he tells him (Mai) that he hears that various marriages are about to be contracted in England between parties of whom he has not the least knowledge, or whose names he has completely forgotten. In fact the substance of the news is that Boulan (Sir Thomas Boleyn) begins to despair of ever being able to bring about this marriage, and consequently that the King has given his mistress certain estates for her maintenance. He (Mai) has no such news either from the Queen herself or from the Imperial ambassador. As soon as he gets any he will not fail to apprize the Emperor thereof.

Cardinal Ægidio has sent to say that he wishes to study this matter of the divorce. He ought to be written to, for he may be useful hereafter in this and other things.

Should the case be tried here this summer, the presence of cardinal Ancona will be indispensable, especially as neither cardinal Campeggio nor auditor Aragonia is now in Rome. He himself is away, and not expected till next September. The Pope has been spoken to and has promised to make him come; a letter from the Emperor might perhaps be more efficacious.

Cardinal Caietano (Gaetano) is very well disposed, and says that when the adversaries hear his arguments they will be obliged to confess that he is in the right. This, notwithstanding, he (Mai) cannot help thinking that it would be advisable to send us here some experienced lawyer to plead this case; for the count della Mirandola resides on his estate, and it is doubtful whether he will ever come; Montes de Oca, though he affirms that he will come when required, is half prevented, for being on bad terms with the Pope, it is not to be supposed that he will be allowed to plead.† If

* Y a mi me basta haverselo dicho, porque en esta causa sepa de quien se ha de fiar."

† "Es medio impedido por que el Papa viviendo con él de mala gana [no] consiente que se declare."

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Doctor Ortiz,* residing in Paris, of whom the bishop of Burgos† and the Sieur de Granvelle speak in the highest terms, as of an eminent lawyer were to come here, he (Mai) has no doubt that much might be gained.—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To his most Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

26 May. **319.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 32-3. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 75.

The Emperor's last letter of the 7th inst. contained two principal points, namely, instructions respecting the marriage of England, and brief for the "Quarta." To the first a full answer has been sent in another despatch of this date.‡ Respecting the brief, it could not be made out so soon as was thought, but has been sent since. Recommends Evangelista, who in conjunction with secretary Sanga and the Datary, has used all possible diligence in this affair.

The Turk is not likely to stir this year. His 40 galleys signalled about Cape Mallio, we hear by letters from Messina of the 9th inst., were bound for Alexandria, there to promote the election of a new governor.§

[*Cipher:*] However this may be, the Imperial ambassador in Venice (Rodrigo Niño) writes to say that he will not vouch for the truth of this report, because it comes only from the Signory. He recommends spies. The Pope is of the same opinion, and thinks the coasts ought to be well protected in case of an attack by sea.

Six cardinals have been chosen by His Holiness, two of each order, *i.e.*, two bishops, two presbyters, and two deacons. He says that he expects shortly the English ambassadors, and also Miçer Andrea del Burgo, and that soon after their arrival the conferences will begin.

Florence is in the same state. They hope to reduce it by famine. Believes that His Holiness is mistaken in this, for from what he (Mai) hears here, and what Lope de Soria writes from Sena (Siena), they have at least wheat if no other provisions to last till the end of August. The marquis del Vasto has been unwell; but yesterday a letter in his own hand was received saying that he was much better. Fabricio Marramao with his men went to the very gates of Volterra, and attempted to take it by storm; he wrote to the Pope asking for money, but since then no more has been heard of him. The Prince [of Orange] on the other hand made a reconnaissance upon Empuli, another place whence the

* Dr. Pedro Ortiz, whose services were secured, and whose interesting despatches from Rome will be published hereafter.

† Don Iñigo de Mendoza.

‡ The preceding No. 319, for Mai was in the habit of writing two or even three despatches by each post, one exclusively relating to the divorce case, the others on general affairs.

§ "Para dar calor á la election que se hauia de hazer de un nuevo regente."

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Florentines are in the habit of receiving supplies secretly. It is confidently hoped that he will soon take it, for having met on the road thither five companies of infantry, which Pisa sent to their assistance, the Prince attacked and routed them. Owing to which the son of Renzo de Cheri [da Ceri] who was supposed to have gone thither from Venice, in order to take the command of that force, is no longer to be feared, for up to the present he has been unable to raise 200 men.

(*Cipher :*) By intercepted letters the Pope has intelligence that both in France and in England the respective kings have given very good hopes of succour to the Florentine ambassadors after the restitution of the sons of France; and that the king of the latter country in particular was to give them 30,000 ducats in bills of exchange, &c.

(*Common writing :*) With regard to Isabella Colonna and her marriage, cardinal Osma and he (Mai), on the receipt of the Emperor's letters, failed not to wait upon the Pope, and inform him of His Majesty's intentions in that affair. Were she really the wife of Luigi Gonzaga, as it has been asserted, the Emperor did not wish to take her away from him. If she was free to dispose of her hand he begged His Holiness to assist in her marrying Fernando Gonzaga. For no other person would the Emperor grant his consent. Upon which Don Diego being of opinion that she should be sent for, she actually came [to Rome], but it appears that the lady is very determined to marry Luigi Gonzaga,* to whom she was actually engaged. Three days ago it was agreed between the Pope and him (Mai) that she should be taken to the castle [of Sanct Angelo]. She complained, but he (Mai) sent her word that she had better do what the Pope wished. It appears, however, that she has since gained her point, for the Pope perceiving her reluctance, and not wishing to use violence, has allowed her to remain where she is, though certain precautions have been taken, in consequence of which she has not the same liberty as before; but after all, marriages must be voluntary. The idea of taking her to the castle was only to guard her against a surprise of Ascanio and the Colonnese.

The Pope the other day intimated that if he found Isabella Colonna to be really the wife of Luigi Gonzaga he would at once send her under escort to her estate of Fundi, that she might take possession of it;† but as the proposed measure might be attended with serious inconvenience, owing to the Colonnese being so angry with her, he (Mai) requested the Pope to desist and gave his reasons. The Pope promised to do so. Luigi Gonzaga is daily expected here, but on the

* "Paresció á Don Diego hazerla venir aqui, y ansi vino, y parece ser que la señora està muy determinada en su scedula, y en lo de Luis Gonzaga." The original deed signed by Isabella and three witnesses (Francesco Boccalini di Mantova, Paris Biondo, and Giachetto Faviseno) on the 16th of April 1528, wherein she promises not to marry any other man but Luigi Gonzaga, has been published by Ireneo Affo in his *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte*, Parma, 1780, p. 75.

† "Que la imbiaria con buen recabdo á su Fundi para que alla ella se lo tomase."

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other hand Ascanio wants Isabella to marry his son, and has written to the Imperial ambassadors about it.

It must be said that between Ascanio Colonna and cardinal Pompeo a disagreement actually exists—owing, as some people say, to various causes, but principally to this marriage of his own niece (Claudia), the daughter of Julio Colonna de Montefortino, to the ex-abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino). It is generally believed that the marriage has already taken, or will soon take place, for when the ex-Abbot last came [to Rome] for some undertaking of his own, men from that town [Montefortino] bearing the colours of Claudia Columna (Colonna)—for such is the name of the betrothed—came with him.

At the Pope's request, and having previously consulted cardinal Pompeo and Il Muxetula thereupon, he (Mai) wrote a letter to the Cardinal at Naples, privately informing him of the rumours afloat, as well as of the general impression that the marriage, though apparently brought about by the mother of the lady, was no work of her's, but of the Cardinal and of the Colonnese. That His Imperial Majesty disliked transactions of this sort, and could not see such a marriage with pleasure. The Cardinal, has answered, thanking him (Mai) for the information, and assuring him that the marriage will not take place. He has, moreover, enclosed a letter for the ex-Abbot, which we have read; but as he (the Cardinal) alludes in it to a mandate from the Emperor, forbidding the said union, and copies also paragraphs from that addressed to him on this subject,* it has been considered best not to forward Colonna's letter, for fear the ex-Abbot, who is a very shrewd and bold man, should take advantage of it as he did on a previous occasion; for having in the days of viceroy Don Carlos de la Noi (Charles de Lannoy) stipulated, that before signing the agreement he should be allowed to send a copy of it to France, he did so and obtained through it the conditions that are well known.† Another reason is that he (Mai) objected to a letter in which the Emperor is represented as occupying himself exclusively about the ex-Abbot, as if it mattered to the Emperor whether he marries or not. Has, therefore, returned the letter to the Cardinal, begging him to rewrite it, and not mix the Emperor up with the affair, but to state simply without giving any reasons for it that he refuses his consent to the marriage.

Meanwhile the ex-Abbot is doing all manner of mischief (*mil insolencias*) here in the outskirts of Rome, so much so that it looks as if he were only waiting for the Emperor's departure from Italy to begin his old tricks again. (*Cipher :*) The Pope seems determined to take him, if he can, and have him punished for his misdemeanours. To this end Ascanio has

* "Y que le imbiava copia del capitulo que V. M^{d} le mandó escrivir."

† "Temiendo que el Abbad no se hiziesse bueno con Francia en otras partes de aquel capitulo, como lo hizo otra vez quando capituló con el virey Carlos de Lanoi por donde le dieron la condicion que despues hovo."

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offered his co-operation; the offer has been accepted, and the preparations are being made with the greatest secrecy.

Ascanio has sent a message to the lady of Frascata, the mother-in-law of Vaurri, to send him her two unmarried daughters, as otherwise he will certainly go and take them away from her. Bauri* writes from Naples that he is coming shortly to prevent Ascanio's putting his threat into execution; his mother-in-law has shut herself up in Frascata. He (Mai) has spoken to the Pope on the subject, and if Ascanio makes a stir in that direction, the Pope is sure to prevent him; though it must be said that for some days back the Pope and Ascanio seem to be so closely united, that it will be difficult if not altogether impossible, that what the one wishes will not be granted by the other. He (Mai) does not object to an intimacy of this sort, especially the Pope being, as he is at present, a good father towards his dutiful son, the Emperor; but he will be on the alert, and try to penetrate the causes of such a sudden friendship, which after all might be that Ascanio wants Isabella's hand for himself, if not her large fortune inherited, partly from Vespasiano Colonna, and partly from Marco Antonio, the father-in-law of Bauri, which he (Ascanio) has usurped, and still retains. Most likely as he knows that one of these days he will be sued for it, he like a prudent man arms himself with all the weapons he has at hand.

Some days ago the bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) told the Pope that the delay in the execution of the treaty of Cambray was entirely caused by us [the Spaniards]. That the Constable of Castille [Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco] from sheer fright had removed the sons of France far into the interior, and that the Emperor retarded as long as he could the liberation of the princes on account of Sforza's dangerous illness. Were the latter to die the Emperor, he said, would like to have them in his power.

The same bishop said to Muxetula four days ago that one of his couriers had been stopped at Florence [*en Florencia*], and the despatches taken from him. If they were not immediately returned unopened he (the Bishop) swore that he would have all the Italian posts stopped throughout France. This was said in the very presence of the Pope, who began to excuse the Imperialists; but the Bishop interrupted him by saying: "One of two things has happened, either the Imperialists have had my letters intercepted, or else it has been done by Your Holiness. In either case I demand satisfaction." He called next day at his (Mai's) house, somewhat appeased, and said he would be contented provided the parties, whoever they were, were punished.

The Pope has received letters from France informing him that the Imperial ambassador at that court has conceived

* Here we find the same name written in two different ways in the same paragraph and by the same writer, not an uncommon thing in these despatches. Both are intended to designate Mr. de Waury, about whom see vol. iv., part 2, pp. 670, 767, 859,

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some suspicions in consequence of cardinal Tribultio and two of his own chamberlains having gone thither. He (the Pope) is very much shocked (*corrido*), as he would not for the world have been given cause for such suspicion. He says that cardinal Tribultio has already left the court of France, and that the two chamberlains went to take the hats, as is customary, to the bishops of Berges (Bourges) and Moriana, and that the latter, who is very young, went to the French court to witness the ceremony.

The white steed has come from Naples, and also the 2,000 ducats.—Bishopric of Besançon for the son of Laxaul (La Chaulx).

Alonso de Cuevas.—Church of Santiago in Galicia.—Cathania.—Mazzara.—Monreale.

The commissioners have made their entry into Naples. Some of the criminals are here; they are only waiting to see the proclamation, which is to be posted in Naples, to know how they are to go or come from thence. The principal ones are the duke of Gravina and the marquis of Quarata and Doria.

At his (Mai's) passage through Ferrara the Duke proposed that in order to avoid trouble, and further the Emperor's interests, his agreement with the Pope should be made and concluded here at Rome. Has talked to the Pope about it, and he seems to have no objection provided the basis which he wants be adopted.—Rome 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most S. M. of the Emperor and King, our sovereign lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 13.

26 May. **320.** Paragraph in cipher of a letter of Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. .
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 64.

[*Cipher:*] "The Pope is aware by intercepted letters that both the kings of France and England have promised help to the Florentines, after the restitution of the sons of the former, who has actually agreed to pay the 30,000 ducats he owes them. The letters add that when the Papal Nuncio heard of this he went to the King and to his chancellor (Prat), and complained bitterly of what he called a flagrant infraction of the treaty of Cambray. And not only did he actually prevent the delivery of the bills of exchange, but was the cause of the Chancellor having a fierce quarrel with the ambassadors or consuls of Florence, who remonstrated very strongly against the Nuncio's interference in the affair. It appears that in the midst of the dispute the Chancellor said to them: 'Why do you complain? Were you not the first to break our friendship and alliance?' It is true that this intercepted letter is from one of the Florentine 'fuorusciti'*

* Luigi Alamanni, whose intercepted letters may be seen at pages 375 and 527, Nos. 238, 299.

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to a friend of his in that city, and therefore that no great reliance can be placed on the writer's statements, who, however, owns that all the money collected in Paris and London does not exceed 4,000 or 5,000 crs.

Some days ago news came to this place [Rome] that armaments were being prepared at Pontremoli. At first it was thought they were on account of Juan Paulo de Cherri,* but the Pope has had inquiries made, and it turns out that the report is altogether untrue.

The Pope wishes Juan Antonio Moxetula† to go back to the camp in front of Florence that he may warm up (*dar calor*) the Prince and his army. Cardinal Osma and he (Mai) approve of this, and have told Moxetula to go, who seems, however, as if he disliked the job. When informed of Moxetula's answer, the Pope was somewhat displeased, for it appears that he is not at all satisfied with the Prince's behaviour in the affair."—Rome 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original in cipher. pp. 2.

26 May. **321.** The Cardinal Bishop of Osma to the Emperor.

L. 850, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 65.

His last letter was dated the 14th inst. As a duplicate of it was also sent on the 16th he (the Cardinal) has no doubt that one of the two must have reached the Emperor's hands, and therefore will not allude to its contents.‡

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

26 May. **322.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 30–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 75.

Immediately after the receipt of the Emperor's letter of the 7th inst. he (Mai) waited upon His Holiness, and shewed him the instructions received from Court, as well as the letters of the Imperial ambassador in France. Informed him likewise of everything relating to the business [of the divorce], thanking him warmly in the Emperor's name for the good work which his Nuncio had done in those parts. The Pope was glad to hear of this, and said that it was no wonder that his Nuncio had acted thus, for, besides being on bad terms with cardinal Tribulçio, he was strongly attached to and almost dependent upon the duke of Milan,§ and therefore could not fail doing the Emperor's service in this affair; firstly, because he (the Pope) had given him positive orders to that effect, and secondly, because he himself was well inclined towards the

* Giovan Paolo da Ceri, son of Renzo or Lorenzo Medici da Ceri, about whom see vol. iv., part 2, p. 41.

† Giovan Antonio Muxetula was his real name.

‡ Here is a memorandum in Gattinara's hand thus worded: "A continuacion la carta del Florentin," meaning no doubt that a copy of Luigi Alamanni's intercepted letter was originally joined to the Bishop's despatch." A Spanish translation of this, however, is to be found in Bergenroth's collection, vol. ix., under the erroneous heading of "Copy of a letter to the bishop of Osma." See *Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in British Museum*, vol. ii., p. 583.

§ "Y holgose mucho de ello, y dixome que este es parte contraria del cardenal de Tribulzio y que depende tambien del duque de Milan."

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Imperial cause. He (Mai) has lost no time in writing to the Nuncio on the subject, and reporting the Pope's words about him, for good acts must always be praised, that those who do them may be encouraged.

The Pope, moreover, promised to write a brief to king Francis, or at least to his own Nuncio at the court of France, urging him to prevent by all means in his power the meeting of the Parisian doctors, on the plea that it would be highly detrimental to the Queen's interests, as well as derogatory to the Apostolic See, to have such matters proposed for discussion merely at the request and on the application of the English.

The papal brief, applied for by Her most serene Highness the Queen, forbidding all parties to interfere, judge, allegate, counsel, procure, solicit, or otherwise speak on the matter á complazentia ó gratia in this divorce trial under pain of full excommunication, the question not to be raised except by His Holiness himself, or in "articulo mortis" has also been obtained. A copy is enclosed that the Emperor may take cognizance of it, and have it published and affixed to the churches of Spain and Flanders,* for it has been shaped in such a way that it can be made available in all the churches of the Imperial dominions.

Having heard that a meeting of theologians was to be held at Venice at the instigation and in favour of the English, he (Mai) wrote at once to Rodrigo Niño about it. Has just received the enclosed answer from that ambassador, stating that he has actually succeeded in stopping the meetings both at Venice and at Padua. As intelligence, however, from the same quarter has reached him (Mai) that the very same thing was about to be attempted by the English at Bologna, he (Mai) went to the Pope and spoke warmly on the subject. His Holiness said it was true that the English had actually made such an attempt, but that the governor of the city had defeated their plans. He further promised to write to his delegates, enjoining them to prevent any meetings of the sort in the dominions of the Church. The fact is that Casale and his colleagues are very cunning, and as they have money at hand from the King, their master, are moving heaven and earth, and bribing right and left to gain their object. In order to counteract their plans, and the better to promote the Emperor's interests in this particular business, he (Mai) is thinking of writing to Don Lope de Soria, at Siena, to procure the opinions of certain lawyers in that Signory, and especially that of Miçer Philippo Decio, who is nowadays considered the best legal authority (*leyente*) in all Italy.

A letter has come to the Pope from the Vasionense (Girolamo, bishop of Vaison), at Venice, saying that a friar there shewed him a written opinion subscribed by him and others, in which the matrimonial case was fully discussed and decided against the Queen, or rather against the Pope, who granted the dis-

* Not in the Archives, or at least not appended to the letter.

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pensation. The Bishop advised the friar not to mix himself up with such affairs, and has since prevailed upon him not only to withdraw the papers from the English, but to deliver them up to be destroyed, which has been done. The Pope rejoiced greatly at this intelligence, though on the other hand he is rather concerned at the rumours current at Venice* about Giovan Matheo, affecting to discredit them, as a pure invention of his enemies. However this may be, he (Mai) has taken this opportunity of mentioning the fact to His Holiness that he may know in future whom he can trust when the divorce case comes to be tried.

His Holiness said the other day that the English ambassadors, namely, the bishop of London (Stokesley) and Dr. Benet, are daily expected here in Rome. They have written to say that they are coming, and announce that immediately after their arrival the Pope shall be convinced of their master's good intentions. What they mean by this is not easy to guess, unless they consider it a favour and a meritorious action on the part of their king to consent to the case being tried here. As the said ambassadors will most likely come in two or three days, he (Mai) is only waiting His Holiness' notice of their arrival to have the case brought forward.

As the Pope is a good-natured (*bueno*) man, and kind, he easily believes any report or news likely to turn out in our favour. So he said the other day that he had intelligence from England that certain marriages were in contemplation there, from which some good results might be expected. He could not then give more details, nor could he recollect the names of the parties, except that the Boulan (Thomas Boleyn), was very much dejected, and almost despaired of his daughter [Anne] ever marrying the King, who on that account had recently bestowed on her certain estates and lands that she might live in easy circumstances.† Such is the intelligence which the Pope has received from that country; he (Mai) knows nothing about it, though he hears frequently from the Queen and from the Imperial ambassador. Should news of the kind reach him he will not fail to advise the Emperor.

Cardinal Egidio has sent to say that he wishes to study the question. If so, it is to be hoped that he will do some good. A letter from the Emperor would not be amiss just now, as he is a man of importance, and may be very useful in this as well as in other matters.

Has already suggested in a previous despatch that if the case is to be tried next summer it is absolutely necessary that the cardinal of Ancona, who resides in that city, where he

* "Ahunque de lo que scriven de Venetia de Jo. Matheo está algo entre si." See Niño's letter of the 17th, No. 311.

† "Que se hazen alla ciertos casamientos entre diversas personas, de los quales su Santidad no tiene noticia, ó no tenia recuerdo; pero dixome que la substancia era que el Boular (*sic*) parece que esta ya muy perdido de animo en este articulo del casamiento, y que á esta cuenta el Rey daba á la Maestressa Anna ciertos bienes para que pudiesse vivir."

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intends to remain till September, should be induced to come to Rome, especially as cardinal Campeggio and auditor Aragonia are absent from the Rotta. Has spoken about it to the Pope, who has kindly promised to make the Cardinal come here, and attend whenever his presence is wanted for the trial. Yet, notwithstanding the Pope's kind offer, he (Mai) cannot help thinking that a letter from the Emperor, requesting the Cardinal to come, would not be amiss, and might perhaps have more force. It might be kept at this embassy, and not forwarded unless absolutely wanted for the purpose, for the Cardinal can be of much use in this divorce trial, as well as in other matters purely ecclesiastical and relating to Spain, memorials of which were put into his hands. Should the Cardinal be absent from Rome at the time there is danger of the contrary party opposing those measures already half settled with him in that city, whereas if he is present no one will dare oppose him.

Cardinal Gaetano is very well disposed in this matter, so much so that he says that although he cannot change men's minds, a thing which only God can do, he is pretty sure that if they are men of letters and consent to listen to him he will make them confess that they are in the wrong.

Yet his (Mai's) opinion is that the Emperor's service would be effectually promoted by sending us some lawyer and theologian of note, for count de La Mirandola remains at home, and does not seem inclined to come, and Montes de Oca, though he still promises not to fail when wanted, is half prevented from attending to this business, because,* not being on friendly terms with His Holiness, he has not been permitted to declare himself. If Ortiz, whom the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) and the Sieur de Granvelle knew in Paris, and who is described by them as an eminent lawyer, could come, much good might be done. This notwithstanding, no step conducive to the success of the affair shall be forgotten.—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

26 May. **323.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 851, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, ff. 52–3.

The Emperor's last letter, dated the 7th inst., which is the last received, referred to two points, one relating to the English marriage, the other to the Pope's brief respecting the "Quarta." To the former a full answer was given in his (Mai's) despatch of the same date. The brief of the "Quarta," though made out several days ago, could not be signed until to-day, and that is the reason why the present courier has been delayed, and now takes both despatches.

Begs to recommend Evangelista, the Pope's secretary, who

* "Es medio impedido por que el Papa viviendo con él de mala gana, [no] consiente oue se declare."

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in the dispatch of this and other matters, uses all possible speed, and works with much zeal. Has the same report to make of secretary Sanga and the Datary, whose services on this occasion are likewise very commendable.—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Indorsed: "Paragraph of letter from Miçer Mai, of the 26th May 1530."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

26 May. **324.** The Same to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 851, f. 29.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 75.

A friar, the same* who came here some time ago, recommended by the queen of England, has lately applied to him (Mai) for naturalization. He really does not need it, for he is a Spaniard by birth. He has since applied for a letter of recommendation to His Holiness in order to obtain a reserve, or else an annual pension of 500 ducats on some church in Spain. Humbly begs His Majesty to grant the friar's petition, for he is a good servant of the Queen, and can be of much use for the trial, besides which, there can be no harm in granting his request and remunerating his services in that manner, for since he really is a native of Spain, the Emperor must know that our adversaries behave in a very different manner whenever they wish to attach people to their service.—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

26 May. **325.** Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 13.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 70.

Has since his arrival [at Rome] written many letters, also from the camp in front of Florence. The last he has received is dated Yspruc (Innsbruck) the 7th, in which no instructions came as to the way in which the pardon to the Neapolitan rebel barons is to be understood, as related in his despatch by Francisco Santa Cruç. Doubts whether the answer to his questions will come in time, for he hears that the commissaries at Naples have already commenced publishing the said pardon.

Prince of Orange and cardinal Colonna.

His Holiness has had letters from his Nuncio in France announcing that the liberation of the King's sons would take place very soon. The King had told him (the Nuncio) that the Pope ought to be advised to put an end to the Florence business. There were perhaps people interested in prolonging it as much as possible, in order that the Imperial army in Italy should be kept together at the Pope's expense. He (the King) had heard that the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza)

* Probably the ecclesiastic described in Katharine's letter to the Emperor of the 2nd of October 1529, as a doctor-of-law and a native of Barcelona, who came to England with cardinal Campeggio, and had served upwards of 30 years in the "Rotta." See above, p. 266, No. 177.

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was very ill and not expected to live, and, therefore, that the taking of Florence would be most probably retarded on that very account. The Pope knows already that this and other malicious suggestions have no other object than that of prejudicing him with the Emperor. He laughed heartily at the idea, and said he would answer his Nuncio that king Francis himself was in a great measure the cause of the delay. Had he not given hopes to the Florentines they would never have sustained such a long siege.

Vespasiano's daughter [Isabella Colonna] has come to Rome, but notwithstanding the frequent messages the Pope has sent her since her arrival she is very obstinate (*muy recia*) and insists upon marrying Luigi Gonzaga, saying that she will have no other husband than him, much less Ferrante Gonzaga, whom she does not like. Cannot say whether a change in her affections may not take place in future, but for the present he (Muxetula) sees no chance of it. Respecting the marriage of the ex-abbot of Farfa, there is no longer question of it, for cardinal Colonna, knowing the Emperor's wishes on this point, has written that he will not give his consent.

The Pope, moreover, is determined to punish the ex-Abbot for his misdeeds, for he is, as usual, continually taking up arms and seizing villages and castles in the territory of the Church.—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant.º Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

26 May. **326.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 851, f. 29.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 72.

Wrote last by a gentleman of the suite of count Potentia (Potença). The duplicate of the brief about the "Quarta" has gone since, addressed to Joan Vazquez, for him to give to the bishop of Zamora [Mendoza]. Evangelista and Sanga deserve certainly much praise for expediting it.

Crusade and three "blancas" of the other bulls, of which the Empress has disposed in favour of the High Commander.

Don Alvaro [de Bazan ?] and his proctor at Rome, Quevedo.

Captain Mosquera arrived five or six days ago. He had a narrow escape, as will be seen by the enclosed letter. Asked his (Mai's) advice. Told him to keep quiet, and promised to write to cardinal Colonna and inquire whether he (Mosquera) could not resume the command of his company and go to Sicily with the rest of the men, for certainly the excuses he gives are plausible enough. As he (Mai) was also thinking of writing to the marquis del Vasto in commendation of the said Mosquera, a letter came from Sancho de Alarcon congratulating him upon his escape, and advising him to get out of the way or hide himself, as there was a Royal warrant issued against him. Upon which His Holiness and he (Mai) were of opinion that Mosquera could not possibly remain at Rome, where in 20 hours a requisition might arrive from Naples,

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and that he must go to Genoa, and wait for orders there. Begs mercy for Mosquera, whose criminality in the affair is but slight, since the principal actor was his ensign (*alferez*) who has actually gone to Spain. Has, however, made him disgorge 1,000 ducats, which have been placed in the Centurione bank payable to the order of Joan Vazquez.

Loan of Francisco Carbonell, the postmaster-general of Naples, to the Fornariis, who promised to pay him with a credit of the late Cesare Ferramosca against his brother, count Miniano (Mignano).—Rome, 26th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

27 May. **327.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 28.

The matrimonial suit of their Highnesses, the king and queen of England, is to begin shortly and to be prosecuted with vigour. Hopes to God that they will come out victorious. If he (Mai) cannot send a memorandum of certain doubtful points for consultation to the Spanish universities and other eminent barristers by this courier, it will go by the next.—Rome, 27th May 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Indorsed: "Paragraph from a letter of Miçer Mai, at Rome 27th May 1530."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

28 May. **328.** The High Commander of Leon to the Empress.

S. E. L. 635, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 82.

The Emperor enjoys perfect health, so does his brother, the king of Hungary, and both the queens (*las Reynas*). The King writes by this post. Let the answer come by the first opportunity. The Emperor is delighted with his nephews, no doubt because he thinks of his own sons. This he will not own, although those who like him (Covos) daily attend on him, know very well that there is nothing he desires so much as to return to Spain.—Ynspruck (Innsbruck), 28th May 1530.

Signed: "Covos, Comendador Mayor."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

29 May. **329.** The Emperor to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. L. 635, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 84.

Has written by Don Antonio de Fonseca, who left on the 7th. Stayed at Ynsbruck (Innsbruck) more days than he intended to prepare for the Diet of Augusta (Augsburg) and the affairs to be discussed there. (*Cipher:*) Has accordingly been engaged together with his brother [Ferdinand] as well as with Campeggio, the Papal Nuncio, the cardinals of Saspuerge (Saltzburg), and Traento (Trent), the duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine, and other German princes, who have come purposely to this city, and hopes soon to be able to go to Augusta

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(Augsburg), where the Diet is to be held. Most of the princes and electors of the Empire are already there waiting for him, very desirous to be of use. Hopes, therefore, that the business done will be entirely in favour of Christianity, and that he shall be free to return to Spain, which is what he most desires at present.

As Praët must have reported the news from France, there is no occasion for him to allude to them. The delivery of the King's sons must already have taken place, since he hears the ransom money has been paid and the other conditions fulfilled.

Italy is peaceful and friendly; so is the Pope, whose affection for him increases daily. Sincerely hopes that it will continue to increase, for on his part nothing shall be left undone likely to cement it.

The siege of Florence lasts still. It has been resolved, as the city is so strong and the citizens most obstinate in the defence, to invest it on every side, so as to prevent its receiving supplies, rather than have an assault, which might cost many lives and would ultimately bring on the destruction of the city; 1,000 Spanish foot, 1,000 Italians, and 500 light horse detached from the besieging army, besides 1,000 more Spaniards of his body guard have already left for Hungary, and the forces under Chalon have also been considerably diminished by dismissal on leave and in other ways as it has been found that the remaining force is quite sufficient for the work.

The Turk is not likely to make a stir this year, at least in Italy, but as he is known to have in readiness a considerable force and many vessels and galleys, it is important to be on one's guard, and attend to the defences of the coast of the Mediterranean.*

(*Common writing:*) Andrea Doria sailed off on the 1st inst. with his 29 galleys. Has had no news from him since.—Ynspruck, 29th May 1530.

P.S.—Since the above was written intelligence has been received that 30, others say 40, Turkish galleys have set sail from La Belona to do all the harm they can on the coasts of Sicily and Naples. There is reason to doubt the report, but lest it should prove true, measures have been taken to defeat their plans.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 2½.

29 May. **330.** Pope Clement to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 24.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 83.

Thanks him for sending cardinal d'Osma, whose arrival at Rome has been a source of pleasure and consolation to him, as he knows his many virtues and how acceptable he is to

* In the duplicate of this letter, at folio 86 of the same volume (*Add.* 28,580), two paragraphs are added.

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the Emperor. Thanks him also for keeping at his post of ambassador Miçer Mai, whom he has always known as an honourable and worthy man (*homo molto da bene*). Sends to him the auditor Aragonia and Il Buda, consistorial advocate, that they may solicit the expedition of the compromise lately made.—Rome, 29th Mai 1530.

Addressed: "Carissimo in Christo filio ñro Carolo Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

29 Mai. **331.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L., f. 100. f. 84. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 86.

Duplicate of the letter under No. 329 with only one paragraph added.—Innsbruck, 29th May 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1 June. **332.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 48. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 96.

Since closing the enclosed despatch news has come of the taking of Empoli, which surrendered to our men after two battles (*batallas*) fought under its walls. It is impossible to describe the Pope's joy when the intelligence came, for he thinks this a good step towards the subjection of the Florentines, who will naturally lose courage, &c. When the artillery reaches Volterra it is confidently expected, and the Pope shares the belief, that the town will surrender although the Florentines still persist in their obstinacy, and are encouraged by certain parties as the enclosed letter from Ferrara will shew.

The Pope has now spoken very warmly on the subject to the Venetian and French ambassadors. He told the former that he wondered how, being the Emperor's friends, they could allow such things to take place in their territory. The ambassador replied that he would stake his head that the report was false. As to the French ambassador he parried the blow by saying that as soon as his master, the King, recovered his sons, he would perform miracles to make the Florentines abandon their obstinacy (*porfia*).

Affairs of Naples.—Money to be paid by Uberto Squarciafico.—Recommends Francisco de Mañeri (*sic*), bearer of this despatch.—Intends going to Naples shortly.—Rome, 1st June 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1 June. **333.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 48. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 99.

Duplicate of the above with some unimportant additions.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

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1 June. **334.** The Bishop of Chieti to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 148.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 102.

Has received through Rodrigo Nigno (Niño), the ambassador in Venice, the Imperial letter acknowledging his services in the cause of the queen of England. Has only done what he considers to be his duty in the affair "quel che mi ha parso dover al servitio de nostro Signor Dio, et a la reuerentia de la Sacra sede Apostolica et a la syncerità de la Catholica fide," and is very much pleased to hear he has given satisfaction. Has, moreover, considered it necessary to acquaint His Holiness the Pope with the request made to him by the king of England, and his own answer to it.—Venice, 1st June 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Pietro Ves [covo] Theatino."

Addressed: "Sacr^me Imp^li Mag^ti."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 1½.

2 June. **335.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 45–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 103.

The Emperor's letter of the 22nd ult^o came to hand on the 27th, together with those for the Doge, and for the bishop of Quiete (Chieti),* which were duly delivered. That for the Doge was read by him [Rodrigo Niño] in the presence of all the councillors and great sages—the sages of the land and the sages of orders—the Council of the Ten, which is the greatest shew of authority he can use on such occasions. Received a suitable answer. The reading over he (Niño) informed the Doge how very grateful the Emperor was for his conduct, and that of his Council in this affair of the Queen, and begged them to continue their good offices. The Doge's answer was thus worded: "You have seen with what alacrity and good-will I answered you and prothonotary Caracciolo when you first spoke to me on this subject. Long before you came to this city as ambassadors of His Imperial Majesty we were urgently requested by the English ambassadors to do something [in favour of their master] in this affair. This we refused as the case seemed to us then as bad as now. You must have observed what long audience I have this day given to the English ambassador. He has complained to me most bitterly of the uncourteous manner in which he has been treated, and of the orders sent to the doctors of Padua," &c.

On Ascension Day there is to be a great festival. The Doge and all the Signory go out to sea in barges to perform the ceremony [of the betrothal]. On his way thither and back he (Niño) happened to walk side by side with the English ambassador, with whom he conversed all the time respecting this divorce which the king of England is attempting from his

* At this time Felice Trophimo, mentioned in vol. iv., part 2, p. 9, as archbishop of Chieti or Theata was dead, and had been succeeded by Guidone de' Medici. See *Historia della Citta di Chieti* by Girolamo Nicolino, Napoli, 1657, p. 181–5, and yet this letter being signed "Jo. Pietro" (Giovan Pietro Caraffa?) would shew that there is some mistake in that statement, for the last-named ecclesiastic is known to have preceded Trophimo (1504–24) and to have again been appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Chieti in 1536, after the decease of Guidone de' Medici.

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Queen. The ambassador made all manner of excuses for himself and for his brother, the Chevalier (Sir Gregory Casale), saying how much both disapproved of the King's conduct in the affair. The Emperor (he said) knew it well, and they themselves (his brother and he) had written home to say so, in consequence of which both had incurred their master's displeasure. He (Niño) feigned to believe everything Casale told him, and exhorted him to persevere in his purpose of undeceiving the King on that score. It was the duty of all good servants to tell their master when he was in the wrong, and they were bound to point out to him the many inconveniences (*inconvenientes*) that might arise out of this step, the affair itself being odious and abominable to all those who knew of it, as calculated to bring discredit on Christendom and on the Papal authority. Little by little the conversation turned on the lawyers with whom he (Casale) had been in treaty at Padua as well as at Verona, Vicenza, and other cities. He (Casale) could not help confessing the great doubts entertained by all the doctors he had consulted. "No wonder (said Niño to him), for the affair in itself is as bad as it can be. I am, however, very curious to know what the bishop of London (Stokesley) and the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) and this other ambassador (Dr. Edward Lee) lately come from the Emperor's court think of it after hearing from your own lips the opinion of the Paduan doctors." His answer was that his brother (the Prothonotary) had prevailed upon the Auditor (Ghinucci) to have ecclesiastical judges appointed to decide the case after hearing what the king and queen of England had to say "pro" and "contra." Did not allow him to proceed further. Interrupted him and said: "You had better say in the case between the king of England and our Mother Church, for after all it comes to this, that the whole of Christendom will espouse the cause of the Queen against the King, her husband, since she is the daughter of queen Isabella, and the Emperor's aunt. Your King must look twice before he executes the designs he has respecting her. And you may be sure, Monsieur the ambassador, that should your master persevere in his purpose, he will find the Queen's party in England so strong as to oblige him to weigh well his chances before he undertakes anything against her. To desert such a person as his wife the Queen! And what for? To marry another woman with whom he is in love."

To these words the English ambassador made no answer, but confessed that I was in the right. He and his brother had done all they could as the Emperor knew. It was (he said) the Auditor's fault, who was at Bologna with the rest of the embassy. What they may be doing there I cannot say for certain, but Your Imperial Majesty may be pretty sure of this, that every day that passes renders their position more difficult, for in reality the King's designs are generally detested.

Gave the Imperial letter to the bishop [of Chieti]. His

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answer is enclosed. He will do anything that is required in the matter. Having reported on the 25th ult° his conversation with him, and sent a copy of the conclusions, which the King wants to have maintained, I need not say any more on this subject.

Respecting the German of Padua, I can only say that he is as bad as Luther himself (*el mismo Lutero*), and so are his wife and children. He thinks of nothing else save preaching up his sect. His name is Michael Gormer. There is besides [at Padua] a Veronese priest (*clerigo*) named Prepaulo deudo,* who is as bad, or perhaps worse, than him. The Bishop tells me that he is negociating with this Republic to have them both brought to Venice, and punished as they deserve for their heresies. Here, at Venice, resides another German just as bad as the other two, who goes by the name of Joanes Pouber, and does, as they say, most terrible things. The Bishop, as I said before, is very confident that the Signory will take this affair in hand, and punish these and other Lutherans who are daily springing up in their territory; but as I informed Your Imperial Majesty in my despatch of the 25th I have my doubts about it, and until I see them act will not believe in their professions.

No further news of the Turk, except that the harvest [in Asia] will be a very poor one this year owing to the total want of rain.

Renzo da Ceri is at Padua. He left Venice the other day saying he was going thither to look after his son, and prevent his taking service under the Florentines. He has since written in great disappointment at his not having been able to convince him and bring him over. The French ambassador, who resides here, has given publicity to the fact, adding that Renzo is still at the head of the greater part of the "fuorusciti" of Naples, formerly in this city. Renzo's statement is very different, as I had occasion to say in my previous despatch. His Majesty, however, may be sure that the Neapolitan "fuorusciti" wish him all possible harm, and that here at Venice they do nothing else but circulate bad news from Florence, and from any other quarter if they can. Respecting Renzo's son they say that he has already enlisted such a force to march to the relief of the Florentines as might even be sufficiently powerful to destroy the Turk. The boastings of these people are all of the same stamp, and, therefore, no great reliance is to be placed in their words.

The duke of Ferrara is still here. The day after my writing to announce his arrival he came to see me accompanied by one of his servants. There is no end to his protestations of affection to Your Imperial Majesty whom, he says, he wants to serve exclusively of any other prince. He says that he has come to Venice for no other purpose than to amuse himself (*á holgarse*). He has called on the Doge with no more suite than he brought when he came to see me, and will not allow

* Thus in the original; perhaps Prō [Patre] Dendo.

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me or any other ambassador or private person to return his visit. The Pope's Legate is not at all pleased with his stay here, as he fancies that he has come for the purpose of asking this Signory to intercede with His Imperial Majesty that he may keep Modena.

Of the dukes of Milan and Mantua there is no longer any talk. If they do come at all my impression is that it will be with the same object as that attributed to Ferrara, viz., to get as much as they can out of us.

The French ambassador has sent word that he has letters from his King assuring him that on the 25th, or at the end of May at the latest, the liberation of his sons was to take place. —Venice, 2nd June 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "A la S. C.ª R. Mt."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

2 June. **336.** S. BALTHASAR CARDUCCI to the DIECI.

S. E. L. 1,438, f. 172.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 108.

Since his last of the 11th ult°, which, according to late advices from the Panciatichi,* was by them duly forwarded to Genoa, whence it could easily be sent to Pisa by means of Luigi Alamani, nothing new has occurred. On the 15th the mandates came, but as Bernardo Altovitti† could not, as he says, conveniently go , or send to the appointed place for the letters, I fancy he has preferred paying the money to Geo. Francesco de Bardi,‡ and Geo. Girardi, who thought it best not to send an express on purpose, but have the mandates addressed to them, to avoid any demonstration, such being, as they are informed, the wish of that king. Bernardo has signified that I ought to send powers to the said individuals (*a quelle*), assuring them that this affair would be more successfully conducted through them than through other people's hands. Though I have received no specific commission to that effect, yet that the good that might come from their labours should not be entirely lost, I will send them a copy of my instructions. And as the said Bernardo tells me how much the thing is desired, and how hopes are entertained that the affair may better be done here than there, because it has been settled between this king and the count ambassador of England,§ not to allow that

* "There were at this time two parties at Pistoia *la Panciatica* and *la Cancelliera*, who disputed the power. The former followed the Medici. "E la Città di Pistoia già gran tempo divisa en due fazioni; l'una delle quali si chiama la Parte Panciatica, e l'altra la Parte Cancelliera; i Panciatichi sono da quella delle Palle, cioè seguono e favoriscono la casa e lo Stato de' Medici; i Cancellieri seguono la Parte di Marzocco, cioè seguono e favoriscono il governo del Popolo." Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, p. 326. Hostages from the two hostile factions were sent to Florence during the siege.

† "E[per no havere potuto, secondo dice, commodamente andare ne et mandare al luogo destino per quelle, ben che io penso habbia piu tosto voluto satisfare à Gio. Francesco de Bardi."

‡ A captain called Francesco de' Bardi is mentioned by Varchi (p. 299) among those appointed to the defence of Florence. The Girardi, named immediately after, might be one of the *Gherardi* da Pistoia.

§ "Si e stabilito tra questa maesta e il signore conte oratore del Re de Inghilterra." By *Il signore conte* in this passage, the earl of Wiltshire is meant.

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city to perish, towards which they bear so much affection, it has been agreed that each of the two kings will annually contribute a sum of money until the total liberation of that city is effected. The king of France will give 20,000 ducats and the king of England one half of that sum, so that having obtained from Giuliano Bonaccorsi a consignation of 20,000, I firmly believe that this count (the earl of Wiltshire), with the approbation of his king, will contribute 10,000, which sums are to be continued until the complete liberation of the city.

Mr. de Tarbes has lately sent one of his secretaries to say that the Pope complains bitterly of this king who, he says, supports the Florentines, sends them money, and secretly encourages them to resistance. He begs that an order be sent to Malatesta, Stefano and Giovan Paolo to quit Florence at once, &c.

The King has answered that those captains not being in his pay, but only in that of Florence, he could not possibly send them such orders, but that he would have the affair discussed in Council and let him know the result. It is not yet known what the result of the deliberations has been, but it is generally believed that the King intends not only not to harm your Signory in any way, but on the contrary to help the Republic with all his means. To this effect he has sent back Malatesta's secretary, if not with actual facts, at any rate with very good words and many assurances that he will faithfully fulfil all his promises to him.—Di Myrambee (Mirambeau ?) il giorno II di Giugno MDXXX.

Signed: "Balthasar Carduccius."

Italian. Original. pp. 5.

3 June. **337.** PROTEST made by SIR FRANCIS BRIAN in the name of the KING of ENGLAND.

Arch. d. l'Emp. Neg. Pap. de Sim. K. 1,640. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 112.

At Bayonne, in the year 1530, the third day of June, in the presence of the undersigned notary and witnesses, "Messire François de Brian, chevalier et gentilhomme de la Chambre du roy Henry huytiesme," declared to "Messire Loys de Flandres, seigneur de Praët, conseillier destat et chambellan ordinaire, and to Maistre Guillaume des Barres, "seigneur de Recim, secretaire de l'Empereur," that according to the words of the treaty of peace concluded at Cambray on the 5th of August last, the king of England, wishing as much as possible to be agreeable to both parties, the Emperor and the king of France, has actually given his letters patent of "quictance" of whatever sums the Emperor might owe him and full powers to cardinal de Tournon, Messire Anne de Montmorency and Monseigneur the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) to deliver into the hands of the above Imperial ambassadors whatever obligations, pledges, and jewels he may have belonging to the Emperor.

[Follow the King's letters patent dated London, 19th February 1529.]

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The Imperial ambassadors then declared that they had seen among the obligations one of 32,000 florins of gold lent to the Empereur Maximilian II. by the king of England in 1512, which they could nowise admit nor deduct from the sum to be paid by the king of France, inasmuch as, though in the obligation subscribed by the Emperor Maximilian it is stated that the sum was borrowed as guardian of his grandson Charles, and for the purpose of putting down the rebellion of Ghelders, yet the obligation has not the seal used at that time by the present Emperor, nor was it issued by the clerks of the Finances, besides which the Emperor Maximilian left other heirs to whom a similar application might have been addressed. The Imperial commissioners, therefore, could not possibly accept the said obligation without consulting the Emperor, or his aunt Margaret [of the Low Countries], for which they demanded a delay of 20 days, upon which the said Messire François de Brian, in the name of his master, the king of England, declared that, notwithstanding the refusal by the Imperial commissioners to receive the said obligations, he was ready to give up his general receipt, "quictance," under protest; however, that he does not intend thereby to abandon his claim upon the Emperor for the said sum of 32,000 florins of gold.

Witnesses: Anthoine de Bourg, "docteur en chascun droit, lieutenant civil de la Prevosté de Paris et president du council de Madame, mère du dit Roy tres chrestien;" Maistre Phelippes Vaucher, greffier de Dole, secretaire de la Royne; Jehan de la Sauch, secretaire ordinaire du dit seigneur Empereur et de Madame l'archiducesse; et Maistre Guillaume Preudhomme [ministre], general des finances du dit seigneur Roy tres chrestien et tresorier de son epargne;" et Gilbert Bayart "secretaire de ses finances, general de Bretaigne."

Before us Françoys Bouret, chantre et chanoyne de Tournon, diocese de Valence, aulmonier et chapelain ordinaire du dict seigneur Roy tres chrestien, secretaire du Rev^me^ Cardinal de Tournon, et Jehan de Larrandoette, curé de Saint Martin de Bomint (*sic*) diocese de Dax, presbitres et notaires apostoliques.

French and Latin. pp. 2.

6 June. **338.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 41.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 117.

Wrote on the 18th, 19th, 22nd, 26th, and 28th ult^o^ and on the 1st inst., giving a full and detailed account of the siege of Florence from the letters of the Prince and other correspondents. He (Muxetula) is now at Rome procuring money for the pay of June. Seventeen thousand five hundred ducats of the "decimas" of Naples have already been secured. The 10,000 remaining are not forthcoming, for although cardinal Colonna writes to say that he intends getting them out of the Monopoli district, it seems to him (Muxetula) that the plan proposed is impracticable and can hardly be approved by His

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Imperial Majesty, for the possession of Monopoli must needs be given to the "pharaon" who bought it, notwithstanding that His Majesty at Bologna refused to sanction the sale. As to the 10,000 to come from Ferrara, he (Muxetula) has not yet found any merchant willing to discount bills at so long a date.

Ever since the taking of Empoli, the people of Florence have been very much agitated, and begin to say to each other that it would be wise to accept the Emperor's terms.

If the attack on Volterra should end as prosperously as is anticipated it will no doubt precipitate the surrender of that city.

The Pope has had letters from France of the 25th ult°, stating that the ransom-money was quite ready, and that there remained only to be settled the manner and the place of the payment conjointly with the delivery of the sons of France. At first the Grand Constable and Mr. de Prat wanted the money to be deposited at Fuente Rabia, then it was decided to send it in one boat and the King's sons* in another, this latter having as much iron in the bottom as required to make up the same weight, so that one boat should not be lighter than the other and the two should reach the shore at the same time. It had also been agreed that for further security 2,000 foot and 200 men-at-arms should witness the delivery on the Spanish frontier, and as many on the French, &c.

The same letters state that Renzo da Ceri had written to the King asking his permission to go to France, and that the King had answered that he (Renzo) had better abandon the enterprize of Brescia, and had sent him 2,000 ducats for his maintenance. That Malatesta had again sent his secretary to France to claim his arrears of salary for the time he had served the King, and that it was presumed the King would on this plea send him remittances of money to be used at Florence.

The Neapolitan "fuorusciti," who were at Bologna and at Mantua, are all here, and dare not go to Naples, alleging that the Imperial commissioners in that kingdom have seized and imprisoned several of their comrades, who were evidently included in the pardon (*indulto*). They pretend that they are afraid of going to a place where they will find no advocates to defend them.

Duties and salary of the office of "Regente" conferred upon him.—Rome, 6th June 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Ces^e. et Cath^ce. M^ti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

* "Porque dice que el Gran Conestable (*sic*) y Mussiur de Prata pedian los dineros primero en fuenterrabi (*sic*) y que despues se era tratado que se diessen juntos con los yjos."

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6 June. **339.** KING FRANCIS to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

S. Pat. Re. Nap. L. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 122.

Approves and ratifies the cession and abandonment made in his name by the Marshal of France to the Emperor, or to his ambassadors, of all his titles and rights to Naples, Genoa, and Milan.—Bourg, 6th June 1530.

Signed: "François."

French. Original. p. 1.

7 June. **340.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 831, f. 40. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 125.

Has received the Emperor's letters of the 22nd May, and another of the 29th, from the High Commander (Covos), enclosing copy of Niño's despatch.

What has since happened in the business of the queen of England is that Dr. Benet, who came straight from the Emperor and the bishop of London (Stokesley), who had orders to return from France,* went to Bologna, and there, with the aid of Raphaele Casale, a Bolognese, have been since endeavouring to obtain the votes of the lawyers. The Pope being forewarned, had ordered his Legate, governor [of Bologna], to counteract their designs, and they have managed so well that the English have only been able to obtain two or three votes. Has given the Pope notice that the English intend trying the same sort of thing at Perosa (Perugia), and measures have been taken accordingly. Has, moreover, written to Don Lope de Soria at Siena to obtain all the opinions he can there, or at least that of Philippo Decio, who lectures in that city, and is the greatest lawyer of all Italy. Has sent a copy of the case to the president of Castille,† that the lawyers may take more time to study it, and now sends another to the Emperor, that the president may be instructed about what is to be done in Spain. Has had two or three conversations with the advocate and proctors of the Emperor and Queen; the suit has been resumed, proceeding for two of its terms by contumacy, as no one appeared for the King. So shall we proceed, although we have little time before us, the holidays being close at hand.

On this account I besought the Pope the other day to give a "signatura" for the cause to proceed, notwithstanding the holidays. He answered that he wondered that neither the Queen nor we had deemed it opportune to ask for extraordinary action in this matter. Replied that neither the Queen nor Your Majesty required a special form of judgment, and that until now our sole object had been to endeavour to soften (*ablandar*) the King. We were bound to go on with the cause, because, after all, were we to gain our suit, the

* "Lo que despues sucedió en el negocio es que los mesmos embaxadores llegaron á Boloña, ansi el Dotor Benet, que vino de V. Mt. como el obispo de Londres que mandaron volber desde Francia."

† The president of the Royal Council of Castille at this time was D. Juan Tavera, archbishop of Santiago.

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execution and fulfilment of the sentence would still require the King's gracious approval. Neither Your Majesty nor the Queen wanted privileges or extraordinary measures in this case; those were granted [by Rome] so often, and to so many, that they had become quite common. If His Holiness would not, or could not, grant us such privileges, I hoped he would not refuse us the ordinary terms of justice. The Pope promised to see to it, and it was agreed between us that I should solicit the prosecution of the suit during the holidays, and then it would be seen what the English ambassadors, who, as I am informed, enter the city to-day said to the proposal.

The Pope has been given to understand, as he tells me, that the mission of the ambassadors is reduced to this: the King will be content to promise not to attempt anything in England, provided the Pope and we, the Imperial ministers, consent to suspend proceedings at Rome. I told the Pope that this proposal had already been discussed several times in the Imperial Council at Bologna by Your Majesty's command, and that I could not possibly desist from demanding justice unless I received express orders from my court.

Not satisfied with this explanation of the Pope, I secretly dispatched one of my own people to the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) in order to learn from him what the object and mission of the English ambassadors could be. All I could ascertain was that they had come to Rome to see this matter of the divorce settled, since Your Majesty would not have it at Bologna, and that he (the Auditor) believed the king of England would be content to agree with us about the appointment of persons to look into the affair. If such be their mission, I shall certainly not consent either to one or to the other of the above proposals without special orders from Your Majesty. For with regard to the former, the same reason exists here as at Bologna for rejecting it, which is, that the Queen's just cause ought not to be thus made public without the appointment of a judge to give sentence in it immediately.* The second reason is, that any concession made to our opponents at this moment might be dangerous; besides which I strongly oppose the measure for the three following considerations: first, the gravity of the case; second, the efforts made by the English, their offers and bribes; third, that the cause is now safely lodged, as it ought to be, in the Rotta, to be referred afterwards to the Consistory, wherein justice is sure to be obtained, for cardinal Ravenna assures me that were he alone and by himself he would perform wonders.

The Pope, moreover, has again repeated to me in still plainer terms than he did before (for he has obtained more credible information since) the strange piece of news which I once communicated to Your Majesty, namely, that owing to the death of the lady to whom the duke of Norfolk had married

* "Quanto á lo primero es aca la mesma razon por la qual Va. Mt. lo mandó desviar en Bologna, por no poner [el] buen pleito ó la buena justicia de la Reyna á vozes sin tener juez."

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or intended to marry, his son, the English have now negociated, and were on the point of concluding, a marriage of the said son with the princess of Wales, in consequence of which Bolan (Boleyn) and the others have lost much hope of the marriage of Mrs. Anne (*la maestressa Anna*) with the King. It would appear besides that the King himself has spent considerable sums of money in buying property and lands for the maintenance of the Lady (Anne), which, in the opinion of some, is a proof that he begins to give up his purpose, because if he still meant to make her his queen, why have the property and estates been bought for her own private use? I have written to the ambassador in London (Chapuys) about these rumours, that he may ascertain the truth of them, and report to Your Majesty.

In some letters I have seen from Ferrara it is stated that an ambassador named Benet is coming from France. We have made inquiries to know who he is, and nobody can tell us. We, therefore, suspect that he is the same who was at the Imperial court, and remained some time at Bologna, for his name was also Benet. He has perhaps gone to Ferrara for the purpose of keeping the Florentine fire alive for their own purpose. I have written to Ferrara and to Venice about him, and the Pope has likewise instituted inquiries.—Rome, 7th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Spanish. Original. pp. 9.

8 June. **341.** Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 43.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 138.

This morning the Pope made the bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) a cardinal. He might have refused him the hat on more than one account; but His Holiness has no doubt been influenced by the hopes which that ambassador has very adroitly thrown out, that his master will help in the reduction of Florence. May God forbid that a Florentine should have been cheated by a Frenchman, as I had occasion to tell the Pope the other day!

Hears that the king of England is getting the colleges and the divines in France to declare that the Pope could not give dispensation in the marriage of the Queen, and that having obtained the declarations of the canonists, he is now procuring that of the divines, and says that when he has both, including some of Italy as well as of his own kingdom, he wishes to effect the divorce without further declaration from the Pope. He (Muxetula) hearing this, has told His Holiness that this is a most diabolical intrigue, more directed against him than against anyone else, because it will indirectly create a practice of having councils assembled against his authority, and that of the Roman court, having only exclusive judges in this matter. A private man may give his legal opinion as an advocate, but

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for divines or canonists as a college or corporation to determine that which belongs exclusively to the court of Rome to declare could not for a moment be tolerated. Did accordingly urge him as strongly as he could to do two things: first, to proceed with the cause as diligently as possible, so that a speedy declaration from him should at once put a stop to those informal opinions; secondly, to prohibit the colleges, under censures, from giving any opinion upon the subject without first intimating it to him.

His Holiness promised to do so, and Miçer Mai, with whom I have communicated, has already begun to solicit the same. —Rome, 8th June 1530.

Signed: "Geo. Ant. Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

8 June. **342.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 38. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 140.

After writing the other three letters that go with this, a Spanish friar arrived from England with letters from the ambassador (Chapuys). He had offered to discuss in the General Chapter of the Dominicans, which is to be held here, the matrimonial cause of the King and Queen of that country, and to argue the question whether the Pope could or could not give dispensation, and the ambassador, wishing to promote the Queen's interests in the affair, had given him a letter for me. I mentioned the fact to cardinal d'Osma, who knows all these Dominicans well, and he thought that the friar was unequal to the task, and that his presence in the Chapter might create disturbance. The Pope, Muxetula, and myself shared this opinion, for it was to be feared the English, who shew such activity in the matter, might look out for an opponent as well or perhaps better qualified for the task, and set him up against him, and thus the game would be equal. This very step Your Majesty did once disapprove at Bologna, and, therefore, leaving that on one side, I have requested the Pope of his own authority, and without any interference on the part of us (the Imperial ambassadors), to order the general of the Dominicans to obtain the opinions of the friar theologians now in Rome before they go away, or, at all events, of those whom the general himself may consider most prudent and conscientious. We may make use of these opinions afterwards if, as it is to be feared, the English persist in their determination of procuring them also on their side, for I am told that when they (the English agents) at Bologna heard that the Pope had forbidden the lawyers and canonists to give an opinion on the subject they exclaimed: "We see that the Pope wishes to lose the obedience of our island."

Yesterday the bishop of Vaison, once Papal Nuncio at Your Majesty's court, arrived here. I met him in the palace, and thanked him before the Pope for his good services in Venice, both to Your Majesty and to His Holiness. I fancy that your letter of commendation will be exceedingly acceptable to him.

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Your Majesty must be informed of events as they occur or come to our notice. In one of my last despatches I related what the Pope had told me in conversation, namely, that he had now good hopes of the English matter terminating well, in consequence of the new marriage spoken of for the Princess. Yesterday he shewed me some paragraphs of a letter from France, stating that the king of England had sent a man expressly to search the archives (*camara de las Scripturas*) in Paris, in the hope of finding therein papers and documents relating to a case similar to his, when a king of France and England did divorce his queen and marry again with the Pope's consent. The letter also stated that the king of England is actually soliciting the votes of the Parisian doctors in a body, pretending that this is done with Your Majesty's consent. He was sure (he said) of all the votes individually; the matter had already been decided in his favour in a college of canonists, and he was now trying to get the opinion of the divines. Another university of France, called, I believe, Anges (Angers), had stated that in an old book, composed by a Spanish friar, contemporary of Saint Dominic, in which the case was fully discussed, there was a passage establishing the King's right to divorce. Lastly, Fr, Jacopo di Lodi, a Carmelite, who had gone to Scotland upon I know not what business of his own, had returned [to England], and was now soliciting the same thing for the king of England, whilst a Frenchman, of the name of Musior de Giles, had come on the part of the French king. This last friar asserts that the king of England told him in secret something which it would be well for the Pope to know, for it would be worth more to him than a million of gold. He (the friar) would not say what it was, but declared that the King was only waiting for the decision of these (*estas*) universities [in Italy] to justify himself here at Rome, and then carry out his purpose. The letter alluded to was from Alberto di Carpi to the Pope; he gave it to me to read, but particularly requested me to keep this matter secret, because, he said, he did not like Your Majesty to imagine that it had been written purposely to annoy you. Faithfully promised to keep the matter secret, and since the Pope desires it, I humbly beg Your Majesty not to mention this to anyone, for fear the Pope should withdraw his confidence from me.

I could not, however, help observing to the Pope that the writer of the letter was not thoroughly to be credited in such matters. He (Carpi) had always been a hot-mouthed fellow, and just the sort of man to be carried away by his affections or dislikes (*quemarse con loco fuego*). Being naturally ingenious and quick he exaggerated things, especially when they had reference to political changes and revolutions of states, to which he seemed particularly inclined. Yet it might be advisable to act upon his information as if it were substantially true, and hasten the decision of the cause in order to

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put a stop to the chimerical ideas of the English king. I also told the Pope that unless he forbade the universities giving opinion on these matters, kings in future would have no need of the Holy See in their affairs, but would obtain from two or three universities an opinion in favour of anything they wanted. That was a bad state of things, which concerned His Holiness much more than it did us, owing to the consequences the measure might have. He promised to look into it, and said he had already written to his Nuncio to call upon the king of France and make the necessary representations.

The Pope begins to be afraid that Florence will be ultimately sacked by the Imperial troops, and he is right. He told me the other day to write to Your Majesty about it, and beg that orders should be sent to the Prince to prevent that catastrophe. I, myself, have done so already, but His Holiness begs and entreats that a letter should also come from Your Majesty to the Prince. I cannot help thinking that this is for Your Majesty's best service, because he (the Pope) being at present in treaty with France, and the English [king] saying "that the Pope would give one million to know his secret;" that proves to me that if over and above what he has already spent, he saw Florence sacked almost before his eyes, and perhaps also without any warning (*fuera de tiempo*), for such is the insolence of the soldiery, I really believe that he would go into despair.

At Siena, from letters I have just received, there has been a most scandalous riot and cries of death to the Spaniards! The thing, I hear, originated in a dispute about private interests (*por intereses començados (?) de particulares*); but as I have heard that the Florentines have been soliciting the Sienese of late to enter into a league, the movement may have some importance. Lope de Soria writes about it, but gives no details. To-day the ambassador of France, bishop of Tarbes, has been preconized in Consistory. Had two more hats been given to Pistoia and to the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), as announced, they would be in equal number to those created at Bologna. If the game is to continue thus, one *white* the other *black*, it will be our turn next to mix up the cards.—Rome, 8th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

9 June. **343.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 851, f. 45.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 143.

Wrote yesterday to the Emperor. Went this morning to compliment cardinal Tarbes on his promotion, and was received by him in the most friendly manner. Took, however, occasion to tell him that he (Mai) understood that his master was endeavouring to obtain votes in favour of the king of England, and although I could not possibly believe it, yet that in fulfilment of our promise to tell each other whatever might

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occur to us respecting the preservation of friendship, I could not do less than mention the report, for, I said, "it is doing no good service to the King, your master, that Mr. de Langeais should solicit votes in his name." The Cardinal (Tarbes) said he did not believe the report, but was thankful for the information, and that he would write next day by express. He then produced certain letters of the most Christian King to him on this very subject, which seemed to say the very reverse, and told me in secret that the King, his master, as well as Madame [his mother], and the other lady, whom they style queen of Navarre,* all thought very ill of the affair.

Intends by the same post to inform the Imperial ambassador and the Papal Nuncio in France of all this.

Sanga is just now leaving my room; he tells me [that the Pope has sent for the general of the Dominicans.—Rome, 9th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. Cath. Maj."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

10 June. **344.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon [Covos].

S. E. L. 851, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 20.

Wrote about a month ago,† but having had no answer he (Mai) thinks proper to repeat here part of what he then said inasmuch as something new has occurred.

After writing from Ferrara by a servant of Castaldo, he (Mai) left for Rome with cardinal Osma (Garcia de Loaysa). Arrived at Rome only two or three days before the Pope. Found on his arrival the Imperial courier with the letters of the 21st ult°. Gave the Emperor's letters to the Pope.

The Pope's *advogado fiscal* has hitherto done good service, and shews great affection for the Emperor. A year ago, as a French treasurer was at Spoletto distributing money and engaging men for the expedition to the Abruzzi, he (Mai) had occasion to have him appointed Papal commissary, and he managed so well that all those who had taken money had to give it back, and the French were baffled in their purpose. He may be of great use under present circumstances. A letter of thanks ought to be addressed to him in the Emperor's name.

Fray Felice de Prado is the name of the Anconitan friar (*el fraile de Anchona*), who wrote in behalf of the queen of England. As his naturalization was not required we did not apply for it. He wants a letter of recommendation to the Pope, that he may get a reserve of 500 ducats. It ought to be sent to him, for although the Pope is not likely to grant what he asks, yet it is important to keep him (Fr. Felice) content and in good humour.

Don Juan de Borja has come to claim the duchy of Camerino, which, he says, belongs to him, and is now possessed by a niece of the Pope and sister of cardinal Cibo.

* Marguerite de Valois married to Jean d' Albret

† See above, No. 300.

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Told him on the road to Rome that he expected letters from Court in recommendation of his suit, and was very much disappointed at not receiving them.

His Reverence, cardinal Ancona, is still at his see, and it is doubtful whether he will return this summer. If he does not we shall miss him greatly for our affairs, though if your Lordship forgets him entirely, as well as Monte and La Valle, it will be just as well.*

These postmasters say that they have no orders to dispatch couriers, which is contrary to what Salinas told him at Castelfranco.

Rome just now is very gay and full of Spaniards. There is no longer any fear of their being insulted by the inhabitants, on the contrary, some of them are at their old tricks again; but he (Mai) will try to prevent as much as possible their becoming obnoxious to the people and giving cause for disturbance.†

Is anxiously expecting the ambassador of the king of Hungary, Miçer Andrea del Burgo, who is again coming to Rome to reside with his wife, the Countess.‡ Is now writing to the Abbot that he may see him [the Commander] and inquire what is to be done with mine.§—Rome, 10th June 1530.

(*Holograph:*) Has travelled all the way in company with cardinal Osma, to whom he (Mai) has explained all the Roman affairs.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

14 June. **345.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 28.

I received this morning Your Majesty's letter of the 11th, with the postscript of the 14th ult°. With regard to the execution of the brief mentioned in the Imperial letter, I must say that it came under the King's notice some time ago, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, but neither the king nor M. de Norfolk (who spoke at first as if he were afraid of it‖), nor any other person in their name, has since raised any objection on that point. The only complaints heard are *among the people of this country*, who grumble at the execution not having been published here as well as in Flanders, and also because the said brief does not expressly enforce the separation of the Lady (*demoiselle*) from the King during the trial, which certainly ought to take place according to right and civil Law. Indeed, unless there be a chance of the divorce suit being soon decided, it would be well if Your Majesty would get the Pope to insist on this separation, for the Queen says that if the Lady (*demoiselle*) could only be kept for one month away

* "Pero meior será si le olvidais, y á él y á Monte y á La Valle."

† "No solo no temo que les hagan sobras, mas [que] alguno dellos no haga algun desorden; yo lo trabajaré a desviar y prevenir todo lo que fuere posible."

‡ Micer Andrea del Burgo had been made count of Castiglione (Castil Leone).

§ "Que se deve de hacer de la mia." Mai had a brother who was an abbot (*abad*).

‖ "Quen fist auparavant ung peu de leffroye."

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from Court, she is quite sure that the King could be brought back into the right path.

I heard from M. de Norfolk that the King intended at first to send Dr. Benoyt (Bennet) to Rome, owing to his being thoroughly acquainted with every part of the cause, in which he had taken an active part from the beginning. The King thought, besides, that in so important a matter as this it was not well to trust entirely to his ambassadors at Rome, how ever able they might be; but M. de Norfolk had persuaded the King to send instead of Dr. Benoyt (Bennet) to reside at Your Majesty's court a gentleman named Arbey (Hervey), and had recommended him for the said mission, owing to his being well acquainted with the French and Flemish languages, besides his being a man of great integrity, incapable of intriguing or lying. This gentleman, until very recently, when it was proposed that he should be sent to Your Majesty, has not been much at Court, but now I hear that his wife (a widow of Huynt filz (Wingfield), who died ambassador in Toledo) came to Court in attendance on the Lady, and from what I have been able to gather on many occasions when this gentleman has come to visit me, I conclude *that he is a strong partizan of the Lady.* This gentleman went at the King's command on Whitsun-eve to take leave of the Queen and ask whether it pleased her to send any letters to Your Majesty, and on the following day came to wish me good-bye, as he said he intended to start next morning, which he actually did. He assured me that (although the King had said nothing to him about it) he certainly should not go [to Italy] without seeing* Madame [the Archduchess].

I cannot perceive here at present any indication that the King will allow the cause to be determined at Rome, as the said doctor presumes; on the contrary, quite recently some of the King's councillors have positively stated to me that the King will not consent to it, unless the Pope by some good and remarkable act should assure him that the case will be decided entirely in his favour, and should shew less regard for Your Majesty than he has done hitherto. Should the King consent to refer the case to Rome it must be either because he feels sure that the French universities, on whose opinion he lays much weight, will decide for him, or because he has some sort of promise from the Pope, or otherwise believes that the latter will be glad, as I was told at Windsor, for an opportunity to break with Your Majesty and come round to him; to gain which end I am sure the King will spare no means within his own and his friend's reach.

The King and Queen have kept Whitsuntide at Windsor, but the Princess has not been permitted to go there. The Queen is treated [by the King] as usual; of late she has been

* "Le jour de la dite feste yl me vent ausy dire ladieu pour deslouger lendemain, ce quil a fait, et me asseura quil ne passeroit (combien quil nen eust charge de son maystre) sans alle parler a Madame."

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rather disappointed and anxious at hearing that the French universities wish to decide against her,* but still she has such confidence in Your Majesty that she can bear all her trials with firmness.

The Queen's case, it must be said, has been *most maliciously conducted in France, certainly not without the King's desire and command.* I wrote at the time to Maistre Guillaume des Barres, and to the treasurer of Besançon,† Your Majesty's ambassadors in France, requesting them to address strong representations to the King on this head, and I hear they have done so with great diligence and zeal. However, as Your Majesty cannot fail to have full accounts of what is going on there, from the said ambassador, as well as from Dr. Garay, whose letter is herein enclosed, I will say no more on this subject.

I have not been able to see or speak with *the Grand Equerry* since I last wrote. Dr. Sampson since his return from Italy has only been to see me once, eight days ago; he made many apologies, founded on time and circumstances, for not having come to see me before. Said he would some day explain himself further. I gathered from what he told me in the course of conversation that he would not have ventured to come at all but for the encouragement and advice of M. de Norfolk,‡ but I firmly believe, whatever may be his offers of service to Your Majesty, that so long as things remain in their present state *he will have no great desire to carry them out.*—London, 10th June 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

14 June. **346.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 36.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 145.

Wrote on the 7th what had been done up to that date in the affair of the queen of England. This is becoming more serious every day, for the English ambassadors are making great efforts, which may be considered a prelude for greater things. Not only did they hint at Bologna, as I wrote in my last despatch,§ that the Pope wished to lose the obedience of England, but they actually threatened that if the Pope did not favour them, or as they call it, disfavoured them, their King would lend the Florentines 10,000 ducats, and even a larger sum if required.

Here, notwithstanding, the suit goes on by contumacy, and now we are to draw up our articles; but these lawyers are much confused, and I, too, at our not receiving any papers

* "Elle a este ung peu troublee entendant les universites de France vouloer determiner en sa desfaveur."

† Bonvalot?

‡ "Et me sembla a son parler que sans le enhortement et conseyl de Monsieur de Nolpholc apayne heust il ouse venir."

§ "See that of page 578, No. 340.

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from England, and no original deeds,* or attested copies of them from Spain. Yet with all this we proceed and will do our best.

I have made two demands from the Pope: first, that he give us a brief forbidding the university of Paris† or any other to write in this matter as a body (*collegialmente*), since they cannot be well informed, not having heard the parties; secondly, another brief to enable us to proceed in the cause, notwithstanding the holidays of the first week of July, which is a thing commonly granted in cases of importance. Respecting the former demand, the Pope referred me to Sancti Quatuor; the second I fear will not be granted.

Yesterday Dr. Benet went to the Palace to kiss His Holiness' foot; the bishop of London (Stokesley), remains at Bologna, we know not why; it is said to recover from illness, but this we are afraid is a feint, for we never heard he was ill.

No sooner did I hear that Dr. Benet had left [the Palace], than I myself went and called on the Pope, whom I found very much agitated, in consequence of a long and artful (*artificiosa*) Latin letter from the King, wherein he complained most bitterly of him, saying that he had not answered his expectations in the least. He had expressed a wish to hear the bishop of London's opinion on the matter, and he (the King) had accordingly sent him to Bologna, yet the Pope would not listen to him. These (the letter said) were not matters to be treated legally‡, and if His Holiness only consented to suspend the proceedings till September, he (the King) promised that nothing new should be done there (in England) in the meantime. The King wished to try this means of settling the question at issue, and would endure anything rather than have to complain of His Holiness, for otherwise he would be compelled, much against his wish, to bring forward most serious charges.

Whilst His Holiness was reading the letter to me he stopped at two passages and said: "Verily the King of England has misunderstood me, and put words in my mouth which I never uttered. He writes to say that I desired to know the opinion of the bishop [of London] on this matter of the divorce, and that for that reason, he (the King) sent him to Bologna, but I never expressed such a desire; on the contrary, being importuned by the Bishop at Bologna, to listen to what he had to say, I answered that since the case was soon to be determined by judgment there was no necessity for me to hear him. The other statement, that I promised to prorogue the cause till September, is equally untrue. What I said was, that if His Highness promised not to attempt any innovation, but to leave things as they were, I would try to have the cause prorogued. This I said in the hope that the

* "Here is a marginal note in the hand of Covos thus worded: "The original brief is here, but it is too important to be sent on. If a copy be required one shall be made under the Cardinal's attestation and forwarded."

† Let them labour to obtain this brief for Paris.

‡ "Que esto no habia de andar ni tractar [se] judicialmente."

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Emperor and the King being then nearer to each other than I myself was, might settle matters between themselves; I never did promise more." I replied in jest: "We shall see now whether Your Holiness will give me the brief entitling us to proceed during these holidays."

This delay "till September"—alluded to in the King's letter two or three times—made me rather suspicious, inasmuch as in other parts of the same letter only "three months" were mentioned. Thinking that they (the English) might be glad of the delay, in order to concoct in the meantime some future plan, I considered the matter over, and soon came to the conclusion that the King wishes for some reason or other that the delay should last as long as possible, for it appears that in September the holidays end, and that is the reason why they say in the letter *three calendar months*, which counting from the 1st of July to the end of September, would make just 90 days. The Pope is also of my opinion.

His Holiness told me also to consider whether it would not be advisable to suspend the proceedings (*sobreseer*), since the King promised not to innovate in the meantime. I answered that I had positive orders from Your Majesty to go on with the suit. That the question of suspending the action had already been discussed in your Council, and that, nevertheless, I had orders to go on, and therefore that until I received instructions from Your Majesty I could not possibly desist. I promised, however, to write home and inform Your Majesty of the whole, but could not help observing that the king of England was trying to make a very hard bargain to secure the Pope's sanction in a cause condemned by God and by common right, and lastly by his own brief.*

Now that Your Majesty knows the ins and outs of this affair we wait for further instructions. Meanwhile I shall begin from to-morrow to solicit permission to proceed during the vacation, and if they refuse it, as I think they will, it would, in my opinion, be advisable to make sure of the game† lest the King should marry in the meantime, because, as I said before, the only way of proceeding is by persuasion, as Your Majesty has always recommended. Such being the case it would be advisable to send the English an answer as soon as possible, because if favourable and coming before the holidays, they will be grateful for it, whereas if it comes after the holidays have begun, it is as if we gave

* "Que ya esto de su sobreseimiento se hablo en consejo de Su Mt. y con ello me mandaron proseguir la causa, y que assi lo haria hasta tener otro mandamiento; pero que lo escribiria á V. Mt. porque lo supiesse todo, y que me parecia que le queria el Rey de Ingleterra vender muy caro su sobreseimiento de cosa reprobada de Dios y por derecho y postreramente por el breve de Su Sd."

† "Pienso que seria bien en tal caso hazer del juego mañan (maña?) para assegurarnos que no se case entre tanto el rey; porque, como digo, no ha de mirar esto tanto, sino por tractar este negocio con blandura, como V. Md. siempre ha señalado de quererlo hazer."

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them nothing. However this may be, if I obtain the brief I am asking for, I shall go on with the proceedings until Your Majesty writes to me to stop.

When I said give way (*blandear*) I meant in that only wherein we cannot do otherwise, because this Dr. Benet* has told His Holiness, as if it came from himself, that it would be desirable for both parties that some expedient should be found of putting an end to this suit, and that His Holiness having inquired what the expedient could be, the doctor answered: that for the sake of the King's honour and reputation it might be advisable to say that the Queen, as she asserts and swears, had never connection with prince Arthur. The cause once being made to take that direction there was no need of dispensation, nor occasion to dispute whether the Pope could dispense or not. I told His Holiness that on the part of Your Majesty and of the Queen there could be no possible objection to the proposal, and that if he (the Pope) chose I would at once put a stop to the suit. It was His Holiness' interest, not ours, to uphold the authority of the Apostolic See, thus disregarded, and yet His Holiness might still approve of the expedient proposed, since after all he still had the power of dispensing notwithstanding what they have said to the contrary. The Pope assented and said he would do this.

He also related to me that Benet had told him that Bollan (Boleyn) knew nothing at all about this negociation, and had since his arrival at Bologna tried to keep him off as he had no doubt seen the wolf's ears.

This is the third version of the affair, and may it be the last, for I recollect very well having written quite a different one to Your Majesty on two previous occasions, just as the Pope had told me the ambassadors had represented matters to him. This last version, I imagine, is the true one, for it is reported that it is the duke of Norfolk's daughter-in-law who is dead, and that Bollan (Boleyn)† wishes to marry his (the Duke's) son to Mistress Anne, which is considered a good thing for both parties; for her, as she cannot marry the King, that she should marry the greatest lord in the realm; and for the King, as he cannot marry her at present, because he will not have so much difficulty in accomplishing his object as he has now that she has hopes of another marriage. All

* "Digo esto de blandear en lo que no podriamos excusar, por lo que este Doctor Benet ha dicho a su Santidad platicando en este negocio como de suyo, que seria bien sy se hallase algund medio en esta causa, y que platicandolo su Santidad con el le dixo; que por salvar la honrra del Rey, que ya no puede salir con su honrra sino le dan alguna salida, que seria bien dezir que esta señora, como ella lo dize y jura, no fue conoscida de Arturo."

† "Porque dizen que al duque de Nourforc le es muerta la nuera y que Bollan dessea de casar con su hijo á la Maestressa Anna, y es de creer, porque estaria bien a todos; a ella pues no puede casar con el Rey que casará con el mayor señor del Reyno, y al Rey, que pues no puede casar con ella, no le sera despues tan dificil como le es agora con la esperança del [dicho] casamiento, y esto no lo diria [Benet] sino porque el lo dixo, y con otras palabras mayores."

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this the Pope only knew from his (Dr. Benet's) having told it him with many other things of a still graver nature.

Yesterday the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci) and Dr. Benet sent for Fr. Felice de Prato and asked him to write in favour of the King, which he refused; neither would he shew them what he had written on our behalf. Cardinal Ravenna tells me that if necessary he will ride post to Rome to be employed in this case.—Rome, 14th June 1530.

14 June. **347.** Cardinal Colonna to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 851, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 149.

Private affairs of the ex-abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino).

The English king appears so bent upon this divorce, and is making such efforts to obtain it that he may any day with the assistance of the French oppose the Emperor's interests in Italy and create disturbances.

Italian. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

[15] June. **348.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. E. L. 635, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580. f. 213.

Wrote by Don Antonio de Fonseca who left this city on the 7th inst., announcing his arrival, &c. Has made a longer stay than he at first meditated, in order to prepare certain business to be laid before the Diet at Augsburg. Has now done so with the co-operation of the most Reverend Cardinal Campeggio, who resides at his court as Legate of His Holiness the Pope, and that of the cardinals Saspuerge (Saltzburg) and Trent, of the dukes of Bavaria, Count Palatine, and others. Will soon take his departure for the latter city, where the electors and princes are already waiting for him.

With regard to France, there is nothing to say, as Mr. de Praët must already have informed her.

Italy at peace, and the Pope re-assured. Only Florence resists still. Finding that it was strongly fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, and that it could not be taken without much loss of blood and the consequent sack and perhaps total destruction of the city, orders have been given for the investment to be made still closer, so as to stop the supplies, and oblige the citizens to capitulate. As, moreover, the investment of Florence does not require so great a force orders have been given for 1,000 Spaniards and as many Italians to proceed at once to Hungary in addition to 1,000 more of the former nation, and of his own body guard who have already been sent thither.

The Turk is not coming down to Germany or Italy this year as has been generally stated for some time. He is, however, making immense preparations both by sea and land, and therefore it is necessary to be on the alert.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* "This letter has no date but it must have been written at Innsbruck between the 14th of June and the 15th, when the Emperor made his entry into Augsburg.

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15 June. **349.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 46.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 150.

Has received from Grimaldo the 17,500 crs. of the "decimas," 10,000 of which he has immediately forwarded to the Prince [of Orange] by Francesco Valori,* one of the Pope's servants.

News of the Turk communicated by the Pope to his Legate at the Imperial court.

Levies being secretly made in the duchy of Ferrara and in Venice, as it is said, for the relief of Florence. This cannot be, unless the king of France helps them with money. The only person likely to be the winner at this game is Monsieur de Tarbes, who, by making the Pope believe that he was going to do wonders for the reduction of Florence, has gained his cardinal's hat.

Until now cardinal Colonna has written to Miçer Mai and to me that he would never consent to the marriage of the ex-abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) with his niece (Claudia Colonna), but now he writes in a very different mood, saying that he was not aware of the many events that have taken place with regard to it. Some even think that the matter is already arranged between them and the marriage made, at which the Pope is anything but pleased.—Rome, 15th June 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesª. et Cathcª. Majti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

15 June. **350.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 34.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 153.

Since the above was written the proctors of the Queen have applied for terms of contumacy (*terminos de contumacia*) against the king of England, which the judge not only has refused to admit, but has also recalled all those hitherto made by us, on the plea that the Pope had ordered him not to proceed with the cause without first giving him notice. He (the judge) had not borne that circumstance in mind at the time the suit commenced, and that was the reason why he recalled now everything that had been done. It was useless for us to allege that the suspension agreed upon with Gonzaga was on condition that at the expiration of the delay the cause should be resumed, the judge excused himself by saying he knew nothing about that, the Pope had given him certain orders and those he must obey. "You had better apply to the Pope," said he to our solicitors, and so we shall, for I am sure that all this is an intrigue to throw us out till the holidays commence. This is not a hopeful sign for their granting us the commission we are applying for.

* A Florentine in the Pope's service, who had been obliged to quit that city and take refuge in Rome. A relative of his, Bartholomeo, or Baccio Valori, was at this time Papal commissioner in Chalon's army.

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To-day, in Chapel, on the eve of Corpus Christi, I told Dr. Benet that I was bound to proceed in this cause, and wished to give him notice thereof that he might, if furnished with a mandate from his master, present it in judgment, for if not I should consider myself free of all responsibility as having done what was right in the matter. I begged to be excused, &c.

Dr. Benet thanked me for my courtesy and said he had no mandate, inasmuch as the King thinking that the cause would not proceed till September, had sent him neither powers, nor the deeds and papers to be presented here [at Rome]. This answer of the Doctor looks to me like a new device (*cautela*) to induce the Pope not to grant us the commission applied for.

He [Dr. Benet] went further. he told me that he wished very much that the cause should come to a good end, and that he had some hopes of it. He had already told the Pope so. I could not (he said) do anything in 20 days' time, and it was far better for me to be generous in a matter which could not be avoided; for two or three terms I might gain by default of the English (*contradictas*) I would get nothing, save over-irritating the King. Had he (Benet) known at Bologna,* where the mandate and instructions of the King, his master, had reached him, as much as he knows now, he would certainly have applied to Your Majesty, and had he been aware that the ambassador now coming from England had arrived at the Imperial court, he would have written to him by this post, for he considered it for the Queen's interest that the proceedings should be suspended. My answer was that Your Majesty had given frequent orders for proroguing, and that I myself had done the same without consulting Your Majesty or the Queen, but that now I would not dare do it, for it would not be right. I mention these facts that Your Majesty may better decide upon the whole, as I said in my last despatch.

I have also received letters to-day from Don Lope de Soria informing me that he has spoken with Philipo Decio, a great professor at Siena, to whom I once wrote soliciting his vote on our behalf, and that he excuses himself on the plea that he has already been retained by and received money from the English. Nevertheless, having heard what Don Lope had to tell him, he (Decio) promised to reconsider the matter, and so I have written to him again to see if he could do what my host at Bologna, also a very great lawyer (*grande hombre*), once did, for having carefully studied the matter he undeceived his clients.†

News is being circulated through Rome that the marquis of Montferrato has broken his collar-bone whilst out riding (*moviendo un cavallo*), and has died in consequence. I cannot

* "Y que si oy él supiera lo que supo en Boloña donde le alcançaron los poderes é instrucciones de su Rey que él lo impetrara de V. Mt."

† "Y despues de bien estudiado los desengañó."

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say whether that fief allows female; I am told it does not, and that the only remaining relative is an uncle, old and infirm, who is not included in the deed of investiture.*

It is also stated that the prince of Bisignano has died without male children. I have sent to inquire from cardinal Sanct Severino who tells me that he has not heard of the Prince's death; on the contrary he had a letter from him on the 5th inst.

I have told the bishop of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) that I had received letters of the same day (the 5th) announcing that the delivery of the hostages would take place on the 8th. —Rome, 15th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty, the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

15 June. **351.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 851, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 155.

The death of the High Chancellor (Mercurino di Gattinara) has removed the anxieties of many of the cardinals who aspire to the Pontificate and were afraid of him.

Thanks for the favours bestowed on his brother, abbot Mai. Wonders how Don Diego de Sotomayor dares say of him the things he publishes at Court, for certainly neither he (Mai) nor cardinal d'Osma has done or said anything in the affair except conveying to the Pope the Emperor's messages.—Rome, 15th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed:

Spanish. Original. p. .

15 June. **352.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 34–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 157.

Since my despatches of the 8th or 9th, I am in receipt of letters from cardinal Colonna, informing me that his brother, Julio Colonna, had sent him a deed (*aucto*) shewing that the marriage between the ex-Abbot of Farfa and his niece (Claudia) could not be prevented.†

(*Cipher:*) Went to the Pope and told him the news. He was greatly offended, and said the whole of it was done on purpose to annoy him. The ex-Abbot's people were still committing depredations in the territory of the Church, and he himself had threatened to enter Rome. Seeing the Pope's displeasure I naturally asked him whether I could do anything

* Boniface VI., son of William or Guglielmo, at this time about 13 years of age, and under the guardianship of his mother Anne, daughter of René d'Alençon. He was succeeded by his uncle Giovan Giorgio, at that time bishop of Casale.

† A letter to be written to the Cardinal telling him that this marriage cannot possibly, and must, not take place. *Marginal note in the hand of Covos.*

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for him in the matter. He made no reply, and went on shewing great concern at the news. I confess that the quality and rank of the Cardinal make this a very scandalous affair, for though I do not think he does this entirely to annoy the Pope, whose sworn enemy he certainly is, yet he fancies that everyone, and Your Majesty also, may again be in need of his family (the Colonnese). On the other hand, this blockhead of an Abbot is sure to do anything he (the Cardinal) suggests without appearing to take part in it, and as he himself is afraid and envious of the Prince's aggrandizement (*grandeza*), he naturally tries to increase his own reputation in every possible way, not only for the sake of the pontificate in case of a vacancy, but in every other respect, as he did once when he leagued himself with the French.* By these means the Cardinal perhaps thinks he may gain the respect of Ascanio and other members of his own family, who, as I said in one of my despatches, are not entirely with him at present. Much might be gained by getting the Colonnese and the Orsini to settle their differences and lean to our side; but I am afraid of the chiefs of the respective families. If Your Majesty decide that the proposed marriage alliance do not take place the Pope will be glad, for besides his continual fear at seeing his territory invaded and his land wasted both by the Orsini and the Colonnese, he is afraid that this state of things may encourage the Florentines to further resistance.

I told Your Majesty in one of my despatches that levies were being made at Ferrara and elsewhere for the purpose of helping the Florentines and increasing the garrison of Pisa. After the taking of Empoli the matter subsided a little, but still I hear from Florence that they are now expecting a message from the Duke (Alfonso d'Este), and certainly the circumstance of his having visited Venice shortly after the arrival at his court of the French ambassador, and these levies of men in his estate, are sufficient symptoms of his being mixed up with some intrigue, though it must be said that on his return from Venice he had edicts promulgated in his capital forbidding levies, &c. Nor is the Pope very sure of the Venetians, notwithstanding all their protestations, because, as is well known, levies are still being made in their territory. He complained of this to their ambassador here, who denied the fact altogether, though he was upon two different occasions heard to say to Tarbes, that after the restitution of the hostages he would tell him things very much to his taste, which statement was afterwards repeated to the Pope by Tarbes himself. What the allusion may be neither His Holiness nor I can guess, unless it be something relating to Florence, where the most Christian King has not behaved so well as he ought, for Malatesta sent word to Mosetula (Muxetula) that it was not he who encouraged the hopes of the Florentines; the en-

* Cardinal Pompeo Colonna had been appointed viceroy of Naples during the absence of the prince of Orange. In 1512 Pompeo had taken the part of the French.

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couragement came from a much higher source. Jacopo Salviati, however, maintains that if there has been double dealing on the part of the French king, it has been entirely out of fear of not recovering his sons, and that the restitution once effected, he will not harm the undertaking, but help it.

In France is a man of the Vayvod's who has sent here certain letters. It would appear as if the object was to procure the revocation of the act passed in Consistory at Bologna depriving him of his pretended kingdom. The letters were read here in Consistory, at which Miçer Andrea del Burgo was very angry, but we have since agreed to dissemble and make no fuss about it until instructions come from king Ferdinand.

The duke of Milan, I am assured, is consumptive, and cannot live long. This is perhaps the cause of the amicable relations between the Pope and Venice, which become daily closer and closer. I have no doubt that the duchy of Milan and the health of the Duke have something to do with it, for last year, though enemies, they were united on this point.

Luigi Gonzaga has come and placed all his papers in the Pope's hands.

Martin Roman left the other day for Naples.

The duke of Gravina has likewise left for the camp before Florence, for he wishes to come to some agreement (*concertarse*) with the prince [of Orange]. Bishop of Salamanca and his suit against Santiago. Confirmation of Adrian's bull, &c.—Rome, 14th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed:

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

15 June. **353.** Dr. Garay to the Emperor.

P. Arch. Nat.

Thanks the Emperor for his letter dated Innsbruck, 7th May. Will execute the Emperor's commands. Wishes he were a more powerful and influential man, then things would certainly not have come to such a pass. The state of the affair is this: perceiving this king's bent, he (Garay) wrote to the ambassador, Bonvalot,* to take measures in order to prevent this Faculty from giving opinion in this matter, knowing that the greater part of the doctors were suborned and had signed the invalidity of the marriage. Notified the same thing to Madame (Margaret). Notwithstanding the diligence of the Imperial ambassadors, the thing could not be helped, and the King has actually ordered by two Royal letters that the question be disputed and determined therein. Many doctors have been summoned to this Council, and the utmost violence and wickedness prevail. Several who were in favour of the Queen are either dead or absent and dare not speak, so that

* A brother-in-law of Granvelle, at this time in charge of the Imperial embassy in France.

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there is not the liberty of action required in a case of such importance. The deliberations began three days ago, and although he (Garay) and the rest of the doctors have taken their oath not to reveal what passes at the conferences, yet he can without breaking it, write to beseech His Majesty to put a remedy to the evil by obtaining from the Pope a brief forbidding under all pains and censures the meeting of these doctors, and excommunicating all those who have signed for the king of England, and who do favour him, of whatever rank and profession they may be, annulling all that has been done, and depriving the delinquent ecclesiastics of their respective benefices. His Holiness has more than sufficient reason to do this, for they all are acting against the usage and practice of the Church for the last thousand years, &c. Has dispatched a messenger to the Queen and to Madame [of the Low Countries], and also to the Imperial ambassador residing in this country, informing them of everything. Has no more to say or advice to give on the subject; but the Emperor may in the meantime set his mind perfectly at ease; all the doctors of this Faculty, who have learning and fear God, are in favour of this truth, and are trying to uphold the same, notwithstanding the violence committed and the means employed against justice, truth, and common reason. They will do all they can that the Faculty may give such solution to the affair *dé tal salida á la Empresa*, that whilst the King's commands are obeyed the Church [of Christ] may receive no offence thereat, and their honour and reputation may be preserved. Though a rather difficult task to accomplish, he (Garay) trusts in God that the doctors will come honourably out of it.

Had Mr. de Alachaulx (Lachaux), whom may God forgive, attached faith to his (Garay's) words at the beginning nothing of this would have happened, but he is convinced and, indeed, believes as matter of faith that all this happens in favour and for the glory of a princess whom God has endowed with so much sanctity and so many virtues, &c.*

The Pope should long since have compelled the king of England to do his duty. Everyone here is astonished at his tolerating these proceedings, and some go so far as to hint that he has been gained over by the King. May God forbid it, for it would be a great misfortune for the Christian Republic!

Has been told, though he is not sure of the fact, that the King has already been twice admonished to do his duty towards the Queen, and has not only disobeyed, but appealed. Had a

* "Pero tengo por fe que todo sucede en favor y gloria de princesa en quien Dios puso tanta santidad y tantas virtudes." The remainder of the paragraph, which I have not translated, stands thus: "Por cuya justicia y defension bastaria que en tantos tiempos le negase el Rey la cama contra la auctoridad de la Iglesia, no podiendo ser cierto que estava casado con ella contra ley de Dios, y pues por sola su auctoridad se apartó hechando á su Al. fuera de su possession, sin estar cierto de lo que digo, el Papa deberia, dias a muchos, costreñirle a lo que era obligado."

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third admonition been conveyed to him these disputes might have been shortened; even if he (Garay) had at hand a copy of the second, the same effect might have been produced. Begs that a copy of the brief above alluded to come as quick as possible; it will be of great use in dissolving such meetings (*conciliabulos*) as these really are, though it is perhaps for the Emperor's honour that they are allowed to exist, that the malice may become manifest. As soon as the deliberations are at an end, which he presumes will be shortly, shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty with the result. Out of the 80 doctors who attend this congregation, there are only 10 whose life and learning give any weight to their opinion. Would not give a feather for the rest, for all the world knows their arts and the rogueries (*bellaquerias*), deceptions, and lies they have practised upon him for the last three months; several he knows are rather fond of money and accustomed to be paid for their opinions.

Should the Emperor wish him (Garay) to be the bearer of his own report, and take it to Rome or elsewhere, let the Imperial ambassador be informed of it, that he may at once start on his journey.—Paris, 15th June 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

15 June. **354.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 29.

Immediately after the dispatch of my last letters of the 10th inst. I received information that the King had written to certain of the prelates and high officials (*grans maistres*) of this country, desiring them to be present at his court on the 12th inst.,* each of them bringing with him his seal of office, and that such as for some sufficient cause could not be present themselves should at least send the said seals of office. On the 12th, which was last Sunday, the greater part of those who had been summoned appeared at Court, where, as I am given to understand, they were most urgently exhorted, as the representatives of one portion of the kingdom, to write conjointly to the Pope, explaining the necessity there was for the King to divorce the Queen and make another marriage, and pointing out also all the evils that would arise if this were not done. The address ended by praying His Holiness, in conformity with the opinion of the most famous universities and most learned men in Christendom, to declare the marriage between the King and Queen illegal, and authorise the King to take another wife, intimating that should His Holiness refuse to grant so just and reasonable a petition the King and his people must seek some other means of redress even if that should involve the summoning of a General Council; this last sentence being added to the document by way of a threat, as if they thought that what the Pope most

* "De se debuoer iceux rendre et representer en sa court."

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fears is the calling of a Council of the Church. To give the address greater weight and authority it was to bear the signatures and official seals of all these prelates and gentlemen, and though only those well known to be on the King's side were summoned to the meeting, still they were unable at the time to come to a resolution, and therefore the meeting was adjourned until to-morrow, Corpus Christi Day. Not one of the prelates known to be favourable to the Queen received a summons, nor the Chancellor either, whom they suspect. I have been told that last Sunday, when this affair of the marriage was being discussed, it was asked why the King should not (having obtained the opinion of so many competent judges on this matter) marry at once, without awaiting any further approval of his conduct, especially as he had cause to be suspicious of the Pope. But few were found to support such an extravagant motion as this, or speak against it, until one of the King's chief favourites, fearing lest he should adhere to the proposal, and be persuaded to carry out his purpose, threw himself down on his knees and implored the King to take into consideration the slight symptoms of disaffection (*les petites esmotions*) appearing in many parts of the kingdom, and the inclination of the people, which the slightest provocation might kindle into a flame, and that if he was determined to make this marriage without awaiting the definitive judgment of the Church, that he should at least delay it until winter, when the general excitement might have somewhat subsided. Here the question remains for the present.

On this same Sunday the Queen spoke for some time with the King, exhorting him to be again to her a good prince and husband, and to quit the evil life he was leading and the bad example he was setting, and that even if he would shew no regard for her, who was, as he well knew, his true and lawful wife, that he should at least respect God and his conscience, and no longer ignore the brief which had been executed in Flanders. The King, after many words and much commendation of those who had written in his favour, said that the brief was of very little consequence, and that even if it were he should not heed it much, because the Pope was compelled to act as the Emperor wished, and with that the King left the room abruptly without saying another word.

The Queen has since sent to ask me whether the said brief should be presented to the King. My answer has been that I think it expedient to do so, as he can then no longer allege ignorance of it, and we shall be able to obtain a last monition of excommunication (*reaggravatoyre*) against him. I believe this will be done to-morrow.*

I wrote lately to Your Majesty that if the Lady [Anne] could only be kept away from Court for a little while, the

* "Et croys que demain yl en sera salue."

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Queen might still regain her influence over the King, for he does not seem to bear any ill-will towards her. Quite lately he sent her some cloth begging her to have it made into shirts for him. The Lady, hearing of this, sent for the person who had taken the cloth—one of the principal gentlemen of the bedchamber—and although the King himself confessed that the cloth had been taken to the Queen by his order, she abused the bearer in the King's very presence, threatening that she would have him punished severely. Indeed, there is a talk, as I am told, of dismissing, to please the Lady, some of the officers of the Royal Household, and if so, the said gentleman will not be the last, for some time back the wife of the young Marquis (of Dorset?) and two other ladies, most devoted to the Queen,* and in whom she found more comfort and consolation than in any others, were, at her request, dismissed from Court and sent home.

I have received to-day letters from Paris from Dr. Garay of the 8th inst., in which he says that the king of France had issued a warrant commanding the university of Paris to come to a determination on the divorce affair, but that the University after having met several times in consultation, replied on the 7th instant that as the case was already in the Pope's hands to determine, it did not become them to meddle with it. In spite of this, Dr. Garay says he fears that the King will give the doctors no peace until they have declared in favour of the divorce, unless Your Majesty can obtain in the meantime from the Pope the brief about which Dr. Garay wrote recently in the letter that went with my last despatch, or the king of France be otherwise induced to desist from these practices. This, however, must be done at once, for according to Garay the pressure from here is considerable. He also writes to me that, following my advice, he has acquainted the Imperial ambassador in France with all these particulars. I have no doubt that he will do his duty, as he always has done, and yet should he get a special charge from Your Majesty he might speak more boldly and openly on the subject.† The affair, in short, is well worth Your Majesty's attention.

Whilst writing the above I have received a letter from *the Cardinal's physician,* in which he tells me in rather obscure terms (*assez obscuremant*) that his master, not knowing exactly the state *of the Queen's affairs, cannot give any special advice upon them*; that if he could get fuller information he would give counsel and directions as though Paradise were to be gained through it, *for his happiness, honour, and repose depended on that,* and that it seemed to him that now

* "Questoint les troys que portoint plus laffere de la royne."

† "Que suys seur yl fera tout son debuoer comme yl a fait par cydevant. Toutesfois yl auroit occasion den parler plus hautemant et ouvertemant, ayant sur ce espresse charge de votre maieste. Yl plaira a icelle avoer esgard sur le tout."

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was the time *to take stronger measures and call in the assistance of the secular arm,* since so little nerve was shewn [on the other side].* The physician did not further explain the Cardinal's meaning, and, therefore, I am at a loss how to interpret his message and wishes. He also said that *the Lady and her party* did not at all regret the delay in the proceedings, as it gave them time to carry out their plans and push on the affair, which they do daily hoping *that as time goes on both Your Majesty and the Queen will be wearied out.*

All these things considered, it seems as if Your Majesty ought to have matters brought to a crisis at once (*abbreger l affere*) the best means towards which, as I have very lately pointed out, would be the removal of the said Lady from the Court; *in which opinion the Cardinal also coincides,* saying that when that is accomplished, the management of the affairs may be left to those who know best how to act, *by which he means himself.*†

It would seem *as if the Pope* could hardly refuse to enforce so reasonable a measure, as *the removal of the Lady from Court, for right and justice require it, whereas the scandal and bad example given, and the King's disobedience to Papal authority fully recommend it.* The best way would be that *the Pope* instead of *the declaration of pains and penalties to be incurred* by the King, as in the said brief, should issue an order to that effect confirming the former *censures, and declaring the King to have fallen under the penalties contained in the brief.*

The Queen has not heard from Rome for a long time; she is expecting daily the return of the courier I sent in April; but, nevertheless, I fancy she will dispatch another one express in three days to acquaint Messire Mai with what is going on. I hear that the King has just received letters from Rome, which I think have been the cause of his urging the abovementioned letter‡ to be written.

The Queen sent me word yesterday to say that she intended writing to Your Majesty by the next courier, but in consequence of the said letters received from Paris, and seeing the urgency of affairs, I have thought better not to lose the present oppor-

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* "Escrivant ceste jay reçeu lectres du [medecin du cardinal] par les quelles yl maduertyt assez obscuremant que son maystre pour non sçavoer en quel termes sont les afferes de [la royne, il ne sçauroit particulieremant quel conseil donner,] et que en estant informe il y voudroyt donner conseyl et addresse comme ce estoit pour gaignier paradis [car de la deppend son bien, honneur et repoz], et quil lui semble pour maintenant que lon deburoyt proceder a [plus grandes censures et a la invocacion du bras seculier], cart maintenant yl ny a nul nerf."

† "Dont le principal et juridicque moyen est de fere [sequestrer de la court la dame]. [En quoy concourt loppinion du dit cardinal], qui dit que puys apres cella estre fayt que lon laisse besongnier a ceux que bien le sçauront fere [cest a entendre a luy mesme].

‡ "Le roy a eu ses (*sic*) jours nouvelles du dit Romme que pense ont este cause quil a inste de fere escrire les lectres que dessus," meaning that to the Pope signed by the nobility and prelates.

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tunity, and therefore send this off in all haste.—London, 15th June 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 15th June. Received the 28th."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

18 June. **355.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 165.

Wrote on the 25th ult°, 2nd, 10th, and 12th inst. Enclosed also one from Pedro Cravelluzo, who has since gone to Rome to communicate to His Holiness the news he brings from Turkey. It appears that, being at Constantinople, the said Cravelluzo heard that the king of France had sent to the Vayvod and to the Turk a Spaniard of the name of Rincon, requesting them to make war on the Emperor, and promising to bear all the cost of it. To ensure success he (the King) had given refuge in France to all the Neapolitan and Sicilian emigrants (*fuorusciti*). After negociating through Luigi Gritti, Rincon had returned to France, where he is at present. This traitor, Rincon, who is reported to have been the same who took to Constantinople the plan (*dissino*) of Brindisi and its castles, is a native of Medina del Campo; he was concerned in the wars of the Commons (*Comunidades*) and then fled to France. He ought to be watched and captured on his leaving that country; this might easily be done through one of his own countrymen acting as a spy upon him.

The same informer says, that according to letters from Constantinople lately received, Luigi Gritti was to be soon appointed general (*capitan de ventura*) with the command of a large fleet to invade the coasts of Sicily and Naples.—Venice, 18th June 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

20 June. **356.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 47–9. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 167.

Alludes to his conversation with the French ambassador on the eve of Corpus Christi, and then continues:—

The day after, at mass, Mr. de Tarbes begged his pardon for not having told him his secret, as he wanted to inform the Pope first. It proved to be after all that the King, his master, had written to Malatesta [Baglione] and to Stephano Colonna, at Florence, and Paolo da Ceri, at Pisa, exhorting them, if they wished to give him pleasure, to desert the Florentines. He gave him (Mai) the letters to read; found from their tenour, as well as from certain contradictions of his,

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that they were made up and fraudulent, in one word French "finesses."

The said Tarbes has complained to me two or three times that the governor of Asti, Scalenga (Scalengues), intercepts his letters. That cannot be, the letters addressed to him are not touched; only those that go to Florence.

(*Cipher*:) Among other prisoners lately made by Scalenga was a secretary of Malatesta, who was going to France. This man had two letters of the 2nd and 4th of June from the Florentine ambassador in France to the Signory, which Scalenga sent to the Prince [of Orange] for want of a deciphering key (*descifrador*). The letters have been brought here, and they have been read. Makes an abstract of their contents.*

Is not at all pleased with the duke of Ferrara and his doings. Told his ambassador so, and begged him to write to his master that he ought to dismiss the Florentine ambassador from his court.

From the duke of Milan no intelligence has been received, except that he is now better and is riding (*cavalga*) about Cremona. Has written to Caracciolo to be on the alert.

Venice.—Siena, &c.

The ex-abbot of Farfa goes on with his mad tricks (*loqueando*) in this neighbourhood of Rome, causing more fear to the Pope than 10 large armies, especially in these later times that he has married, or attempted to do so, a niece of cardinal Colonna without Your Majesty's consent and against the Pope's will. Really thinks it would be to God's service and Your Majesty's if this man were to lose his head.

Siege of Florence.

On the 13th inst. Volterra was stormed without success, owing to a piece of ordnance in the battery of the marquis del Vasto bursting, and three more in that of Marramaldo pointing too low. The breach not being made practicable, the storming party was repulsed, and some officers wounded, amongst them Don Diego Sarmiento, who, some say, has already died of his wounds.

A German soldier named Joachin has come to the Prince, sent, as he says, by Your Majesty. He was first at Padua, and saw Renzo da Ceri, who spoke confidentially with him, and talked over his future plans; he was also at Ferrara and spoke with the Florentine ambassadors, and with Don Lorenço Manuel and the ambassador of the Signory of Venice. On the recommendation of this last-named person he has been able to penetrate into Florence, where he has discovered many secrets. He is still in the midst of these negociations, and although the Prince has not written to the Pope, or to Muxetula or to himself, fancies that Your Majesty will be informed of all this by the said Prince; all we know here is by letters of the governor of Bologna, to whom the said Joachin, as it would appear, has also made certain revelations.

* The same already abstracted at pp. 375, 521, and 575.

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The Pope wanted him to write to Genoa to the ambassador, Figueroa, to have Luigi Alamani expelled from that city, because, being implicated in the affair of Pisa, he forwards to Florence the correspondence from France and other countries.

The other day the Pope proposed to him to go to Florence to prevent the sack. Declined, telling him that this was no time to quit Rome, owing to the Queen's business and other matters, about which writes to Your Majesty separately.—Rome, 20th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

21 June. **357.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 179.

Encloses, after having them deciphered, the two letters intercepted at Asti. The Pope is now convinced that all this time the kings of France and England, for their own private views, have been encouraging the rebellion of the Florentines. He now begins to see that this Florentine affair is of such a nature that if not vigorously pushed and brought soon to an end it might become defensive instead of offensive. He is further advised that this matter of the intercepted letters must be kept a profound secret, and that if it should be divulged, as no doubt it will be, the best thing will be to dissemble and pretend to believe the explanations which the French and English ambassadors are sure to give when they hear of the arrest of Malatesta's secretary. His Holiness intends to say that he believes the letters not to be genuine, but to have been forged between Malatesta and the ambassador for the purpose of encouraging the Florentines, &c.—Rome, 21st June 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant°. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre. Ces^e^. et Cath^ce^. Magti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

21 June. **358.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 48–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 182.

Wrote on the 15th inst. what passed with the English orator at vespers, and how the auditor had revoked all the terms (*terminos*) that he (Mai) had made in the cause, although nothing remained but sending in the articles which were already made out, and the time was more than amply sufficient to obtain compulsory powers (*compulsoriales*) before the holidays to try the matter during the said season. But since the terms have been revoked it will no longer be possible to make new articles (*articular*) before that time.

Went to the Pope and complained bitterly. Told him in plain terms, though without passion, what he thought of the auditor's conduct. The answer was that he (the Pope) would see to it, and he accordingly sent for the commissary and ordered him to prosecute the cause and do justice. Has since done all he could with the commissary to ascertain whether

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this was an evasion of the Pope or of some one else, but has not been able to find out.

Some days after the Pope sent Sanga to him to say that he had spoken with the English ambassador, and saw a fair way of bringing the cause to a successful end, and that he wished him to know of it. As nothing could be done before the holidays, there being only three or four audiences, and more than 12 being required to renew the terms (*reiterar los terminos*), Sanga suggested that it would be better to give away graciously what could not be sold, especially as he did not believe that a commission to proceed during the holidays could be granted. This proposition (Sanga added) had been communicated to the Emperor through the Papal Legate residing at his court, inasmuch as he found that about a year ago, in England, when the King was proceeding against the Queen, the holidays had been kept, and therefore that it was but just that the same thing should be done here, at Rome, whilst proceeding as it were in favour of the Queen. Replied to Sanga by a flat denial of his assertion. Said that in England the natural holidays throughout the kingdom commenced at the time of the harvest, and had not been observed; far from that they had proceeded against her in the most violent manner, and that after that through not allowing us to summon the King, and through the non-acceptance of the inhibition by the judges, they took the precaution (*cautela*) of proroguing the sentence until the 1st of October. That which was then done could not nowadays be taken as a precedent, and since then in England the proceedings had continued during the holidays. His Holiness was bound to do the same now, and he (Mai) could not do less than prosecute his terms (*terminos*) until he had orders from his Majesty.

This he (Mai) said to Sanga for two reasons: the first and principal that he may see that we mean to follow up this affair vigorously, and will pursue it to the very last; and secondly, that the English may see that in spite of these prorogations and this weakness on the part of the Pope we are not likely to forget our duty towards the Queen.

Having said as much to Sanga, and later in the day repeated it to the Pope himself, the auditor, Aragonia,* sent a message to say he had spoken on the road to cardinal Ancona, who told him that he should not come to Rome this summer, inasmuch as his services would not be required owing to the holidays being about to commence. As a faithful servant of Your Majesty, the Cardinal recommended that no commission to proceed during the holidays should be applied for, because it would be highly injurious to the cause itself, as all hope of bringing the King to good terms might thereby be lost.

Consulted as to the affair with cardinal d'Osma, who advised that the Pope's proposal should be accepted, because (he said)

* Aragon or Aragona, a consistorial advocate employed by Mai in the divorce case; he was the son of Mastro Ferrante Aragona, a physician at Rome.

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if the commission applied for is denied nothing else can be done, and it is always prudent to grant with good grace that which we cannot prevent; especially as we have not here the copies of the marriage settlements, &c. Indeed were the opposite party to know of it at this stage of the proceedings they would apply for an "absolutoria," and in our inability to prove our right the King might thus obtain a sentence which would for the time help him considerably.

Saw also the Pope, and told him that he had decided to prosecute his terms until an answer should be received from Your Majesty, when the prorogation, if granted, could be made with greater authority. Told him besides that he could not possibly deny us the commission we asked for. If he wanted further proof of the justice of our application he had only to tell the English to begin their allegation at once, and that we would reply.* Would willingly wait till October; if they had no power they might promise "de rato," and take the whole of July to send for the ratification. Should this last not come, or should they refuse to make the promise, His Holiness will know that they wanted to deceive him, and then he will not refuse us the commission. He promised that he would do so, or rather that he would propose it to the ambassadors, for the commission itself that he would never promise.

Went yesterday to Consistory with Miçer Andrea del Burgo, and spoke there about the enterprize against the Turk. The Pope made many fair promises as usual, but the cardinals seemed very indifferent. Most are discontented (*resabiados*); those of the French party especially, for they ask us ironically what is the reason that Florence does not surrender. Had France undertaken the job the thing would already have been done, Tarbes whispers in their ears. As to the Imperialists having, as they all had, hopes of being remunerated for their services, and not one having as yet received a token of the Emperor's sentiments in that respect, they are naturally enough very cold.—Rome, 21st June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "Sacra, Ces. Cat. Md."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

23 June. **359.** The PRINCE of ORANGE to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. Corresp. d. Kays., vol. I., p. 390.

Eight days ago Malatesta [Baglione] sent messages to a colonel of this army named Pierre (Pirro) to send into Florence a man who could be trusted. Malatesta added that there was a plot to assassinate the Pope, and that the next day a man, whose description he sent, would leave Florence with two phials of poison, for that there was among His Holiness' servants who had undertaken to administer it. The man came, was arrested, and the poison found on him, as well as a

* "Que desde ahora subiessen su juicio y contestastemos al pleito."

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counter-poison to be taken beforehand by the person who helped the dinner. He confessed and told the names of his accomplices. The poison and confession have been sent to the Pope.—Camp before Florence, 23rd June 1530.

French. p. 1.

[24] June. **360.** The Emperor to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 851, f. 36.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 148.

Has seen all he (Mai) says about the cause of the Queen, and approves of everything that has been said or done in the matter. The Papal Legate has spoken in the same sense, and a letter has been written to the Pope requesting him, since nothing has been obtained from the King, to proceed at once and do justice in the case. Instructions have been made out and forwarded for him (Mai) to consult the counsel and lawyers of the Queen on the following measures. "You must insist upon having a commission to proceed during the holidays. If you see that you cannot get it, you may with the advice of the Queen's counsel agree to the suspension of the proceedings, provided the king of England engages on his side not to attempt anything against the Queen in the meantime, and will not *directè* or *indirictè* make use of the opinions of the universities, colleges, and private persons, His Holiness cancelling and annulling in the meantime anything that may have hitherto been done in that respect; the King to be formally excommunicated if he should venture to act against the Pope's injunctions."

The above seems the best course to pursue for the present, but it would not be unreasonable for the ambassador to demand that at least during the term of the said suspension the King should be bound to separate from the woman he intends marrying, and lead a marital life with his own legitimate wife as Holy Mother Church requires and commands, &c.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

25 June. **361.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 185.

His last despatch must have informed the Emperor how the kings of England and France are doing all the harm they can. The former is not only encouraging the Florentines to resistance, but has actually sent them money. This appears evident from the correspondence which Escalenga (Scalengues) took some time ago from Malatesta Baglione's secretary. Since that time letters from the Papal Nuncio at the court of France have confirmed the intelligence, for he says that the Emperor's ambassador at that court has unravelled the whole intrigue.

Another important piece of news is that the said Malatesta informs Colonel Pirro, his friend, very secretly that the

* No date or signature to this document, which was probably intended as the draft of an answer to Mai's despatch of the 14th June, to which it is appended That it was sent and received by Mai cannot be doubted, for, as will be seen hereafter, that ambassador makes frequent allusions to it.

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Florentines had attempted to poison the Pope, and had sent to Rome a man for that purpose with the necessary apparatus for poisoning. Malatesta describes the man, and says that although he himself is actually in the service of Florence, as captain-general of their forces, he despises such dishonourable practices and is in all other respects a true servant and vassal of His Holiness. Pirro, who is a colonel in the Imperial army, had the man watched and seized. When searched a large number of small phials filled with poison* were found upon him, besides tablets of a certain mixture which those who tasted the food for the Pope had to swallow first as a counter-poison. Pirro conducted the prisoner before the Prince [of Orange], and the man confessed his guilt and named as his accomplices several amongst the most confidential servants of the Pope. The Prince sent Colonel Pirro to Rome with the poison and all the proofs. Went to the Pope, who is exceedingly thankful to the Prince and to Malatesta also on that account. Most likely the latter, who has not received the letters [from France] that were intercepted, is now ready to surrender, and wishes to secure the Pope's friendship by such a denunciation.

The Pope has ordered a most strict inquiry to be made into this matter in order to detect the whole conspiracy. It is, however, necessary to treat this affair with the utmost secrecy not to betray Malatesta, who is still inside Florence with the rebels, and may do some good in future.

Sigismondo, formerly the lord of Rimini, and who, ever since he was deprived of his estate, has been living in the territory of the Venetians, who made him and his brothers a certain yearly allowance, has suddenly appeared at Ferrara, where they say he is now raising troops, both infantry and cavalry. The same may be said of other lords (*tiranos*), who once possessed estates in the land of the Church. If to this be added that the Venetian ambassador being yesterday interrogated by the Pope on his account answered that Sigismondo had been exiled (*bannido*) by the Signory owing to certain misdemeanours committed in their territory, but that the Signory still continued the pension to the brothers, there is reason to suspect that the said Sigismondo is after no good.

The same may be said of the abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino), against whom the Pope sent the other day some troops, though I am afraid not in sufficient number to put him down. Ascanio Colonna assists the Pope in this, and will prove after all to be the Abbot's worst enemy. Nor is it to be supposed that the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) will dare give him help now that he knows Your Majesty's resolution

* "Saliendo aquel ombre y rreconocidas las señales le tomó y se halló las rredomitas llenas de veneno con algunas tablillas da cierta mistura que se avian de tomar primero de los que havian de hazer la salva al Papa, porque á ellos el veneno no dañase."

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about the marriage and sees the head of the family obeying His Holiness.

Signed: "Gio. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

27 June. **362.** The Emperor to Cardinal Colonna.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 191. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 201.

The greatest efforts must be made to send the prince of Orange the 16,000 ducats he asks for the pay of the troops under his order, also the money Alarcon wants for his infantry.

Affairs of the kingdom of Naples.

The ambassador at Rome (Mai) writes to say that the affair of the marriage of the abbot of Farfa is so far advanced that it cannot possibly be undone. Reminds him of his promises to oppose that marriage; he is expected to do all he can to prevent it.

Supposes he (the Cardinal) knows already that the king of England has made up his mind to be divorced from the Queen, his wife. The Pope has decided that the case shall be tried at Rome. The English, however, are doing everything in their power to procure so many opinions of universities, collegiate bodies, and learned scholars, in behalf of the king of England, that the Emperor will also be obliged to have recourse to a similar irregular proceeding. Has, therefore, had a short *resumé* of the divorce case drawn up at Rome. Sends it him and begs that the universities and scientific corporations in the kingdom of Naples, as well as distinguished theologians and lawyers there, be consulted upon it and give their opinions under their signature and seal, &c. Recommends great care and speed.—Augsburg, 27th June 1530.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of Alfonso de Valdés.

27 June. **363.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 26. B. M. *Add.* 28,580. f. 190.

Wrote last on the 8th and 15th ult° and more lately on the 21st, and gave information of new plans to prevent or retard the surrender of Florence.

Attempt to poison the Pope.

Sigismondo Malatesta has been exiled from Venice in consequence of his having entered by force the house of a lady with whom he was in love. The Pope fears some intrigue because the mother and sisters of Sigismondo are at Ferrara with the Duke, and it is also reported that the latter is making military preparations at Modena and in the district of Rezzo (Reggio). Pero Çapata, who governs Modena, has been written to, but he says that there is no ground for fear.

Conversation with the Venetian ambassador respecting the fulfilment of certain conditions of the treaty of Worms and the intended marriage of Francesco Sforza.

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Letters of Marzilla from Lucca of the 20th ult°. The duke of Milan in bad health.

The Florentines made a sally some days ago. About 3,000 of them fell upon the quarters of the Germans, and did at first some execution, but were defeated on the retreat.

Marquis del Vasto and the siege of Volterra.

Negociations of France in Switzerland.—Marquis de Mus.

Wrote to cardinal Colonna asking him for a copy of all that had been settled or contracted between his niece Claudia and the ex-abbot of Farfa. Has sent the papers, and does not consider them as binding at all.

Five or six days ago the Pope sent Ascanio Colonna to Vicovaro, where the Abbot was; he did not wait for him, but took to flight with about 25 mounted followers. Ascanio took possession of all that country, and reduced it under the obedience of His Holiness. The Abbot in his flight fell in with a division of the Papal troops, who made the whole of his 25 men prisoners, he himself escaping with another man. He lost on the occasion his mistress and his sons. It is generally believed that he has gone to Montefortino, the residence of Julio Colonna,* the brother of the Cardinal. (*Cipher :*) Others say that he has gone to Venice, which seems most probable, as that city is the refuge of all political emigrants, and especially of this one, who, being an Orsino, is in particular favour with them. Another division of the Papal troops has taken possession of all his castles and towns, with the one exception of Bracciano, which still holds out but is expected to surrender in two or three days, for although strong by nature the absence of the Abbot must make some difference.

The Abbot sent me a man to beg me to interfere in this affair, and be the mediator between His Holiness and him. He offered to throw himself at the Pope's feet and implore his mercy. Salviati, who happened to be at my house at the time, approved of the proposal; the Pope next day sent Mentabona to me, and I have since written to Venice. After this one of the Abbot's secretaries called, saying that he believed his master to be now at Montefortino, but that as to placing his person in the *hands of the Pope*, that he would never do. He has no objection to trust Your Majesty, but the Pope never. If so, it is to be expected that one of these days the Abbot will surrender into my hands both his own person and his castle of Bracciano.

On St. John's Day the Pope sent for all the ambassadors and very discreetly proposed to them the enterprize against the Turk. Tarbes again repeated what he once said at Piacenza, namely, that if 500,000 crs. were deducted from the two millions of gold his master had to pay the Emperor for the ransom of his sons, they (the French) would willingly spend one million of their own in furnishing 3,000 men-at-arms, 3,000 light horse, and I cannot precisely recollect whether he

* Giulio Colonna, about whom see part 1, p. 554.

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said 60,000 or 80,000 foot, but as he (Tarbes) went from Bologna to France and returned [to Italy] in order (as he said) to arrange an interview between his master and Your Majesty, and that came to nothing, it may be fairly concluded that his promises of help are only made for the purpose of obtaining the revenues of the "quarta" and "cruzada" in France.

The ambassador of England observed very coolly on the same occasion that whenever the plan of campaign came to be discussed his master would not be wanting, but that as long as generalities only were talked of he did not consider himself obliged to give a categorical answer. That of the king of Hungary (Andrea del Burgo) spoke well and very apropos. That of Portugal said that he had neither instructions nor powers, but expected letters from his master to that effect within a fortnight. The Milanese* declared that for this year his master would not be in a condition to contribute, as he was very much in debt, &c.

Cardinals Farnese and Monte repeated the same arguments brought forward at Bologna, namely, that the chief remedy lay in the union of the Christian princes, a true union, not a feigned one, (*cipher:*) hinting, though they did not positively declare it, at some modification of the treaty of Cambray. (*Common writing:*) In fact the former of those cardinals insisted so long and so much on the necessity of such true union, that Tarbes had to rise and assure him that there was no reason to express a doubt on that subject, which assertion he (Mai) and the Hungarian ambassador fully confirmed. It was at last resolved that we should meet every Sunday to deliberate upon it.

States his fears that nothing serious will be done, &c. The news of the Turk is that about 6,000 of their "nassadites" had arrived at la Belona, intending to attack the people of Cemarra (Chimara), and that last month, in the sea of Provence, 45 Turkish sail, of which 11 were galleys, had attacked and taken a place on the coast called la Pola.

Muxetula left yesterday for Naples to procure money to pay the troops before Florence.—Rome, 27th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 14.

27 June. **364.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 28.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 197.

(*Cipher:*) His Majesty's letter of the 14th came to hand on the 25th. The Pope and cardinals were much pleased with the announcement of the Emperor's ready entry into Augusta (Augsburg), which was afterwards confirmed by a letter from the archbishop of Bari (Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino) since received.

* Most likely Morone.

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Is awaiting the Emperor's answer to what he (Mai) wrote about the English affair. Has since learned that the English ambassadors had written to London that the revocation of the terms (*terminos*), as announced in his despatch of the 21st, was made with his (Mai's) consent, and that if they asked for it their application was intended merely for the good of the affair, and to see whether the negociation could not be conducted in milder terms for their King. Is very much surprised at their daring to make such a false statement. Thinks they did it either to gain credit with their master for diligence and so forth, or else to discredit the whole affair in England, pretending that neither the Emperor nor his ministers care a straw about it.* That this may not be the case, he (Mai) has purposely written to the Imperial ambassador [Chapuys] to inform the Queen, and all others he should think fit, that the assertion of the English ambassador is completely false and wicked.

In proof whereof he (Mai) intends to urge the proceedings as much as he can these two or three terms before the vacations, that the English may know that if the other previous terms were revoked it was without his knowledge and consent.

The promise made by the Pope that he would write to the king of France to prevent the discussion of this affair in the university of Paris, has been of very little use; for advices from that country state that the English, far from desisting from their purpose, are trying to gain as many votes as they can there, as well as at Bologna, and for the second time at Padua. Has solicited the Pope for a brief to that effect, and it has been readily promised to him.

The English are very much hurt at the Papal brief which was lately obtained, that no one should judge nor give an opinion in this cause of the queen of England "a gratia" except according to God and conscience, and common right (*los derechos*). As the brief, moreover, adds "according to canon law," the English say that this is tantamount to deprive them of their legal rights (*quitarles la justicia*), which they pretend in this case are closely allied to Theology. These are things to make one lose patience; for if the matter be rightly understood, the brief makes provision for all cases.

They have also declined the offer made to them, namely, that if they would submit to the Pope's judgment, the cause should be prorogued until the end of October (*hasta todo Octubre*); which refusal on their part, as he (Mai) has informed the Pope, is a proof that it is principally his authority that they want to attack in so doing.

Cannot say whether His Holiness will grant the commission recently applied for or not; rather fears he will not, to judge from the little warmth (*poco calor*) there is in him. The English complain bitterly of him, but he (Mai) is afraid all

* *Marginal note.* The Emperor is fully convinced that this is quite true, and that he (Mai) was justified in letting the ambassador (Chapuys) know. Let a memorandum of this be given to Granvelle, that he may write to the latter about it.

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this is a feint, not of the Pope, but of theirs, that he may not give us by fear (*atronandolo*) what we ask as justice.

Hears that the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci) has written [to England] that all the good lawyers [in Rome] and most of these cardinals are of opinion that the King is in the right, and that if he (Ghinucci) were a cardinal and the matter came to be discussed in the college, no one would contradict him. The Auditor of course is working for a cardinal's hat. Has warned the Pope, who seems to be ashamed now at his having given one to Tarbes.*

The letter for cardinal Egidius† will be of much use because some time ago it was reported that he had some doubts about the case. Another one should be written to cardinal Gaetano of San Sixto. The coming of Ortiz will also be much to the purpose.

The English are still procuring votes in this country by dint of money, thinking no doubt that Italian votes will be of greater value in a question of this kind on account of their supposed neutrality. Thinks that 1,000 ducats at least ought to be spent here for the service of the Queen, and is pretty sure that more could be done with that sum than our opponents could achieve with 25,000, for all good and honest people, who have hitherto declined to state their opinion, would then give it for us. Has already written to Her Highness the Queen suggesting this course.

Will attend to the Emperor's orders respecting Isabella Colonna and Don Diego.

Bishopric of Salamanca.

Having heard that Luther has gone to Augsburg, the Pope is of opinion that all disputation with him should be avoided.

Imperial canal of Aragon.—Rome, 27th June 1530.

Signed "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. & Cath. M^{ti}."

Indorsed: "Deciphering of letter of Miçer Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

28 June. **365.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 61–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 202.

The Imperial letters of the 14th were duly received on the 22nd. Has communicated their contents to the Signory, who were pleased to hear the explanation of the causes of the delay, and were persuaded that if the restitution of the sons of France had not yet taken place, it was no fault of His Imperial Majesty.

Wrote on the 10th all he could then learn about the arrival in Venice of the Turkish ambassador. Has been unable since to obtain further information. The ambassador left on the

* "Ya yo tengo prebenido al papa, el qual muestra estar corrido de lo de Tarba."

† Ægidius of Viterbo, cardinal of Sant Matheo of whom frequent mention has been made in these despatches.

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22nd with a fine present worth about 1,500 ducats, besides dresses for himself and all his family, of mauve velvet with a stripe of brocade, and his family and servants of red cloth with stripes of green damask. The Signory sends the Turk a gold vase, inlaid with precious stones and pearls, which, as the general report goes, is valued at 10,000 ducats, though if the truth be told it is only worth 3,000 or 4,000 at the utmost. A Venetian galley only is to escort the Turkish ambassador as far as Ragusa, as it was thought that he would be sufficiently secure with the brigantines that brought him hither.

The Grand Master of France [Anne de Montmorency], and the Grand Constable of Castille [Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco] had made up their quarrel, and it was expected that on the 15th the restitution of the hostages would take place.

On the 18th informed Your Majesty of the arrival here of the bishop of London (Stokesley), and how until that day he had not gone to the College-hall. He was here six or seven days, during which time he held communication with two Jews of this city, whom he consulted as to whether the Pope could or could not dispense, and if in the case of his having the right to do so, the dispensation could be considered valid. Having obtained their opinions on this subject, the bishop and the ambassador (Casale), who resides here for the king of England, left for Padua. No sooner did he (Niño) hear of this than he went to the College-hall, and told them how the bishop of London had been here [in Venice] for the sole purpose of asking permission to assemble their doctors, and consult them on the matter of the divorce, and get also an order for those of Padua to give their opinion; how, finding the Signory would not consent to anything so wicked, they had gone to Padua to obtain a vote from the professors of that university. He (Niño) had no doubt that the English would use there all manner of persuasion to gain their end, and therefore he had come to let them know. The answer was that he (Niño) might be sure no doctor would give in his opinion; but that for further security, as this was a State affair, they would call together the Council of the "Dieci," which was done, and after deliberating for awhile, he was positively informed that on no account would their doctors be allowed to give their opinion on this case. The Doge then asked him whether he (Niño) was aware that the College at Bologna* had delivered an unanimous opinion in favour of the king of England. Replied that he was ignorant of the fact, and could not believe that in a college founded by a Spaniard, and in a city within the territory of the Church, so unjust a cause could have any partizans. The Doge retorted: "I can assure you that it is so; I have it from a very good source, and that those very conditions you speak of make the vote obtained at Bologna more valuable in the eyes of the King and of his agents." This the Doge said

* The College of Bologna was founded in the 14th century by cardinal Gil de Albornoz, archbishop of Toledo.

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in a most solemn tone, as if he wanted to give additional value to what the Signory propose doing in our favour. Has written to Mai [at Rome], relating word for word his conversation with the "Dieci" and Doge, and wondering how a thing of this sort can have taken place without his (Mai's) knowledge. Has not yet received an answer, but whatever the Doge may say to the contrary, he (Niño) cannot persuade himself that in a college where there are some Spanish scholars, who, though unable perhaps to argue in a question of this kind with sufficient learning and letters, might and ought at any rate to defend it with their swords, such a thing should have happened.

Wrote on the 19th that Renço de Cherri (da Ceri) was at Vicença with most of the "fuorusciti" of Naples, and also that the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) was expected in Venice. As to the duke of Milan, he is not coming here till September, and intends going to Padua first in fulfilment of a vow. He of Mantua is also to come, on his way to certain mineral waters which the physicians recommend for the disease he is suffering from.

Affairs of the king of Hungary with the Signory.—Preparations of the Turk.—Barbarossa, the Jew, and another corsair have united their forces, and have now a fleet of 40 galleys, with which they intend attacking Andrea Doria.

In answer to His Majesty's inquiries respecting the ambassadors and agents accredited to this Signory, and what they are all about, his (Niño's) answer is this: The Papal Legate lives most of the time at a house he has in the Paduan. The Frenchman goes once a month to the College-hall to transact business, and that since Your Majesty has been at peace with this Signory, for before he went rarely. The English (Casale), they say, has been here without having anything to do; however, since this affair of the divorce began he has been very active in promoting the King's interests that way, though owing to his being a vassal of the Pope suspicion generally attaches to him. As to the Milanese, all his occupation is to procure money for his master, with which to pay his debt to Your Majesty. The Florentine limits himself to recounting the troubles and privations which his countrymen are suffering, and lauding their determination to die rather than submit to Papal tyranny. Those of Ferrara and Mantua only care about sending information to their respective masters of what they can learn here, and as to the agent of the duke of Urbino (*Francesco Maria della Rovere*), he is simply here for the purpose of receiving his master's pension, which (he says) is not paid as regularly as he might wish. All are in expectation waiting for the restitution of the sons of France, which they say has already taken place. As to what may be the conduct of Francis after that restitution politicians differ much in opinion; the wisest, however, think that France has been left in such a weak condition, without money or men, that

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the King will be obliged to keep the peace.—Venice, 28th June 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "S. C. C. Mad."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

29 June. **366.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 30.

As I informed Your Majesty by my despatch of the 15th inst. the King has so urgently pressed the knights of his Order, as well as other noblemen, to sign and affix their seal to those letters addressed to the Pope about which I wrote that he has actually gained his purpose. Great trouble has been taken to bring this about, for each person has been dealt with separately. No doubt it was feared that if the application were made to the whole body conjointly it would have met with either refusal or delay. When the King had thus obtained a certain number of the said seals and signatures, presuming that others would do as these had done, he no longer considered it necessary to insist on the signatories coming here with their seals, but has sent commissioners to go from house to house and obtain separately from each nobleman, whether ecclesiastic or layman, the required signatures, for which object commissioners started two days ago. There will doubtless be but few who will venture to oppose the King's will in this matter.

The King, on hearing that the civil law would, for the purpose of avoiding scandal, dispense with certain formalities, has taken the above step, that being also partly the ground on which he gave the first commission to the two cardinals. The best way to stop which proceedings on the part of this King would be for the Pope to act on the report of cardinal Campeggio, who could give very sufficient evidence upon what is going on, and assert that no scandal whatever is imminent in this kingdom unless the divorce, to which not one in a thousand here will consent, should take place, or else that His Holiness should send commissioners above suspicion to find out privately what is the real opinion of the said noblemen and of the country; or, even again, if it should not be easy to accomplish this, that His Holiness should enact that the prelates, noblemen, and municipal authorities (*conseylliers des villes*) should give their votes by ballot, as the Venetians do at the election of their Doge and other officers, so that every one may, without fear or personal consideration, vote in exact accordance with his convictions. I am assured that were the voting by ballot, the greater number of those who have now signed and sealed in favour of the King would be on the Queen's side. I have written to Messire Mai to take what steps he may judge expedient in this matter.

As soon as the King heard of the refusal of the University of Paris to decide in his favour, he sent for Jean Jocquin, the

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French ambassador, for no other reason, as I have been informed, than to complain of the said refusal, which (he said) was given in spite of the most formal promise of Mr. de Langeais to obtain for him the seals of that university. The King retained the said Jocquin for two whole days at Windsor, and made him dispatch a courier before ever he started for France. On the ambassador's return [to England] he (Jocquin) invited the Venetian ambassador to dine with him for the express purpose, as he himself said afterwards, of telling him that the King was much surprised at the Signory of Venice having imprisoned a monk whom the King had sent to Italy to obtain opinions on this question of the divorce, and also at their having forbidden the colleges and universities in their territory to debate on this question; much conversation on this point passed between the two. The day before yesterday the said Venetian ambassador was summoned to Court, as far as I can learn, on this same matter, but was only kept there two hours. The ambassador informed me immediately of the summons he had received, and had it not been for letters he got this very morning and which obliged him again to return, he would certainly have come to see me as he always does when there is anything important to communicate. The ambassador told some one that he had found at Court several noblemen *whom* he might have supposed to be *very strongly in the French interest* to be now quite the reverse, and in much greater number than he had anticipated, and that there need be no fear of *war being here declared against anyone,* for the mere mention of it caused considerable ill-humour, as he (the ambassador) could sufficiently gather from certain incidental expressions, and indeed, to say the truth, war is an art which has been much forgotten here and has brought them but little profit of late years.

About eight days ago a courier arrived from the French Court at Lyons with letters for Jo. Jocquin and the Florentine consul, immediately upon the receipt of which Jocquin and the Consul repaired to Court to solicit, as is believed, succour and help for Florence. It seems that their reception at first was not encouraging, but the Florentines have since returned to make a second appeal; I think they will meet with the same cold reception. I have not yet been able to learn what is the exact nature of the Florentines' application, nor whether Jo. Jocquin has taken any steps in their favour, those who are at the head of affairs and can give me information on this point being all absent. *Brian Tuck being now here* I sent to ask him if he would come and speak to me, or whether I myself should go and visit him in his garden, *which is quite close to my lodgings.* He sent word through a merchant, with whom I have much intercourse, and afterwards by his own servant, that but for some sufficient cause he should not have delayed visiting me so long, nor waited for a summons, but that as he was *a member of the King's Privy Council* and I myself one of *the Queen's Council here,* and as *the King* had latterly

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taken up the idea that it was Chapuys who had the management of the whole affair, he had not ventured to hold any communication with me on that account whilst the proceedings for the divorce were going on. That the times were now *more dangerous and critical than when there was war declared,* but that he now hoped that in a few days the whole business would be concluded in a manner that should be acceptable both to God and man, and that he would then at once be at my service and that of Your Majesty. He also told the said merchant that the King had been once very favourably disposed towards me until he discovered that I was the chief leader in the Queen's case, which he said was not properly speaking the business of an ambassador, who ought rather to look to measures likely to preserve peace than mix himself up with what might trouble it. He also said to this merchant that he had very nearly thrown my last letters from Rome into the fire, fearing lest they should bring me instructions about this business. He also warned the merchant to be very careful that the letters he brought from me should not be addressed to him, as otherwise he might get into trouble,* and he ended by complaining *that the pension which Your Majesty was in the habit of giving him had not been paid lately.* I imagine this to be the chief cause of Brian Tuke's fears or rather of his unwillingness to see me, and that he thereby intends giving me to understand *that it would be doubly, almost inexcusably foolish for him to put himself in danger if he is to reap no benefit from it.*

About a month ago the king of Scotland assembled a great number of troops to attack and disperse the robbers and highwaymen (*larrons et coureurs*), who, to the number it is said of 10,000, make raids on the frontiers of his own kingdom and of England also, and pillage now one country, now the other; a motley assembly of people of every description. The said king has undertaken this work both for the protection of his own country, and also because he has heard that the earl of Douglas, formerly husband of the Queen, his mother, and who has for a long time been banished from Scotland, has an understanding with the said robbers and favours them as much as he can. As a beginning, the King has had 15 or 16 Scotch gentlemen, the favourers of the robbers, seized at the request of his own people, and two among them, formerly rather high in favour with the King himself, have been suddenly beheaded; the others are closely imprisoned. The king of Scotland has sent a member of his chamber here to explain to this king the cause of this gathering, lest it should create suspicion, and also to ask him to send orders to his lieutenant on the border lands to provide troops for the destruction and extirpation of the said bands of robbers, who have been the cause of much dissension and trouble in past times. The King's answer to this message is not yet known.

* "Il advertyt le dit marchant quil heust esguard sur non addresser mes lectres autrement yl luy en pourroit mescheoer."

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The Cardinal *sent the day before yesterday to inquire how the Queen's case was progressing, and to urge strong and immediate action in it,* as I had occasion recently to write to Your Majesty. He is shewing great hospitality,* and leading so religious, quiet, and humble a life among those with whom he now is, that he is wonderfully loved and respected, and is beginning to win universal praise.

The Queen has not yet been able to write to Your Majesty or to the Pope, as she has long wished to do so. Hopes she will be able to do so in the course of the next four days, at the end of which time I purpose to send further advices to Your Majesty.—London, 29th June.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

1 July. **367.** The Emperor to the Pope.

Lanz. *Corresp.* d. Kays. I., p. 390.

By this time the legate, Campeggio, must have informed His Holiness of the state of affairs [in Germany], and of the memorandum presented by the duke of Saxony and other Lutheran princes. This is now being examined by a number of divines and others, and an answer will be prepared; but such is the obstinacy of the Lutherans that nothing but the actual promise of a council will satisfy them.—[Augsburgh], 1st July 1530.

Latin. pp. 1½.

3 July. **368.** H. Marmier to the Emperor

Arch. d. Roy^me^. de Belg. *Doc. Hist.* v., f. 5, p. 392.

On the 1st inst., late in the evening, the delivery of the sons of France was duly effected, and the Queen (Eleanor) crossed the frontier. The French gentlemen soon began to give tokens of their affection towards their Queen; for no sooner had she crossed to this side of the bridge (*deça le ponton*), and the Imperial courtiers, who had accompanied her, left her barge, than cardinal Tournon and the rest who were waiting on the opposite bank made her such honourable reception as never was given before to any other princess. No sooner, indeed, did her barge reach that in which the Royal princes were, close to the bank of the river, than they made her get into it with them, and she was most honourably received by the Grand Master of France and the rest of the party. On landing, the Queen mounted her litter, and in the company of the said Royal children took the direction of St. Jean de Lus, which they reached at 10 o'clock of the night. The day after the Queen and the children arrived at Bayonne, where they were most honourably received, and then passed through the land of Mr. Dalebret (d'Albret) to Mont de Marssan, where that nobleman was, who came out accompanied by Messrs. de Nemours, the count of Geneva, the duke of Longueville, his

* "Il fayt tres grosse chiere et vyst si religieusemant si familieremant et humblemant avec ceux ou yl est que yl y est ayme et extime nonpareillemant et commance lon de le louer partout."

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brother Louis, Mons. de Nevers, and others, all of whom dismounted, made their reverence, and saluted the Queen French fashion. At Mont de Marssan the Queen was told that the king of France, her husband, was coming by short stages, and with a small suite to meet her at a nunnery four leagues distant from a place called Berga (Bourg ?), where there were only four or five spare rooms. This arrangement had been made purposely to prevent any of her numerous train from following her thither. The King himself was to be on the spot about 3 o'clock in the morning. Thither the Queen went, and arrived at 9 o'clock (*les neuf heures de nuyt*), when she was told by the Grand Master that the King would be with her at 1, and that he had sent forward the bishop of Lisieux, his first almoner, to marry them, and say the mass. Soon after this Queen (Eleanor), being in her room, accompanied by the marchioness of Zenete, one of her ladies-in-waiting, and by her greffier, and by him (Marmier), the King arrived, followed only by Monsieur the cardinal of Lorraine, the Admiral, the sieur de Boissy, and a small number of gentlemen. He then went to the Queen's apartments, and met her half-way, accompanied by the Grand Master, who led her by the hand. The meeting took place as was natural between two lovers. The marriage ceremony was then performed, mass said, and the newly married couple retired to the nuptial chamber. They have not quitted each other since, whether travelling or at home. The King and his subjects, high and low, spare no means of doing the Queen's pleasure, and no wonder, for it is impossible to possess more graceful manners, frankness, and sweet dignity (*ni majeste tan moderee*), than she has, at which all those who surround her are enchanted, saying that she is the real cause of this honourable peace. The people of this town, moreover, have given her a most splendid reception, and she has made her entry this day. She is to go afterwards to Paris as a more suitable place.—Bourdeaulx, 13th July 1530.

Signed : "Hughes Marmier."

French. Copy. pp. 3.

3 July. **369.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849. ff. 30–1. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 216.

Relates his conversation with the Pope on the 21st of June respecting the armaments against the Turk, and reports likewise on the various conferences which cardinals Agramonte (Grammont) and the English ambassadors attended. Recollects that at Bologna the Chancellor (Gattinara) sent a messenger to Bannisiis* asking for certain deeds (*scripturas*) and papers relating to the Crusade, which came in due course. He (Mai) examined them, and though not very important for the present question thinks they might be of use hereafter. Begs for copies of them.

In the cause of England, as I advised Your Majesty, the terms are being followed up, although we are now on the eve

* See vol. iii., part 2, p. 150.

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of the holidays (*ferias*), and I apprehend that the last audience, which is to take place to-morrow, will be of little or no good, unless the Pope grant us, which he is not likely to do, the commission about which I wrote once. His Holiness is now sending an express messenger to the King to persuade him either to desist [from his purpose] or to submit to judgment. As I could not prevent the Pope from doing this, and I myself could do nothing for three months, I agreed to it, though declaring at the same time that I considered it my duty to go on soliciting the commission and the proceedings in the cause. I see very well that the Pope will excuse himself by saying that I must await an answer to the message which his man has taken to England, but as the King himself will not be in a hurry to reply I shall be glad to see that in the meanwhile and without loss of time the negociations and terms of this cause follow their course, because after all sentence only unless executed does not settle a suit between two parties.*

I have acquainted the Queen and the ambassador (Chapuys) with all these incidents that they may know how the matter stands here. The man whom the Pope is now sending to England is the baron de Loburjgo,† a Sicilian in the Papal service, and greatly in his confidence, whom I have myself had reasons to suspect, owing to certain dealings of his at the time of the League. Although I have not been able to find out anything against him, I have done all I could indirectly to prevent his nomination. The Baron represents himself to me as a staunch Imperialist; he has moreover something to lose in Sicily. We shall see.— Rome, 3rd July 1530.

Signed; "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

5 July. **370.** Doctor Garay to the Emperor.

P. Arch. d. l'Emp. Sim. K. 1,483, No. 48.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 218.

As he is now writing by way of England he (Garay) will only say that he again begs and entreats the Emperor to procure at Rome the appointment by His Holiness of two commissary judges in the Queen's cause, because, as the ambassador (Mai) observes, the Parisian doctors have adopted a conclusion in defiance of God's truth, the honour of the Church,

* "En la causa de Inglaterra prosigo mis terminos como á V. Mag^{d} escrivi, y aunque por estar en visperas de ferias, que es mañana la ultima audiencia, aprovechará poco, no dandonos, como pienso que no dará, el Papa la comision que tengo scripta, el Papa enbia un hombre propio al Rey para persuadirle ó que se desista desta cosa, ó que se contente de subir (*sic*) juycio. Y como yo no lo puedo estobar, ni hazer acá nada en tres meses, he dicho que me parese bien, aunque entretanto yo no puedo sino solicitar la commission y la caussa. Bien veo que el Pape se me escussará con esto diziendo que espere (*sic*) respuesta de allá deste hombre, pero pues tampoco la dará [luego] huelgo que sin perder tiempo anden los tractos y medios en esta causa, porque en fin no se puede bien asentar con sola sentencia."

† Baron de Borgo, sometimes called Burgo and Borgho.

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the Emperor, and the Queen, and to the prejudice and great scandal of all Christendom, since we had on our side almost as many votes as they had, and those of doctors so superior in learning that four of them might easily be the masters of all the rest, especially as the latter were all corrupted.* His Imperial Majesty has now better opportunity than ever for maintaining right and justice, for every man of learning and virtuous life in this kingdom of France fully acknowledges the truth of this cause which the Pope and the Church defend. Now is the time for acting before these people, who are naturally inclined to change, alter their minds. Great care should also be taken lest the king of England, encouraged by the favour he has here obtained by means of corruption, should presume to carry out the divorce of his own free will and without the Pope's consent.† Thinks, therefore, it is now more important than ever that the Pope should, according to right, insist upon the King living with his Queen as mother Church commands. For certainly the conclusion here taken cannot but cause the damnation of his soul‡, having been procured by such corrupt and violent means, whereas on the opposite side are the most eminent divines of the kingdom, all the flower of learning and of exemplary life. Endorses their names§ that the Emperor and the Pope, who is herein particularly concerned, and indeed all the world may know who they are and how great a reputation for science and virtue each of them has in this country. Should the Pope send us from Rome the two commissary judges above alluded to, nothing could be more acceptable, otherwise he might appoint those whose names are given in the enclosed list.‖

Two or three men have been the principal actors in this tragedy, namely: De Alanges (Langeais), who has used such diligence in this affair and such abominable practices, as though he expected to be made duke of Alencastre (Lancaster), and a Dominican friar, now bishop of Santlis (Senlis), once the King's confessor, of both of whom he (Garay) can only say this, that if he were the king of France he would certainly for his own honour and reputation give them their desert. These two have been so helped by the First President [of the Parliament of Paris] that, considering the pressure put upon them by that high functionary, it is difficult to guess at his

* "Aviendo por nuestra parte quasi tantos votos que sin duda los quatro pueden enseñar á todos los otros, mayormente que [los otros] fueron todos sobornados."

† "Antes que muden de proposito, que es su natural, es necessario poner mucha diligencia por que el Rey de Inglaterra con este favor tan corrupto y fuera de toda justicia no presuma hazer el divortio por su voluntad, aunque el Papa no lo quiera."

‡ "La conclusion que de aqui llevare es para meterle en el enfierno."

§ The list alluded to is not appended.

‖ At the end of this despatch are the names of the commissaries proposed for the Pope's acceptance, namely: Andre Verins, canon of Paris, King's Councillor in Parliament, and president *in Camera Inquestarum ejusdem Curiæ*; Jacques de la Barde (Barre ?), provost of Clermont, also councillor in Parliament and president *in Camera Requestarum*.

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motives for such behaviour. Indeed, should the said President again return* as ambassador to the Emperor he ought to be warmly thanked for his good services on this occasion, for certainly had it not been for him and his influence the contrary side would scarcely have counted 10 votes.—Paris, 5th July 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

6 July. **371.** The Abbot of Llor to Secretary Covos.

S. E. Rom. L. 851, ff. 68–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 220.

Received on the 3rd inst. his Lordship's letter, dated Augsburg, the 27th June, together with its enclosure for cardinal Egidio,† his master.

In the English business the Cardinal is sure to obey the dictates of his conscience and attend fully to the Imperial service. Having received a mandate from His Holiness to look into this affair and give his opinion, the Cardinal told him that the case was clear and without any doubt in favour of the Queen. His Holiness told the Cardinal to keep the matter secret and not tell anyone, but as a true servant of the Emperor he has through him (the Abbot) communicated the whole to the Imperial ambassador (Mai).

He can further say that a few days ago the English ambassador called upon the Cardinal and told him that the king of England (who by the way seems to take more at heart this affair of the divorce than the welfare of his kingdom), knowing his virtues and learning and his great reputation among the people, wished very much to have his opinion in writing on this particular case. The Cardinal answered: that both in authority and learning he considered himself inferior to all his colleagues. Should he, however, be called upon to give his opinion, he would vote in the cause according to his conscience. The king of England was no doubt a great monarch and remunerated munificently those who served him, but that for him (the Cardinal) it was enough that the King had a good opinion of him, better perhaps than he deserved, that was ample remuneration for his trouble in the affair. Fancies that it is also to the suggestions of the English ambassador that he (the Abbot) was indebted for the visit of an Italian bishop, his friend, who, imagining he had some influence on the Cardinal, his master, called upon him the other day and said to him "How happy I should be if Monsignor the Cardinal would shew favour to the king of England in this affair!"‡ Does not consider it necessary to say what his

* Jacques Brinon was the name of this president. He had been one of Louise's ambassadors at the court of Charles. Langeais or de Langeay, as his name is otherwise written, was Guillaume du Bellay, brother of Jean, bishop of Bayonne; the dominican (?), Guillaume Petit, was bishop of Senlis since 1527.

† See above, p. 613.

‡ "Me ablo diciendome en su italiano que *beato mi si el Cardenal mio, Egidio, haueva per ricomendato il negocio del Rey dingliterra* is a sentence which is

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answer was on the occasion, for he much prefers living and dying poor and with his conscience at ease, to getting the highest dignities in this world at the expense of his honour and reputation.—Rome, 6th July 1530.

Signed: "El abat Llor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

7 July. **372.** Cardinal Ravenna

S. E. L. 850, f. 141. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 222.

Thanks the Emperor for his very gracious and kind letter.

With regard to the English business he (the Cardinal) has already agreed with Miçer Mai and with Andrea da Borgo (*sic*), the Hungarian ambassador, upon the best course to be followed. For his own part he can only say that he confidently hopes that the whole will terminate according to the Emperor's wishes, and as justice and right demand.—Da Rome, 7th July 1530.

Signed: "Be[nedetto] Car[dinale] di Ravena."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ et Augustissimæ Cæsareæ Majestati."

Italian. Original. pp. 2½.

11 July. **373.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 32.

Since my last despatch I have been to see Mr. de Norfolk, who has just returned to Court after a considerable absence. Was as usual kindly received by the Duke; who, after telling me that his absence had been caused by family affairs, and that he had just returned to be present at the sitting of the law courts (*aux termes de la justice*), inquired for news of Your Majesty, expressing also his surprise at the silence of the King's ambassadors in Italy and Germany, from whom, he said, no intelligence had been received since the bishop of London (Stokesley) had been ordered to proceed to the Pope. Replied that I myself had not heard from Your Majesty since the 14th of May; nor was I expecting any tidings for some time, as Your Majesty wrote now much less frequently than before. "Why should the Emperor write," I observed, "when he sees that whatever representations he may make in writing or otherwise are either entirely disregarded, or strangely misinterpreted, and taken in bad part?" "Indeed," I said, "it seems as if the milder, more cordial, and affectionate the said representations were the more obstinate and refractory they (the English) became, so much so that I really did not know what Your Majesty could write about, unless it were to complain of their conduct towards you, and of their trying to

neither Italian nor Spanish, but a mixture of the two languages. The Abbot was most likely a native of Barcelona, for Llor is the name of two abbeys both in Catalonia, one in the province of Gerona, the other in that of Lerida, and the Abbot himself signs himself "llabat llor" and "ell abat llor."

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persuade people that you had so little regard for your honour and conscience as to endeavour to make the Pope and other judges pass an unjust sentence in this cause. The King," I said, "ought to be convinced that Your Majesty was the last person to attempt such a thing." I further assured him "that had Your Majesty believed his marriage with the Queen to have been unlawful, you would, for one step that you have taken for its maintenance, have taken a thousand for its dissolution." "The Emperor," I added, "had given them no cause to presume that he would, for any particular object or person in the world, sin against his conscience, especially in a matter in which the king of England, to whom he was as closely bound by friendship, as he was to the Queen by relationship, was deeply concerned." I then added, "that it seemed needless for Your Majesty to write, inasmuch as bad news spread fast enough, and the good ones touching your prosperity and success did not appear to be as acceptable as good friendship and close relationship demanded, and I ended by informing him that in the last letter received from Your Majesty the departure [for Rome] of Dr. Benet had been mentioned.

At the mention of the doctor's name the Duke started, and said: "I was not quite correct when I stated that there had been no news from abroad since the Bishop's departure. I forgot that the King had received a letter from Dr. Benet reporting that he had taken *congé* of the Emperor, and how, after leaving the Imperial court, a message had been sent to him by Mr. de Granvelle bidding him to return. The doctor had come back the next day and seen the Emperor, who had repeated to him the same cordial assurances and kind messages as before, which after all are substantially the same which you (Chapuys) have conveyed to us on former occasions." "Dr. Benet," continued the Duke, "reports that whilst talking about the divorce, the Emperor told him that if the King, my master, had any cause to mistrust the judges appointed to hear and decide on the case, he would be quite willing that other judges should be chosen of whose impartiality and integrity there should be no doubt."

On this last point of the election of competent judges a long argumentation followed between us, the Duke ending by stating his full conviction that competent and learned judges could not be found out of England; that there were plenty of them in this country, and that it was by English judges that the case would be ultimately settled. After which assurance the Duke drew out from his breast a document with a seal pending therefrom—which seal seemed to me to be that of some convent or religious corporation—and said: "In this paper the names are recorded of those who hold for the divorce, and there are besides doctors innumerable in this country, all men of reputation and learning, who profess the same opinion."

The Duke would not allow me to read the paper, but after

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many lamentations and sighs in his usual manner (*comme a lordinaire*), he changed the conversation and passed on to the affairs of Germany, and the invasion threatened by the Turk, who, he said, would infallibly return to Austria next year. He then expressed much pity for that good and virtuous king of Hungary (Ferdinand), whom, but for this matter of the divorce, the King, his master, (as he assured me) would most willingly have helped out of his difficulties, as he would not only have assisted him in person but persuaded other christian princes to do the same. He then went on to say: "With regard to the Turk's return [to Austria], if no other inducement were to be found but that offered by the superiors† of the ambassador, who has just left this room (meaning the Venetian), it will, in my opinion, be quite sufficient, for *I am sure the Signory will on the smallest possible provocation recall the Turk [into Europe] just as they did the year before.*"

In this manner the Duke went on producing arguments in favour of his proposition, and aiming several hits at the *Venetians, who, he observed, were a wicked and dangerous set of people, avaricious and false;* though, in my opinion, the cause of all this vituperation is simply that the Signory *has not allowed this question of the divorce to be debated [at Padua], as I have already informed Your Majesty in one of my late despatches.*

After some further disputation on this and other topics, during which the Duke said many things, which I will not repeat from fear of annoying Your Majesty, he observed that from the credit he enjoyed with the King, and from his having the administration of affairs, the world in general would lay upon him the chief blame of the divorce, and other things, especially as his niece was so much concerned in it;† but that he could lay his hands on his conscience and say with the psalmist: "Jacta cogitatum tuum in Domino," and let the slanderers say what they pleased. That he had never opened his mouth to the King on the subject of the marriage with his niece, though he did not conceal from me that so great an honour would not be unpleasant to him. This remark of the Duke as to the motives that people in general attributed to him, incline me to give some credit to what *Brian Tuke* himself told me some time ago, namely, that the Duke, since he got rid of the Cardinal, and set in order various matters connected with the tranquillity and welfare of this kingdom, wishes for permission from the King to retire into private life.

I left the Duke soon after this. Next day I received a message from him to say that he had been summoned to Court, but wished very much to see me before he left, and

* "Quant luy faudroint toutes autres occasions que les [supperieurs de lambassadeur] qui de la partoit davec luy questoint (questoit) [cellui de Venize] pour la moindre chose le rappelleroint aussi bien que le firent lannee passee."

† "Quil pensoit bien a cause du credit et administration que le roi luy avoit donne que le monde chargeroit sur luy tant de l'affere du dit divorce, a cause quil touche se niepce que ausy de toutes autres choses."

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therefore begged me to take the trouble of going to him, as he was so much engaged himself that he could not possibly come to me. Went next morning at the appointed hour; was received by the Duke, who said he regretted having given me the trouble of coming, and still more the cause which had made him send for me, which, as he would explain when we had retired to his cabinet, might have very serious consequences.

Upon entering his room he began to say that the intelligence he was about to communicate was very sad, and might be fraught with mischief (*mauvayses et pernicieuses nouvelles*), and after all these prologues proceeded to explain how the day before, whilst inquiring of three English merchants, among the principal in the country, and most favourably disposed towards Your Majesty, whether it was true or not that a naval force was being prepared in Spain* for the passage of the Empress (Isabella) to Flanders, the said merchants had complained to him that the Spaniards here (in London) had, during the last four days, declared that no English ships would be allowed to load in Spain as long as there were any Spanish ones wanting freight, which seemed to them a very strange proceeding towards a friendly power in time of peace. The Duke further said that he knew such a statute had existed for some time [in Spain], but it had not been enforced against the English, and if it were now, England would certainly be obliged to retaliate. Replied that there really was such a royal edict of very ancient date in Spain, and that its not having been enforced in past times was no reason for its being abandoned, and considered a grievance now. It might be that no Spanish ships sought for cargo at the time, and that as to new rules being started in England by way of retaliation, I rather thought that there was more need of abolishing the old than of making new ones in a country like this, where Your Majesty's subjects were worst treated than in Barbary, whereas in all your dominions the English were more considered even than the natives themselves. And that should any measures be enacted here against your subjects, the English might depend upon it, Spaniards and Flemish would both retaliate. The Duke begged me, for the prevention of all evil arising from this cause, to write home about it, which I at once promised to do.

The Duke after this returned to the subject of the divorce, and said that as there seemed to be no other way of bringing this business to an end, he would willingly sacrifice the greatest part of what he owned in this world if God would be pleased to take to himself the Queen and his niece also, for certainly the King would never enjoy peace of mind until he had made another marriage, both for the relief of his own conscience as

* "Que le jour devant soy enquerant de trois marchans angloix de principaux du peys et les plus affectionnes a la part de votre maieste s'il estoit vray que lon dressa armee de mer en hispagne."

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for the preservation of the tranquillity of this realm, which, he said, could only be attained by the existence of male posterity to succeed to his crown. Replied that the King, not being able to ensure the possession of male heirs, ought not to have put himself in the intricate position (*labyrinte*) in which he was, troubling the whole of Christendom with so scandalous an example, and sowing such pestilential views in his kingdom. That the truest, most expedient, and most laudable way of promoting the happiness of his subjects and providing male succession to his crown was to marry his daughter, the Princess, now of a suitable age for marriage, and as capable of bearing male children as any other woman, and that for my own part I should like to see his (the Duke's) son chosen for her husband, as, unless the Princess were to marry a foreign prince, I could not discover a more fitting alliance for her. Said a good deal more on this subject, and ended by stating that this suggestion was entirely my own, and did not in any way proceed from Your Majesty or from the Queen. It originated only in my personal esteem and affection for him, and I had not mentioned it to anyone else.

Upon which the Duke replied that he had a marriage in prospect for his son, through which he should increase his revenue by 3,000 ducats. The duke of Suffolk had offered him his daughter, but though she was the King's own niece, still, as she had not a large dowry, the King thought the Duke's son had better marry the daughter of Dalby (Derby), as in the event of her brother, the earl of Dalby (Derby) dying, she would inherit the finest estates in England.* The Duke, however, said that he was not much inclined to this [latter] marriage, owing to his son being only 14, whilst the lady was 19 years old. As to my allusion to a marriage between the Princess [Mary] and his son, the Duke thanked me exceedingly for the kind feeling which had led to the suggestion, but said he would not propose it to the King even if they were to give him in consequence enough gold to fill the room in which we were. I observed, however, that the Duke did not discard this idea quite as much as when I first spoke of it, *which leads me to infer that he would not be sorry if I, or some one else, were to mention it to the King, provided the latter was convinced that he (the Duke) was ignorant of the proposal.*

Lest the Duke should ask me to introduce this mysterious affair to the King (*introduyre ce mystere vers le Roi*), I changed the conversation, and we passed to other matters, upon which the Duke introduced again the subject of "suspected judges" in matters of this kind, and said: "Nothing

* "Il me dit quil avoit une fillie entre mains que la donnant a son filz yl en amanderoit de troys mille ducats de rente, et que le duc de Nolpholc (*sic*) luy avoit presente le sienne, et combien quelle soit niepce du roy, toutes foys pource qu'elle na grand dot, le dit seigneur roy vouloit plus tost que son filz expousa la fillie dalby, cart venant a mourir le comte dalby, son frere, elle heriteroit le plus beau estat d'angleterre."

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is more certain than that the Pope will in this and in every other case do the Emperor's bidding, even if he were to be asked [by him] to dance in the public streets in a jester's jacket. This could be easily proved by the advocation of the suit [to Rome], and other measures which he had ordered though by no means agreeable to himself." Replied that the Pope had actually declined to act as judge in this cause, which had consequently been sent to the Rota, which was a tribunal composed of 12 most wise and learned ecclesiastics, all men of perfect integrity, whom neither he (the Pope) nor Your Majesty could oblige to decide otherwise than according to right and justice.

To this and other arguments of mine the Duke could only reply by again stating that there were in this country plenty of learned men capable of judging the case, and that the English prelates could decree this divorce, as they had done many previous ones, without going to Rome; and when I observed that there was a great difference between this particular divorce and those to which he (the Duke) alluded, and that it was really essential that the cause should be tried out of England, he reminded me of what I had said respecting the impartial and competent judges, and pressed me to mention that again to the King. He could not venture to do so, he said, but if I did, the King might, perhaps, consent to it. Replied that my instructions did not empower me to act in the matter, and that assuming, as he himself had stated, that Your Majesty had suggested it to Dr. Benet, I had of my own accord, and without instructions, pointed out the probability of the thing, though upon further consideration you could hardly have taken such a step without giving notice to the Queen, who is the principal party concerned, and that I was astonished that the earl of Wiltshire, whilst at Bologna, had not settled the point with Your Majesty. The Duke observed that never at any time had a mission been worse conducted than the one entrusted to the Earl. He (the Duke) had never seen the King so displeased with an ambassador before. That it was the Earl's great desire to return home which had done all the mischief, and that but for his (the Duke's) intervention, the King would have sent him on to Rome instead of allowing him to come back. The Earl (he added) had not been instructed to make any proposal whatever concerning the election of judges, as it was thought at the time that he would bring the entire case to such a complete settlement with Your Majesty as to render all discussion about judges quite unnecessary. Replied that whoever supposed that Your Majesty and the World at large could give their consent to such a thing without a definite and legal decision, misunderstood entirely the importance and merits of the case. Upon which the Duke asked me: "Who do you think would be competent judges in this affair?" but perceiving that I did not answer, or care to go further into the subject, he went on to say: "What do you think of Monseigneur the cardinal

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of Liege, and of Monseigneur de Tarbes, newly elected to the cardinalate?" Could not help answering that I approved for many reasons of the former, but disapproved strongly of the latter, for he was one of the first to put this fancy into the King's head, and had afterwards pushed the affair in Rome publicly, said things and made remarks unworthy of a man in his position.* The Duke denied ever having heard of these proceedings of the Sieur de Tarbes; but observed that if he had contented himself with pushing the King's affairs at Rome he would have done much less harm than by making, as he had done, unwarrantable assertions about his (the Duke's) person, and that of other members of the Privy Council; for he had been heard to say in public that they were good for nothing (*que ce nestoit rien que deulx*); that it was only during the time that the Cardinal (Wolsey) was in power, that the King was dreaded by the Pope, the Emperor, and the rest of the Christian Princes; that since the Cardinal's fall none of them (the Duke and councillors) could win esteem or respect for their king. The Duke added that every day that passed convinced him more fully of the truth of the statement which I once made to him, as communicated to me by Mr. de Praët, namely, *that the French would do all they could to restore the said Cardinal to power*, but that they might do as they pleased, the Cardinal might use all the artifices he could conjure up, he would never again either see or speak with the King. This, however, he (Wolsey) had attempted very recently, for he had been plotting in the most ingenious and subtle manner, only the means of execution had failed him, for he had confided in and tried to carry out his plan through three men who [were supposed] to have made false coin for the Duke;† and the men, knowing very well that the Cardinal's intrigues could not harm anyone but him (the Duke), had come to him and revealed the whole plot (*descouvert le pasté*), thus enabling him to countermine it, and take precautions for the future.

After this the conversation again turned on the Sieur de Tarbes. I observed to the Duke that it might well be that the said gentleman bishop, as well as Mr. de Langeais and the others, had been scheming for the Cardinal in France and elsewhere, in order that they might gain influence over the king of England without the knowledge of their master; and that perhaps also they wished to suggest to the latter that, as the king of England thought that his best security for receiving payment

* "Du premier jauouay et comprouvay par plusieurs raysons de suffisanze, et par autant reprouvay celle de lautre vehu mesmemant quil avoit este des premiers quavoit cecy mis en la fantasie du roy, et dempuys avoit sollicite ce affere en Romme, et rué des propos assez inconsideres pour ung tel personnage."

† "Et astrologueroit le cardinal tant quil voudroit toutesfoys de sa vie yl ne parleroit au roy ny le verroit. Ce qu'il avoit bien pensé fere yl y avoit peu de jours, et a ce effayt avoit inventee la plus caute et subtille occasion du monde, mays les moyens de lexecution avoint este bien folz, cart le dit cardinal cestoit declayre, et vouloit fere menner les practiques a troy qui fesoint faulce monnoye pour le dit duc."

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from France was to be on good terms with Your Majesty, they ought to find some means of counterbalancing that influence by alienating Your Majesty's affection from him, an object for which I was sure King Francis would willingly give both his ears (*en donroyt les oreillies*). At these words the Duke interrupted me by saying that no doubt the treaty of friendship between Your Majesty and the king of France was favourable to both parties (*estoit beau et bien couché*), and a very fine thing altogether; that the alliance of the latter with your sister (Eleanor) could not be better; but that the advantages and assistance [in times of need] which England had at various times supplied to France were no less efficacious than the said treaty and matrimonial alliance. "In truth," he added, "considering the manner in which the Emperor had treated the king of France, obliging him to disburse more money than he could really pay, and do many other things by sheer force, I take it that no firm and lasting friendship can really exist between the two, and three years at least must pass before France can recover her strength, and matters be placed on a firm footing as they ought to be."

This proposition of the Duke was for some time the subject of discussion, and after that the question arose between us as to who had been the more magnanimous with his vanquished enemy: Your Majesty with the king of France, or the English with king Jean, and to which side France would now under present circumstances rather lean for friendship and alliance, to England or to Your Majesty. After which I remarked that whatever sentiments Your Majesty might now entertain for the king of France, or for any other prince whomsoever, that would nowise diminish your affection for the king of England, whose friendship, owing to near connection, mutual obligations, and natural inclination you had always valued more than that of any other in the world, and that no doubt they (the English) knew well enough that your good-will was as valuable to them as that of the French. The Duke acknowledged the truth of my statement, and said that not only the King, his master, was convinced that his friendship with Your Majesty was the best security for the French debt, but that there were many at Court who were continually reminding him of the fact, and that but for this business of the divorce there would be now firmer alliance and closer friendship than ever between his master and Your Majesty.

Wishing to obtain some information about the Earl's doings in France, I then told him that there were many different reports among the people, concerning that nobleman's mission, and that if the Cardinal (Wolsey), whose chief delight had always been to embroil matters, and set up people one against another had been in power, I should have been inclined to think that the Earl had gone thither to do mischief.* I had now

* "Et que sil eust este du temps que regissoit le Cardinal, qui ne se delectoit que de broulier, garbouger, et renverser le monde, jeusse sospeçonne que le dit comte fust este la pour traymer quelque chose autre que bonne."

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no fears of that sort for many reasons, and principally because he (the Duke) had so much influence with the King, and the management of affairs was so much in his hands, that I had no doubt the Earl's mission to that country had nothing to do with politics. The Duke's answer was that the earl of Wiltshire had gone to France for the sole purpose of being present at the liberation of the King's sons, and claiming payment of the debt on salt, which has been due for the last three years, and amounts now to 45,000 crs.* There is some probability of the former having been one of the Earl's objects; but as to the salt, it strikes me that the claim might just as well have been entrusted to the two English ambassadors now residing in France. I am, therefore, much inclined to think that other more important schemes are on foot, and that perhaps also an effort is now being made, through the king of France, to obtain the seals of the French universities.

Did not fail to tell the Duke that there was also a report of the King being about to advance money to the Florentines, and that the king of France would stand security for it. To this the Duke replied that certainly the King had often been pressed to make them a loan, but that he had always resisted, and at last he (the Duke) himself had resolutely denied the application in the name of the King, his master, as he considered that it was a very foolish thing to throw away money in that quarter; and that in consequence of this refusal, he was no favourite with the Florentines.

After this the Duke again introduced the subject of the Turkish war, repeating almost the same words he had said to me on a previous occasion, and adding, in plain words, "I tell you candidly that last year, when the King, my master, refused your application for help against the Turk, his reason was that he did not wish the Emperor to become more powerful than he is, or to help his elevation in any way, as he himself would have nothing to gain, but much to lose by it."† Refuted as strongly as I could this abominable idea, and tried to prove the contrary, when the Duke, perceiving that he had no just ground to stand upon, changed the conversation,‡ and passing to another topic, asked me more than once: "What danger do you think there would be were the King, my master, to take another wife, as he will most certainly do in the end?" Mentioned in my reply some of the most obvious which that measure might give rise to, and above all one which is generally apprehended, namely, the mutual strife and division of the people throughout this kingdom; for the rest I referred

* "Et ausy pour fere que le scel (*sic*) que les françoys leur doibuent de troys troys (*sic*) ans que monte xlv.^{m} escuz leur soyt payee."

† "Et apres aucunes deuises yl me dit tout clerement et rondement que le roy lannee passe navoit voulu entendre a donner secour contre iceux a cause quil n' avoit occasion de desirer estre votre maieste plus grande quelle estoit et moyns luy ayder pour y parvenir cart de ce ne luy pourroit venir bien et de dommage assez."

‡ "Je commençay a vouloer convaincre et detester une tant damnable et execrable intention, et sachant quil ne soubstenoit juste querelle yl ne voulust entre [r] en campt, ains changea de propos."

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the matter to him, as the person most interested in the matter, and most capable of appreciating the position. I then took leave of him (*je m' expediay de luy*), and he accompanied me to the gallery where we parted, he, the Duke, telling me with a smile on his lips: "You perhaps think that the two above-named cardinals* will probably decide in favour of the divorce?" Returned the Duke's smile, but made no formal answer to his question.

I really think that the principal reason the Duke had for thus inviting me to his house, was to see whether he could induce me to talk to the King about the choice of judges; for certainly the business about which he spoke to me was by no means urgent, considering that nothing has yet been done about it in Spain, or that perhaps the threats of which I have made use on other occasions have made him think that there might be some hostile intentions on the part of Your Majesty.

I am told that the day before my interview with the Duke, he happened to meet a worthy gentleman (*un homme de bien*) of this court, and complained to him of the rigorous tone Your Majesty had adopted towards the King in this matter of the divorce, adding that if you intended to go to war with him only on that account, you would find no help in the quarter whence you expected it most, whereas the King, his master, would meet in many places, and especially in Germany, with sympathy and friendship.

Saw at the Duke's house *Master Brian Tuke*, who again apologized for not having come to see me, and said that the message he once sent me, expressing a hope that this question of the divorce would be soon settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, had reference to Your Majesty's approaching visit to Flanders which he thought was about to take place, and in his opinion would be the means of setting everything to rights, hinting no doubt at an interview between Your Majesty and the King either in Flanders or here in this country. Said to him that as personal communication in times like these could not be frequent, from fear of arousing suspicion, I begged him once for ever to do everything in his power, if he really wished to serve his master, to maintain the friendship between him and Your Majesty. Brian Tuke replied that he was continually working in that direction, much more so indeed than people imagined.

Eight days ago the Princess sent to ask the King for permission to come and see him here before he goes away on a hunting expedition, which will take up his time till November. The King, however, preferred going to her, and remained [at Richmond] all last Wednesday, shewing her all possible affection. God grant that this may last!

Last Thursday the news arrived here of the liberation of the sons of France, in honour of which the King had bonfires lit in this city, and sent orders to the Lord Mayor to solemnize

* The archbishop of Liege and Mr. de Tarbes. See above p. 630.

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the event in a square close to his mansion, where one of the bonfires was lit.*

On the same day I received a visit from the Venetian ambassador. He told me he had not been to court since except upon the occasion and on the business whereof I informed Your Majesty by one of my despatches.

To-day the French ambassador has received intelligence that 100 Parisian doctors have given opinion in favour of this King, and that the University is also to give its seal to that effect. This is no doubt bad news for the Queen, as the King will become more arrogant than ever, and have their names and votes proclaimed throughout his kingdom. It is, moreover, to be feared that now that he is supported by the university of Paris he may gain to his views a considerable portion of his subjects, and also attempt the accomplishment of his marriage without awaiting the Pope's further decision. *At this the Lady will be nothing loth, for quite lately she has been, as I am informed, urging on the King, and telling him that Your Majesty had it not in your power to do him any harm, and that her family alone would provide for one year* 10,000 *men for his service at their own expense; and that since Your Majesty had not suffered any qualms of conscience in marrying your own first cousin* [*Isabella of Portugal*], *you could not decently ask others to be more scrupulous in this matter. I am told that a short time ago the King said to the Lady that she was under great obligation to him, since he was offending everyone and making enemies everywhere for her sake, and that she replied: "That matters not, for it is foretold in ancient prophecies that at this time a Queen shall be burnt: but even if I were to suffer a thousand deaths, my love for you will not abate one jot."*†

The Queen is to accompany the King on the hunting expedition as usual.

And now, having recounted in detail all the events of this court and city according to Your Majesty's orders, I will end, &c.—London, 11th July 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, July 11th. Received on the 24th."

French. Holograph. pp. 12.

13 July. **374.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 38–39. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 213.

His other despatch is almost exclusively devoted to the English cause; this will be a report on general affairs.

[*Cipher:*] The release of Luigi Alamani, who was arrested

* "Et par le mesme commandemant le mayre se trouva en quelque solempnite en la plus prochaine place de sa mayson ou se faysoit lung des dits feux."

† "A quoy elle fist reponce que cella estoit peu de fait au regard delle que sçauoit bien par les anciennes profecies que disoint que en ce temps il y deuoit auoir une royne que seroit bruslee, may, quant bien elle deuroit mille fois morir, si ne rabbattroit elle riens de son amour."

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at Genoa, has somewhat changed the state of affairs in Florence. The Pope was tired and half in despair, and though half the Spaniards who mutinied for want of pay and entered Pisa returned to the camp repenting at what they had done, yet His Holiness was afraid of the consequences. The king of France, they say, is sending a man called el Escudier Francesco* to undeceive the Florentines, and tell them that they must not count upon him for help, &c. What the Pope fears most is the sack of the city, and the negociations preliminary to the surrender, as the Prince says that in order to withdraw his army from Florence 200,000 ducats are required, and that he cannot do it for less.

His Holiness is in despair because he cannot see whence so large a sum of money is to come; but I have no doubt that in the end, rather than see the undertaking fail, he will do his utmost. Told me the other day to go to Florence myself; I declined on account of the Queen's business. He then pointed out Muxetula; but I told him that he was not inclined to go either. Suggested at last that I should write to Your Majesty begging for a fit person to be appointed. Replied that the marques del Gasto (Vasto) and the Secretary, and Luis Ransom,† were all at Naples. We then thought of the archbishop of Capua; but as he has not yet recovered from his last illness, there is very little chance of his accepting the commission.

The Diet to be held in Hungary to discuss the matter of the Vayvod, and the general truce with the Turk.

Burning of the Turkish fleet at Obtonaz in Sclavonia.

Turks and Venetians.—Cesaro Imperiale among the former urging them to come down upon Sicily.

Two Moorish galleys met two Genoese going to Iviça in the Balcaric islands, one of which had ammunition and 600 men for Andrea Doria. One of the two galleys was taken; the other defended itself for some time, until at last the enemy sank her. Cachadiablo, the Jew, who commanded one of the two Moorish galleys, was slain in the encounter.

Nothing has been heard for some time, of the abbot of Farfa. The Pope suspects that he is still at Montefortino; and as most probably Ascanio Colonna would be glad of a commission to attack that place and make war upon Julio, I have dexterously persuaded the Pope not to undertake anything at present against that castle, for after all Julio Colonna is the brother of the Cardinal [Pompeo]. The Pope has agreed with me. Sciarra Colonna came the other day here, and asked me to give him advice. The Pope had committed to him the attack on Bracciano, and as he and the rest of his family are faithful servants of Your Majesty, he wished to know how he was to behave on the occasion. Told him, without hesitation, to follow implicitly the Pope's commands.

Ascanio writes that he knows for certain the Abbot has

* "El caballero Escudier Francesco."

† Thus in the copy from Simancas.

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married and consummated matrimony with the daughter of Julio at Montefortino, and that the Abbot himself declares it. I have sent for the governor and agent of Julio's estate, who is here, and he tells me that the report is untrue.

Luigi Gonzaga and Isabella Colonna.

The Duke of Ferrara and the Pope. For some reason or other the negociations between them have been suddenly broken off, which makes me suspect that, notwithstanding all his protests, he (the Duke) is after no good.

Told the Pope how matters of Faith stood in Germany, and the other day a congregation was held to consider the Lutheran propositions as forwarded by the Papal Legate.

Cardinal de Agramonte (Gabriel de Grammont) had the news of the restitution of the hostages, and the arrival [at Bordeaux] of queen Eleanor published the day before yesterday, in consequence of which there were, last night, illuminations and rejoicings all over this city, and principally at the houses of the partisans of France. Yesterday the question was raised in Consistory whether the Pope and the cardinals ought to make some demonstration that way, but D'Osma opposed it with all his might, until we heard of the marriage being consummated. This notwithstanding, I called upon the French ambassador, and complimented him on the occasion.

The Pope has been told that Mr. de St. Pol was at Milan, with about 100 gentlemen and servants, on his way to fulfil a vow at our Lady of Loreto; and Don Lope writes [from Siena ?] that he had also heard that the duke of Milan, for fear of the French, was collecting troops. I do not believe either of these reports.

Renzo da Ceri, I am told, will soon take his departure for France, having at last obtained permission to go thither.

The fief of Monferrato, and opinions of the dukes of Milan, Savoy, and Urbino respecting it.

The duke of Mantua, a few days ago, had Malatesta, the same who was some time his ambassador at Your Majesty's court, arrested, together with a friar by whose advice he acted. This latter was immediately set at liberty by order of the Duke, but Malatesta is still in prison, and very much in disgrace with the Duke. What his crime may be I do not know for certain.

Rumours of plague at Rome.

The King of Hungary sent the other day for 30,000 cwt. of gunpowder; but it could not be procured; there is not that quantity in all Italy.—Commission to cardinal Campeggio to proceed against the Hungarian bishops who had followed the party of the Vayvod.—Rome, 13th July 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Ma jesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 8.

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13 July. **375.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 65.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 241.

Wrote on the 19th and 28th ult° and 6th inst. On Monday last this Signory received a letter from their ambassador in France stating that the liberation of the King's sons had been effected. The letter was dated the 2nd inst. Failed not to go and compliment the French ambassador thereupon.

Renzo da Ceri has left for France. Has been able to procure a copy of the letter the King wrote, telling him to bring as few "fuorusciti" as possible with him.

Count Guido Rangone, a Modenese captain in the service of France, is still here. He came yesterday to see me, and laughed much at Renzo's departure for France and at his plans of again calling the French king back to Italy, which, in his opinion, was quite impracticable. The king of France, he said, could no more raise 600 lances than he could 600,000; he had not a farthing left. All he wanted now was peace and tranquillity to recruit his forces. He had recommended the "fuorusciti" who were in France to throw themselves at the feet of queen Eleanor, that she might intercede for them with Your Majesty. That was the only remedy, the King said, which he could think of for the present.

Since the return of the bishop of London (Stokesly) from Padua, I have endeavoured to ascertain what he did in that city. Although the Signory had always assured me that the English had achieved nothing, I heard that they had certainly convoked at a monastery a certain number of friars, who, in the name of a college of divines [at Padua], had given a determination in favour of the king of England and against the power (*potencia*) of the Pope. Having ascertained as much, I went to the College-hall, and said to the Doge before his Council of the Ten, that I wondered greatly that such a thing could have happened after their repeated assurances that nothing would be done at the university of Padua against the authority of the Pope or to the prejudice of the Queen. I informed them that the bishop of London (Stokesly) had caused certain friars to assemble and pass, in the name of a college of divines, a vote against the Pope's power. The Doge and Council stood amazed, and said they were not aware of the existence of a college of divines at Padua, and that if any friar had given his opinion it was of no consequence at all. I assured them that it was a fact, and explained to them the circumstances of the case. I had (I said) written to Your Majesty that, disapproving highly of the steps taken by the English ambassadors in an affair of this sort, they (the Doge and Council) had promised me that no opinion should be taken at Padua against the authority of the Church, and the right of a Princess so closely allied to Your Majesty, and now I could not help writing that, contrary to their promise, those friars had met and given a vote which would be a cause of great disappointment and regret to Your Majesty. They again protested that they could not believe it; there was no such college of divines at Padua now,

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nor had they ever heard that there was ever one there, but they would send thither and ascertain the truth. And so they did, and found that I was right, upon which they expressed great regret at what had happened, and sent for one of the friars,* whom they abused in very strong language, making him produce a copy of the opinion given to the bishop of London, with the names of all those who had signed it, a transcript of which is herein enclosed.† I will send another to Mai, that he may shew it to the Pope, and let him know how these friars treat his authority. I had already written to him on the subject, but could not send the copy at the time, as it was only to-day that I received it from the Signory.

I am angry beyond measure (*tomado de la ira de Dios*) with this Signory seeing that notwithstanding my frequent warnings, and the many assurances they have given me, such a thing should have been allowed to take place in Padua. They go on saying that they were ignorant of the existence of such a college there; and Gaspar Contareni in particular, the same who was once ambassador at Your Majesty's court, assures me that during the seven years he was a student at Padua he never heard of there being in that city a college of divines incorporated with that university, that being the reason why they (the Doge and Ten) had left the matter unprovided for. He (Contareni) further assured me that the Doge and Council were exceedingly sorry at what had happened, and added that except three or four of the friars all the rest were asses (*bestias*).

Your Majesty may believe me, it is from such men as these that the English agents have already obtained more than 150 signatures. I only wonder that the number does not increase to 100,000, considering the means they employ to gain votes, for what they cannot get by promises they obtain by threats, the whole thing being besides conducted with the utmost secrecy.

I beg leave to inform Your Majesty that the general of the Augustinians is now here, and that he has also been very much importuned to declare in favour of the King, and approve of these conclusions against Papal authority (*potencia*). He has hitherto excused himself on the ground of business, but they have pressed him so hard that he has been obliged to tell them at last that he is unwilling to mix himself up with an affair so scandalous, so injurious to the Church, and affecting persons so closely allied to Your Majesty as the queen of England and the king of Portugal (Dom João) and his brothers, for the father of the latter‡ obtained dispensation in the same degree. Notwithstanding the

* "Hanle dicho cosas del Diablo."

† Not in the bundle.

‡ Dom Manuel, king of Portugal, married in 1497 Isabella, widow of his brother Dom Alfonso. Isabella herself was the younger sister of Juana, queen of Castille, the mother of Charles V. She died in 1498, and then Dom Manuel married her sister, Maria, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, who died in 1517.

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general's good reasons for denying the ambassadors' requests, they still insist, and tell him to think of the many monasteries his Order has in England, and that they might suffer on his account. His answer has been that they may do what they please with the monasteries [in England], but as far as he is concerned, no threats shall prevail upon him to approve or sanction anything of the sort. They told him further that should the Pope refuse to annul the dispensation, the intention of their King, after receiving the opinions of these doctors, which are to be fowarded to him immediately, was to marry the Lady "de facto," and shut up the Queen in a castle where no one should see her.

All this the general of the Augustinians has told me confidentially, and I write it down that Your Majesty may know how matters stand here, and what are the King's wicked intentions. I beg that the whole thing be kept a most profound secret, and that nobody may suspect whence the information comes, because I have engaged my most solemn word that it will be so.

This Signory would have ordered the Paduan friars to unsay what they have written against the power of the Pope, had I only asked for it, but this I did not wish to do without further instructions from Your Majesty, because the thing could not possibly be kept secret, and, besides, the friars themselves are not worth the trouble.

News from Constantinople, &c.—Venice, 13th July 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

13 July. **376.** The FERRARESE AMBASSADOR in France to the DUKE.

S. E. L. 851, f. 59.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 247.

The day after the news of the liberation of the Princes arrived, he (Il Manfredo) took post to Bayonne, but was not in time, having already found them at Dachs (Dax). Called on the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency), with whom he had a long conversation. After duly congratulating him in the Duke's name on so happy an event, he (Manfredo) gave him the Duke's message, to which he responded in the most amiable and courtly manner, assuring him of the great affection the King, his master, professed towards him. Gave him the duke of Chartre's* letter, and his congratulations, which the Grand Master answered in a like manner, inquiring very kindly after Madame Renée's health. Was then conducted by him to the apartments of the Princes, to whom he presented his respects. The Dauphin "in lingua castigliana elegantissima," said that he accepted with good grace His Excellency's offers of service, and that if the opportunity presented itself he would not fail to remind him of his promise. The duke of Orleans, "che per ventura haveua lanimo avadando da lasciare, et perque maluolontieri parla

* Renée de France married to Hercole d'Este, the duke of Ferrara's eldest son, was at this time duchess of Chartres.

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spagnuolo, ne sanna bene il francese," said only two words of thanks. Went afterwards to the Queen (Eleanor), to whom he delivered the Duke's letters, and those of Don Hercole. Her Majesty would not give him her hand to kiss, though "io spagnoleggiando un poco ne la pregasse." She said: "Mucchio gelo agradezcho i donde podre le haré benefitio, é che desseava saber nuevas del Duque i de Madame Renea."* The King and the Royal family left the same day for Bordeaux, where a most sumptuous reception had been prepared for them, the minute description of which as well as of the ladies' dresses down to their very shoes goes by another post addressed to Madame [Renée].

Signor Ludovico,† who took yesterday *congé* of the King, and of the Queen to-day, will leave after to-morrow. The Court will move on one league from this city next Monday, that is provided Madame [Louise], who is unwell, and was yesterday visited by queen Eleanor, is in a fit state to travel.

This morning a report was in circulation that Signor Alberto di Carpi had given up his blessed soul to his Creator (*a reso quella benedetta anima sua*), and that he had died from extreme joy at the liberation of the Princes. It may be so, for he was not in good health, and besides a brother of Il Sormano (Gasparo?) says he has seen letters announcing his death, and yet, notwithstanding all that, I cannot believe it.

Have been told that the king of France complains that our Lord [the Pope] has been the cause of the liberation of his children having been delayed.

Respecting Florence, cannot see that any provision is made except fair promises; and yet there can be no doubt that both the King and the Grand Master shew greater favour than ever to the Florentine ambassador. The general opinion is that nothing will be done in politics until the court reaches Bles (Blois). The ambassador of the Vayvod, who formerly went about court "incognito," has been lately allowed to assume his rank.

This letter goes by way of Reggio, addressed to Jacomo Hieronimo, the Pope's chamberlain. A paper describing a conversation with Il Sormano will go by another route.——— 13th July 1530.

Signed: "Il Manfredo."

Addressed: "Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Signore il Ducha di Ferrara, mio unicho signore."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

14 July. S. E. L. 851, B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 256.

377. MEMORANDUM sent to MIÇER MAI concerning the LUTHERANS.

The duke of Hesse, elector, and four more Princes of his league have put into the hands of His Imperial Majesty a

* "Mucho se lo agradezco, y donde podré le haré beneficio, y desseo saber nuevas del Duque y de Madama Renea."

† Who this Signor Ludovico may be I have been unable to find out, unless it be Ludovico Visconti, who was still at the court of France.

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memorandum on upwards of 50 sheets of paper, a copy of which has been forwarded to Rome by the Papal legate. Twenty learned divines have been appointed to examine the same, and prepare an answer approving of what may seem acceptable, and rejecting the rest, with all modesty, and according to Scripture. Meanwhile the said Elector and the other Lutheran princes have by the advice of the Legate and other Catholics, been asked if they wish on any point to add to or retrench from their former writing. Their answer is now in the hands of the Legate, who will most probably remit it to Rome by this post. It says that they (the Lutherans) avoided saying anything in their first memorandum about the morals of the Clergy or the abuses of the Church, and that they begged His Majesty to take the matter into consideration as soon as possible, because they (the members of the Diet) had already been too long absent from home.

The answer prepared by the Legate and divines is drawn out both in Latin and in German, that it may be published in the same form in which their memorandum is. It does not appear as if any writing on our side could do any good; the only thing will be to offer them a council, as His Majesty writes to the Pope. This is also the express desire of the said electors, and of the Catholic princes, who could not be induced at the Diet to declare themselves further than to say that if the Council is proposed, and the Lutheran princes refuse to come, they, the Catholics, will do what is proper. On the other hand the Lutheran princes trust in the number of their adherents, and the truth is that many cities and populous towns are in a bad state as regards matters of Faith.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

14 July. **378.** The Emperor to the Pope.

S. E. L. 635, f. 85.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 258.

We have sent to our ambassador the particulars of what has hitherto been done at the Diet. The duke of Saxony, the Electors, and other princes of the opposite party (*que siguen lo contrario*) have sent in a memorandum of their demands. As far as We can judge, they will not agree to our being a judge in this matter, and although We are by right such a judge, and might enforce the same by law, We cannot help thinking that to insist upon such right under present circumstances might be attended with some difficulty. An answer is being prepared to their demands; but whatever this may be We are almost sure, such is their obstinacy, that they will insist upon a council being summoned. If not promised to them, they will not only persevere in their errors, but will fall every day into new and greater ones, which might be the occasion of incalculable evils. Indeed, whilst in some of the Electors who are sincerely attached to us, We perceive much coldness and weakness (*flojedad*), the others are a most stubborn set, and seem determined to have their own way, as the most Revd. Legate must have observed and reported to Your Holiness.

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We recommend the holding of a council as the only means of quieting the passions of Germany.—Agusta (Augsburg), 14th July 1530.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 7.

15 July. **379.** The Duke of Saxony [George] to Henry VIII.

Doc. Hist. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 263.

Has received by his ambassador his letter dated Hampton Court, June. Cannot sufficiently express his satisfaction at the King's good-will towards him, and at the manner in which he has received his friendly admonition of the sinister rumours now current in Germany. Rejoices all the more at the King's vindication, shewing that he was not influenced by private motives or self-interest, but only by the fear of God, following the advice and persuasion of certain eminent men (*quorumdam magni nominis consilio ac suasu*). He is sure the King would never attempt anything for which he could not give sufficient reason; and yet wishes he had never been led to this. He has no doubt there are several men in his kingdom of approved learning, who will easily remove the scruples of his conscience, and shew to the world that His Highness' marriage needs no further legitimisation.

Has not yet been able to speak with his ambassador, partly on account of the business of the Diet, and partly for want of an interpreter, as he cannot understand English.—Augsburg, 15th July [15]30.

Signed: "Georgius Dei gratia Saxoniæ dux, &c."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

16 July. **380.** Clement VII. to the Emperor.

S. E. Rom. L. 850, f. 136. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 264.

Thanks him for his letter and the instructions to the prince of Orange. Has no doubt that, victory being obtained, Florence will be saved from destruction. Hopes that the undertaking will be soon brought to an end; for although the Prince himself has it much at heart, the recommendations of the Emperor cannot fail to produce good effect, and quicken his energies still further. Wishes very much to see the Emperor completely freed from these Italian affairs, that he may the sooner attend to those of Germany.—Rome, 16th July 1530.

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

18 July. **381.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 35–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 265.

The Pope received last night letters from the camp stating that the Florentines, or rather Malatesta Baglione, who is there in command, had requested the prince of Orange to send Ferrante Gonzaga to them, for they wished to capitulate. The Prince answered that if they (the Florentines) agreed first to restore the supremacy of the Medici, and deliver hostages for the security of those who went into Florence to treat, he would send Gonzaga and others.

The Pope has decided to send thither some of the Floren-

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tines of his own party now residing at Rome, as more apt from their knowledge of the country, and experience of administration, to discuss the preliminaries of a capitulation, and would willingly have sent also the archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), had the state of his health been better, but he is still very weak.

The most important points of the negociation seem to be as follows: 1st, To prevent the sack of Florence; 2nd, To decide what is to be done with Malatesta, who the Pope imagines will ask to be restored to the possession of Perosa (Perugia); 3rd, To prevent the French squire, whom they call count de Pontiemolo,* from interfering as he has come to do; 4th, And last, to settle how the Imperial army is to be disposed of after the surrender of Florence.

As to the first point, measures have been taken to prevent the sack, and if the men are only paid, there will be no difficulty.

As to Malatesta's return to Perugia, as he was before, there might be some objection raised, owing to his restless humour, and the vicinity of that town to the kingdom of Naples. It is, therefore, for Your Majesty to decide, and send us instructions on this point.

With regard to the army, my opinion is that Italy cannot be left entirely without troops in the unsettled state in which things are. Since the Germans want to go home, let them go, and let 3,000 or 4,000 Spaniards, be selected, men of military experience and probity, who might go to Naples and become in case of need the nucleus of an army of 20,000, recruited in 10 days among their own comrades. The next batch might remain at the orders of the marquis del Vasto, and the remainder, who are regular scoundrels (*vellacos*), fearing neither God nor Your Majesty, be dismissed, and return to their several crafts. The same might be done with the Italians.

Went to see Tarbes, and complimented him on the delivery of the Royal hostages, adding that as soon as I heard of the consummation of the marriage, I would not fail to do what was proper in the way of rejoicings, &c.

As a return for my courtesy he (Tarbes) went the other day to the Pope, and said to him that the news of Florence was not true; it was a pure invention on the part of the Prince and myself to prevent the Frenchman (Francesco) from taking part in the negociations.

Having heard that Alberto di Carpi was likely to succeed him in this embassy, I asked him who was coming in his place. He told me that a councillor of the most Christian King, a man of the long robe (*ropa larga*), who some supposed to be a natural son of king Charles [VIII.] was the person designated, and that he had the reputation of being a very honourable man. The truth is that Alberto di Carpi under the plea of visiting his wife, and perhaps also for change of

* Thus in the original, but Pontremoli is no doubt meant.

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air—the climate of France no longer being to his taste—is coming to Rome.

Letters from France speak of a marriage between one of the daughters of the king of Poland and the duke of Orleans.

Niño writes from Venice that Renzo de Ceri, and the rest of the "fuorusciti" of Naples have left for France; and that count Guido Rangone had letters from that country saying that the most Christian King thought of nothing but pleasure, hunting, &c., and would not listen to business of any sort.

The Pope has sent a bishop to visit Madame [Margaret], who is to be the wife of his nephew Alessandro. He has returned bringing back her portrait.

There was here some suspicion that the Sienese were on the point of joining the Florentines, and making common cause with them. Wrote to Don Lope de Soria about it, and he tells me that after every possible inquiry he finds the report to be untrue.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope has letters from the governor of Piacenza stating that a Genoese (whom he does not name) passed through that city, and reported that there was much discontent in Genoa, owing to Andrea Doria's late [unsuccessful] expedition to the coast of Africa, in which several citizens had been slain.

(*Common writing:*) This baron del Borgo, who has gone to England as Papal Nuncio, came lately from Sicily, where he held a similar post. His business here (at Rome) was to obtain the ratification of certain stipulations about the "monarchy of that island," which had been previously agreed upon between the Viceroy and him.

The countess of Camerata came here some time ago intending to speak to Your Majesty about her law-suit, when there was a talk of the journey to Naples. She is now endeavouring to marry her daughter to the son of the president of the Summaria in that kingdom, which does not seem to me quite a right thing.

The duke of Ferrara has written to me and to Andrea de Borgo begging us not to attach faith to the many slandering reports circulated about his person. He is not, as he assures us ungrateful, and will never forget the many favors received at Your Majesty's hands. His ambassador besides has called upon us and explained the circumstances that gave rise to the rumours about him. We have accepted his excuses, but it will not be so easy to convince the Pope.

Saturday, the 16th, the courier dispatched by the Legate (Campeggio) arrived. Next day I called on His Holiness, and read to him Your Majesty's letter, which he requested me to leave with him, as the Legate's, he said, was not sufficiently clear. He promised that to-day, Monday, he would summon a congregation of the cardinals who have been particularly entrusted with the affair [of the Lutherans]. He said that if Your Majesty be appointed judge of these matters

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(*juez de estas cosas*), and in the meantime they (the Lutherans) live as Catholics (*catholicamente*), he would not object to the holding of a council, provided it was not convoked until universal peace were established, and he added that if the council could be, as had been proposed at other times, *national* not *general*, so much the better.

This matter of the Council is so important that I do not hesitate to say what the general feeling about it here [at Rome] is. It is considered that were the state of affairs in Germany to allow of it, it would be wise to delay holding it as much as possible, or still better to prevent it altogether, because at these present times a general council would doubtless be equally pernicious spiritually as temporally, for in order to check this spreading evil of the Lutheran and other errors it will be necessary to acquiesce in some of their demands. This might be done much better without a council, for if any concession be made to the Germans, other nations are sure to ask for similar ones. Besides which, the affairs of Christendom not being yet as well settled as might be desired, and the inclinations of princes not being uniform, a schism might spring up in the Church, which may God forbid. This as to the spiritual point of view; in the temporal I see another danger, for if Your Imperial Majesty attends the council the French king is sure to go thither also, for the very same purpose for which, during our stay at Bologna, he proposed an interview in Savoy; and although interviews of this kind may do good if the parties are animated by the same sentiments, (*cipher*:) I would by no means advise their being held at a council where not only the most Christian King will attend, but likewise all, or the greater part of the Christian princes with their individual passions and purposes, all trying to model a new world after their own fashion, as is the case with all those who are not satisfied with what they already have. (*Common writing:*) Should even the said princes not attend the council personally, they would at least send thither their proctors and deputies, and from them still worse might be apprehended, for they would push their masters' affairs with still greater impudence, and it might happen that for the sake of correcting the German errors we should give cause for greater ones to arise.

Your Majesty may easily believe (*cipher:*) that if the king of England knew that a general council was to be held, he would wait a year or two without proceeding in the cause, in the hope that, with the help of his friends and adherents, a constitution would be made in his favour such as that which he demanded of the Pope a year ago, and that he will not consent to any other conclusion of the Sacred Council, however holy and good it may be, without his own business being settled first or at the same time. Other princes might, like the king of England, have their own particular designs, and attend exclusively to their own particular in-

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terests, as generally happens in congregations where there is no superior. I know very well that the necessity is great, that other remedies are not at hand, and that there is no time to think of others in matters as mighty and important as this present, in which it would be dangerous to err.

I think, nevertheless, that it would be advantageous on the whole, if the object could not be gained by negociation, to treat about a national council. The Germans might possibly agree to it more readily, and the Romans (*los de acà*) also, because these last, as I said before, would lose less by making some concessions to the Germans in particular than by having to give the same to other nations, for the Germans are already in possession of most of their demands, and these Romans have already made up their minds to that. In this manner the discussion of the points might be more easily conducted; the Germans might appoint deputies for their council; Your Majesty would name yours, the Pope his, and it might happen that the parties would come to an agreement. This national council might come to an end whenever it pleased Your Majesty, or it might be prorogued or the place of meeting changed much more easily than a general one.

I have just this moment returned from the Palace, and the Pope tells me that the negociations at Florence have been broken off in consequence of the Prince having told the Florentines that he will not consent to the proposed capitulation unless they begin by acknowledging the supremacy of the Medici, which they have resolutely refused to do.

Squire François* arrived last night, sent by the king of France. I hear that, being interrogated at a house where he visited as to his master's intentions respecting Florence, he answered that the king of France wished the Imperialists to evacuate Italy as soon as possible, and, therefore, he had been sent to induce the Florentines to surrender, and that positive orders had accordingly been sent to Renzo da Ceri and count Guido Rangone to dismiss the troops under their command.

The Venetian ambassador in France and his conversation with king Francis.

The English ambassadors said yesterday that they had obtained the opinions of the university of Paris in a body (*collegialmente*). On that account I have to-day related to His Holiness all the news I had from Venice, and urged him to grant me the brief as soon as possible.

The Pope tells me that at the congregation held to-day it was decided that he and the cardinals would see with pleasure Your Majesty's appointment as judge of the German differences; the Council to be summoned for any time Your Majesty may fix, provided it should not interfere with matters of Faith, and as to the reformation of ecclesiastics, that His Holiness will be glad to have a memorandum of the

* Lescuyer François, elsewhere called count Pontremoli.

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excesses complained of in order to have them redressed.—Rome, 18th July 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most August Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

18 July. **382.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 37. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 279.

On the receipt of His Majesty's letter of the 28th ult°, I called on the Pope, and conferred with him respecting the affair of the divorce. Had previously a consultation with the Imperial lawyers, those of His Majesty and those of the Queen, and with cardinal d'Osma, when it was agreed on all hands that as we were on the eve of the vacation it was best to prosecute as many terms as we could, in order that the king of England might not suppose that we were going to give up the game, and on the other hand that they (the Imperial lawyers) might tell the Pope they were ready to obey his commands. So it was done. I communicated to His Holiness Your Majesty's instructions respecting the affair, which were reduced to this: "if the English in the meantime abstain from soliciting votes in their favour, a suspension of the proceedings may be agreed upon." His Holiness' answer was that since the last brief would effectually forbid the universities giving opinions in a body (*collegialmente*), he did not consider it quite right to prevent the King and us from seeking the same individually. As to the King proceeding *de facto*, there was, he said, no fear of it, for it was expressly forbidden by the "*litis pendentia*," and afterwards by the brief itself, and it would not be right to shew suspicion in the matter, especially as information has reached us [from England] that were the King to wish for a new marriage, fear of the scandal likely to be raised among his subjects would actually deter him from his purpose.* This avowal Casale himself made once to the Pope, and afterwards confirmed to me.

The third paragraph in the instructions intimates that the King in the meantime is to separate from that other woman, and live in matrimony with his wife. This is likewise contained in the brief, and, moreover, as we concede nothing to them that is not already their own (for after all the suspension of the cause during the holidays they will gain against our will), it is thought inexpedient to urge the case any more. But it must also be said that the Pope agrees and the Cardinal† approves, "that the King shall nevertheless be admonished to separate in the meantime from the woman on account of the scandal of such an intercourse, especially as he professes to insist on

* "Mayormente que aqui tenemos aviso que aunque lo quisiesse hacer el dicho Señor rey no seria parte de miedo del escandalo que moveria aquel pueblo, y esto nos ha confesado al Papa, y despues a mi el mismo embaxador Gregorio Casal."

† *See* above, pp. 619 and 630.

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his purpose merely for conscience sake, which people will believe more readily if he actually keeps aloof from her."

As I informed Your Majesty [in my despatch of the 18th], the Pope is now sending to England as nuncio the baron del Borgo, who served* Your Majesty in Sicily at the time of the revolt of that island. He came over here with the count of Luna, when the son of the latter nobleman married pope Leo's niece.† Owing to his reputation and learning, that Pope, and after him Clement VII., employed him on various commissions; and although when I first came to Rome there was some suspicion that in Your Majesty's affairs, and especially during the Clementine league, he (Borgo) had not always behaved as was to be expected of him, yet I could never find sufficient ground for the accusation. I think, therefore, that since the Pope has agreed to send him, he may do good service in this English business, because he is well fitted for thetask of making the King pause in his undertaking, to which end he takes from hence full instructions. He (the Baron) is to persuade the King to abandon his present purpose, or else come here [to Rome] of his own accord about the cause, and to state positively to him that if he does not come, the Pope must let the law take its full course in this case.‡

The Baron tells me that he is very glad of this opportunity of serving Your Majesty, and clearing himself of any suspicion. He explained to me that when this Pope appointed him to act as commissary against the Colonnese, he at first declined, but was compelled to accept that office, which he resigned as soon as the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] came to Frusolone. He also asked me whom he could consult whilst in England respecting the Queen's business. Told him that he could entirely trust the Imperial ambassador (Chapuys) there. Among other papers he takes to England I have contrived that he should have a copy of the dispensation obtained by the King to marry with the present Queen, notwithstanding her being his brother's widow.§ He says that if nothing else will avail, he will make use of it as the last resource.

The vacations having begun, I have, with the Pope's consent, applied for a commission to proceed in the cause during the holidays. This has, of course, been refused, and, as I have since heard from the bishop of Castellamare, there were not wanting at the Pope's "signatura," cardinals who went

* Fr. Garcia de Loaysa, bishop of Osma, at this time Mai's colleague in the embassy.

† This count of Luna (Don Bernardino Fernandez de Quiñones) was the brother of the Cardinal (Fr. Francisco). One of his sons is said to qave married a niece of pope Leo.

‡ "Y para este effecto trahe de aca sus instrucciones, que son todas persuasivas á esto, y sino podrá ser que á lo menos venga á la causa aqui en Roma de su grado, y desengañarle que sino lo hiziese no podrá el Papa dexar de hazer justicia."

§ "Entre las otras cosas que alla lleva he procurado que lleve la dispensation que el Señor Rey de Anglia ganó para poder casar con esta Reina, no embargante el impedimento que tiene o podiese tener del otro hermano, que es lo que ellos contradizen en lo de la Reyna."

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still further, and remarked that the cause was far too important to be conducted in such an illegal manner, and by "contradicta," as they call it here, or as we say in Castille, *por contumacia de la parte.* Your Majesty, indeed, may be sure that they (the English ambassadors) will attempt anything to carry their point.

I wrote to Your Majesty that soon after my arrival in Rome I prosecuted the cause, and made certain acts (*enautos*), which are here called "termini," and that on the 1st of June all of them were revoked by the Auditor (Ghinucci), not that he considered them unjust, or disapproved of the manner of proceeding, but because he said he had orders from the Pope not to go on with the cause unless notice was given to him first. This circumstance the Auditor had forgotten, and therefore the acts were to be considered null, as on account of the said mandate he had no jurisdiction in the matter. After this I got the Pope to command the Auditor to go on with the cause and let the law take its course. I began again to prosecute the terms, and made as many as I could until the holidays commenced.

Since the revocation made by the Auditor (Ghinucci), the English ambassadors have begged me to renounce these new terms (*terminos*), on the plea that by so doing much hold may be gained on the King's mind. This I have refused, because I consider it a most impudent demand, and because I was shocked at the message which His Holiness afterwards sent me, purporting that if I agreed to the new proposal, and the result was not what we expected, he would, before the end of the vacations, give me a commission to prosecute the cause, and begin again. I insisted upon my refusal for fear this should become a pretext to throw disrepute on the Queen's affairs, and thereby gain the opinions of the English divines, who are by no means in favour of the divorce. And they must be thankful that I did not insist upon getting from the Pope the very commission which the cardinals refused to me, though, to say the truth, my desistance was more owing to the fear of its not being granted, and thereby annoying the Pope, than to any other consideration. After all, two months are soon over, and we shall resume the proceedings with greater vigour. In the meantime authentic copies of all treaties of alliance and league made at the time of the marriage of the Queen, first with prince Arthur, and afterwards with king Henry, should be sent to me, for I have nothing ready in the shape of documents and deeds to found the process upon. I have likewise written to England for any they may have there, although, as I am informed, it will be rather difficult to obtain authentic copies of them, this being one of the reasons why all diligence must be used in gaining the King's good-will. If no success attend our plans, it will be for God to direct the course of events, and help in so just a cause. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, though all or most of them recognize the justice of our case, and acknow-

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ledge it also, are all this time concocting most diabolical plans to gain their object. Lately they have dispatched to England no less than three or four couriers in eight days, for what purpose I have been unable to ascertain. At first I feared it might be for some matter connected with the matrimonial cause; since then I have learned that they were sent exclusively on that account, and that every little incident that occurs they send home for consultation, having already spent considerable sums of money in this service.

I was told by the Pope the other day that there was a talk of certain changes (*novedades*) likely to take place in France immediately after the restitution of the hostages, and that the English would be the promoters of them.

I have been asked from Naples for a memorandum of the doubtful points and objections (*dudas*) raised in this cause. I will send it to them, but I cannot understand why similar ones are not forwarded to Sicily and Mallorca, where many learned and acute (*vivos*) lawyers reside.

As I have overheard, these English ambassadors are again trying to have the suit tried out of Rome, as they did propose formerly on other occasions. This, however, is a thing which I will never accede to as I have declared to them and to the Pope also, because at Bologna Your Majesty's councillors decided that no safer place could be selected for judgment of this trial than Rome, and may God be pleased that it may be so. I thought it was better to undeceive them on this particular, and I did so that they might not build hopes on that score.

The bishop of London (Stokesley) has been all this time at Venice, Padua, and Vicenza, and is now returning to Bologna, for the sole and exclusive purpose of forwarding his master's interests. The Pope knows on good authority, as related by this same bishop at Venice, that the King would be glad, if he could, to avert judgment, and if he cannot, will not fail to appear personally and resume the cause, certain as he is that if the trial be proceeded on by "contraditta" or contumacy, the sentence will be against him.*—Rome, 13th July 1530.

After the above was written the Papal Nuncio in France advised that the most Christian King had said to him: "The king of England complains of the Pope, and not without reason. If they press him too hard, he will marry and cause his kingdom to renounce all obedience to the Apostolic See. In a few days the whole of England will address His Holiness about this." The Nuncio, they say, made a very adequate and proper reply to these words; but I am afraid that it will do no good, for although the brief, as I informed Your Imperial Majesty, was drawn up more than a month ago, the

* "Y el Papa tiene por buena via sabido de este mismo obispo en Venecia, que su Rey bien quisiera desviar este juyzio si pudiesse, pero que quando no pueda, no dexará de comparecer y tornar á la causa, por que es cierto que en contraditta no podra sino perder la sentencia."

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Pope still carries it in his pouch unsigned, and I cannot persuade him to send it on, though scarcely one day passes without my hammering (*martilleo*) upon this point. Let this, however, be kept a secret, because these are things between the Pope and myself only, and if they were to be bruited about the Nuncio would lose his credit [at the court of France], and we should lose the confidential advices which he from time to time forwards us.

Some time ago I informed Your Majesty that another brief had been issued at my request, forbidding people to counsel or give an opinion on this cause except according to truth and conscience, and "secundum canones et directum." By these words, which cardinal Sancti Quatuor himself added to the draft in my very presence, is meant "according to canon and civil law," which are the rights by which all causes are to be tried. Now the English ambassadors complain most loudly of this brief, alleging that their right and justice rests on the Bible and on Theology, which is divine right, and that any attempt to apply canon law to their cause is tantamount to making them lose their suit. These complaints had their origin here at Rome soon after the arrival of the ambassadors, who returned from England so inflated with pride, and uttering such violent language, that it really moves one to pity that the King and all his councillors and ministers should be so blind to reason, that when the Pope tells them that what they want is actually expressed in the brief, they answer: "If it be so let the brief be revoked at once and another one made." The Pope informs me that for the satisfaction of the English he intends to declare that "divine right" is likewise to be understood. I do not care if he does, provided the declaration is so worded that the English may not think that they can thus take us out of the entrenchments of canon law, and bend us to the divine right, in which case they might carry out their mad purpose (*su locura*), and it would be for us to complain, for after all canon law can forbid such marriages in order to avoid scandal, whereas Theology cannot dissolve them on that ground.* I have, therefore, begged the Pope to let me see the minute of the brief, that it may be couched in proper terms, and he has promised to do so.

I have letters from Rodrigo Niño, of the 11th July, from Venice, stating that the bishop of London (Stokesley) has been travelling through the territory of the Signory, and that lately, in Padua, he had found 11 friars to conclude, for 10 ducats each, that the Pope could not dispense in this case, although Niño says most of them are quite illiterate, and have besides the reputation of not leading a very moral life. In this manner has the Bishop obtained 150 votes, and is still looking out for more, saying to all those he meets that he does it with the will and consent of the Pope.

* "Porque á mas mal andar el derecho canonico tollerá estos casamientos por el escandalo, y esto no lo da el divino."

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Baron de Borgo left yesterday for England. He came so suddenly to take leave, that I had no time to write to the Queen and to the ambassador through him; but my letters of advice will be there when he arrives.—Rome, 18th July 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

21 July. **383.** BALTHASAR CARDUCCI to the DIECI of FLORENCE.

S. E L. 851, f. 61. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 286.

Informed them in his last of the 15th how in consequence of the king of France refusing to give a categorical answer to his requests (*se voler scoprir*), he (Carducci) had to go from Bordeaux to Borgo (Bourges) by the Dordogne. How he saw the King at last, and held a long conference with him, which ended by his promising that on his arrival at Angoulême he (the King) would give orders that a sum of money (*qualche summa di danari*) should be provided for the defence of that city. Both lamented the misfortune of Malatesta's secretary, his arrest, and the deciphering of the correspondence whereof he was the bearer. Agreed that it was absolutely necessary to have the cipher changed. On his leaving the room the King said to him: "The more I think of what you have told me, the more sure am I that you need not go from me thus in despair, for I firmly believe that somehow or other you will be helped."

Knew very well that his words to the King would produce effect, and that what he (Carducci) told him respecting the fate of Florence, and indeed of all Italy, if that city should again fall into the Pope's hands, touched him to the quick, for he dislikes the Emperor's aggrandizement, and above all that Florence should again be under the rule of the Medici (which may God forbid). This in his opinion is the sole cause of the sudden change in our relations with this King, for the Pope, seeing himself placed in an awkward position should the sons of France be delivered according to the treaty of Cambray—has actually thrown out new hopes about this wretched divorce, in order to secure the friendship of the kings of England and France, and prevent their declaring openly (*scoprirse*) against him. The earl of Vilser (Wiltshire), however, having on his return to England spoken very freely, and made much scandal about the Pope, means for assisting our city have been found, and the Earl has confidently written to say that whenever this king decides to send us money his master will contribute with one half of the sum.

This king, moreover, is now trying to gain the Pope's confidence, all for the sake of England, to which these Frenchmen consider themselves very much indebted. So much so, that I consider this to be the cause of Francis' sudden change, the

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Pope having perhaps in his difficult position given out hopes of a settlement of that accursed divorce case after the liberation of the children.*

Indorsed: "Copy of an intercepted letter of the Florentine ambassador in France to the Gonfaloniere and Dieci."

Italian. Contemporary copy deciphered. pp. 4.

23 July. **384.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 68–72. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, ff. 290–99.

The Emperor's letter of the 14th inst. came to hand on the 18th. The Ferrarese ambassador has taken in Moran (Murano), a suburb of this city, a house for his master, who they say, is coming here to spend a few days in September. The duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) writes also to his agent here that he may be expected about the same time. He (Niño) has seen the letter in the Duke's own hand. If both come for any other purpose than that of enjoying themselves for a short time, as their respective agents proclaim, His Majesty shall be apprized in due time.

From France the news is that the liberation of the King's sons has been accomplished. A groom of Francis' chamber came the other day with letters for the Signory and for the French ambassador. He passed first through Milan, and then through Ferrara, at both which places he was handsomely entertained, and had besides a present as reward for the good news (*albricias*). He is now waiting for a similar present from this Signory to go away. The French ambassador and count Rangone illuminated their respective hotels, and the former gave a dinner to which all the ambassadors residing here were invited, himself (Niño) included. The Signory had made no demonstrations in this way yet, but had appointed two persons to go to France and offer their congratulations; one is Giovanni Pisano, the brother of the cardinal of that name, the other Giovanni Antonio Venier. The former is to come back immediately after delivering his message, the other (Venier) to remain at the court of France. Mr. de Praët ought to be acquainted with this, that he may ascertain whether the said ambassadors have any other object in view.

The Ferrarese ambassador says that he has a letter from the Duke, his master, to say that in order to shew to the King's groom of the Chamber that he is pleased with the liberation of the princes, and also not to offend his daughter-in-law [Renée], he has caused illuminations and other rejoicings to be made at Ferrara. His master considered this was an event at which all princes ought to rejoice. His (Niño's) answer was as courteous as could be, remarking that the Emperor had always considered the Duke as his best friend,

* "Massime procurandosi l'amicitia sua come e detto, potissime per l'interesse del Re d'Inghilterra col quale costoro conoscono avere tanta obligazione quanta sia possibile. De manera ch'io tengo che questa sia la causa della sua repente variazione, auendo, come credo, credutosi el Papa a mal termino, si recuperati figliuoli, data nuova speranza di questo maledetto divorcio, &c."

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and that there was no occasion for excusing himself, &c. The Emperor, he said, rejoiced as much as himself at the event

When the news came of the death of Massimiliano Sforza, he (Niño) was trying to ascertain the origin and cause of certain late transactions between him and his brother the Duke [of Milan]. It appears that this latter, considering himself unfit for marriage and generation, had at one time asked his brother (Massimiliano), who shewed some inclination to become an ecclesiastic, to relinquish that idea, and take a wife. To this Massimiliano consented on condition of having Como for his maintenance. Matters being in this state, the duke Francesco had asked permission to remit to his brother 2,000 ducats, which was granted, and the money sent. Soon after Massimiliano died, and he (Niño) cared not to make further inquiries. Ten days ago the bishop of Lodi (Ottaviano Sforza), who hates the Duke as the very Devil, called and said to him (Niño) that Francesco Sforza was highly discontented with the Emperor, and complained of the heavy sums of money he had to pay for the reinvestiture of the Duchy. Made inquiries here at Venice, and found that the Duke really owes this Signory 40,000 ducats, and as they press him for immediate payment, he has told them "that owing to the heavy sums he had to make over to the Emperor he is not in a condition to discharge his debt. They (the Venetians) were the real cause of the Emperor imposing on him so heavy a fine as 900,000 ducats, &c.

The Bishop further says that he hears from Carmona (Cremona) that another cause for the Duke's discontent is, that having applied for permission to send a messenger to France it was denied him. Wishing to investigate this affair more closely, he (Niño) ascertained that according to a report of the French ambassador, the Duke had sent for a Milanese gentleman, of the name of captain Maravella, then residing here at Venice, and had told him that in his journey to the court of France he was to pass through Milan, as he had a letter and message for the king of that country. Has thanked the Bishop very warmly for his information, and intends making further use of him, as, notwithstanding his hatred of the Duke, which sometimes blinds him beyond measure, he is still in a situation to unravel the intrigue, if there be any. He is to write to Cremona, and ascertain what were the contents of the letter which captain Maravella was to take to the king of France.

The bishop of Lodi is a man of diabolical genius, which he intends to use against the Duke. As from what he (Niño) sees there is some truth in his statements, it would be advisable for the Emperor to write him a letter of acknowledgment in general terms, thanking him for his valuable information, &c.

At the dinner which the French ambassador gave us on the 11th inst., the English (Casale) and he (Niño) had a conversation together about the divorce. The bishop of London (Stokesley)

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he said, had been informed that he (Niño) had gone to Padua to get the determination of the 11 friars revoked, on the plea that it was against the Papal authority, and that in order to satisfy the Bishop on this point, he (Casale) had gone to my lodgings to ascertain whether I was at Venice or not. Replied that, considering what sort of persons they were, I should on no account go to Padua, nor take any trouble in the matter. There was not, I assured him, a groom in my stables whom I considered low enough to take charge of such commission. And I further told him that the opinion of such people as the Paduan friars and others, influenced as they were by the promises of the Bishop (Stokesley) and of Ricaldo (Richard Croke), rather lowered the value of those of persons of authority who might have decided in favour of the King. The ambassador further said that the Bishop had been told that I had been, without any express mandate from the Emperor, countermining them (the English), not only with the doctors and friars, but also with the Signory. This I did not deny, because it was substantially true, but told Casale that it was not with Jews and foolish friars (*inocentes*) that Your Majesty could treat of this matter, but that if they would negociate in a manner worthy of their King, and befitting such a Christian prince as he was,* Your Majesty would doubtless command your ambassadors to treat in your name. I assured him, moreover that I was really ashamed (*corrido*) at what I had been obliged to do on my own account. The Englishman then said: "You do not know how much this Bishop [of London] and Ricaldo (Richard Croke) have prejudiced the King's mind against my brother and myself on account of our having disapproved of the order they brought [from England]. As to myself I cannot do otherwise than conform with their orders. I know besides that he (the Bishop) has written to the King complaining of your conduct in this case." Replied that God could not have done me greater favour† than to place me in a position in which I could do service to a daughter of queen Isabella; for I believed not only the men but the stones of all Castille would rise to resent the injury intended against their most Christian Queen (Katharine), and that I trusted the King himself would punish them (the ambassadors) for the unworthy service they had done him, in seeking the opinion of foolish friars, who could not read, and not forwarding those of the many learned men who had decided for the contrary. He said I was right,‡ but begged

* "Como yo creia que el Rey de Inglaterra lo mandara siendo tal Principe y tan Christianissimo como era."

† "El se me desculpó mucho diziendo quan mal en gracia del Rey de Inglaterra le tenian á él y á su hermano este obispo y Ricaldo, por decir quan mal les parecia la orden que llevavan en ello; y que ya él no podia hacer sino conformarse con ellos, y que me hacia saber que el obispo havia escrito al Rey la contradizion que les hacia. Yo le dixe que en cosa no me podia Dios, &c."

‡ "Dixome que tenia razon pero que me rogava por amor de Dios que lo tuviesse secreto que les iva la vida á él y á su hermano."

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me for the love of God to keep the matter secret, for, if it were divulged, the King would most certainly put him and his brother to death both for this and for what passed between us on Ascension Day. He also told me they had word from Rome that certain acts had been done at the Rota in favour of the Queen, and that the Bishop [of London] suspected I had also powers from the Queen to do others with this Signory. I told him in reply that I knew nothing about the acts at Rome, but that there was none to be done here in behalf of the Queen, as it did not appertain to the Signory to give judgment in this cause, which belonged solely and exclusively to the Pope.

From this we passed to the argument on which the said friars had founded their opinion, viz.: that the Pope had no power to dispense if the former marriage of the Queen with the prince Arthur had been consummated; but since (I said) the Queen declared to cardinal Campeggio, under the sacrament of confession, that the prince of Wales had never consummated marriage, which the King knows better than anybody, what else do they want? The English ambassador assented, but said the King intended to prove that it must have been otherwise, because they had several times been in the same bed.*

To some of my arguments the Englishman made no reply. I told him that the manner in which he and his colleagues were conducting this business was highly reprehensible, and injurious to the King, their master. Had their object been merely to search for truth, and had the Roman court been consulted in the proper form, and a decision obtained accordingly, I had not the least doubt that the Queen, who is so good a Christian (*christianissima*) would of herself have applied for a divorce out of her own love to the King and for the salvation of her soul. I ended by telling him that I would willingly give a good portion of my own private fortune to be acquainted with a language in which I could converse with the Bishop and tell him the very same things I had told him and many more, thus teaching him that affairs of this sort concerning the daughter of the Catholic king and queen Isabella ought to be treated differently. Many other remarks did I make to the English ambassador which I omit for brevity's sake, and because I shall have further occasion to return to the affair before closing this despatch.

Informed the Signory of Your Majesty's arrival at Innsbruck, and gave them the letter that has come for them; they were highly pleased.

* Here follows a paragraph which I have thought fit to suppress. It stands thus in the original Spanish: "Dixome que assi era que la reyna lo dejava en el juramento del Rey, pero que el Rey decia que era tan mochacho que no sabia determinarse en la verdad; pero que queria probar que havian estado muchas veces en una cama juntos. Yo le pregunté que si le avia acaecido á él mismo estar en una cama con una muger algunas vezes y no haver acceso á ella. Dixome que si. Respondile, pues assi pudo acaecer al principe de Gales, y dixeles de otros á quien [a] acaecido, y con esto no me pudo dar respuesta."

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The abbot of Farfa came here three days ago, because, as he says, he does not consider himself secure from the Pope in Romagna or in the kingdom of Naples. He called upon me and protested of his attachment to Your Majesty, adding that he has never deserved the treatment he has experienced of late. I purposely asked him how it was that cardinal Santa Croce was actually at Bracciano. He took the hint, related the old story, and said that since that affair he had not been guilty of any misdemeanour against the Pope. He asked me to write to Your Majesty in his favour. I refused, giving reasons with which he seemed satisfied. He then told me that he was expecting an answer from the Imperial court, and that on its receipt he would go and throw himself at Your Majesty's feet.

(*Cipher :*) This Signory have had letters from Constantinople of the 16th June, received on the 20th inst., to the effect that Luigi Griti was coming to Hungary by the command of Solyman, but only with an escort of seven horsemen, and that his object was to ascertain what the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) intended doing this year, and report to Constantinople. Should the King have a powerful armament, such as the Vayvode could not withstand, in that case Solyman would send Ibrahim Bashá with the greatest force he can collect; otherwise he (the Turk) will be glad to be left in peace for this year.

Such were the news communicated to me at the College-hall under great secrecy, but I have since heard from one of the councillors of "Pregadi" that the information received is that Luigi Gritti has been sent to Hungary and the neighbouring provinces with orders that in case of the Vayvod (Zapolsky) being attacked, the Turks who are there should assist him with all their might, and that Ibrahim Bashá is to go immediately thither with an army, if Gritti should say that it is required.

Generally speaking, there are very few people in this city who hate the Turk as he ought to be hated. They generally exaggerate his forces, and if he has 1,000 horse, give him 100,000. No great credit, therefore, ought to be given to the report that he is preparing great armaments by land and sea for next year. I have, however, considered it my duty to give Your Majesty the news such as I have heard it, and have also written to king Ferdinand, enclosing the advices received from Ragusa.

On the 18th the bishop of London (Stokesley), the English ambassador here resident (Casale), and El Ricaldo (Richard Croke), who is the English solicitor for this cause, went to the College-hall. On their arrival there I happened to be with the Signory, giving them an account beforehand of my conversation with the English ambassador, as above. They waited some time for my departure, and when I was gone all three entered, and presented their letters of credence from the

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king of England. The Bishop then made a great oration, declaring how his master had been married to queen Katherine, who had been previously the wife of his own brother, and therefore he begged his esteemed friends and confederates the Venetians to allow him to solicit the opinion of the university of Padua on the subject. The Signory replied that the same request had been made to them at different times by the English resident ambassador (Casale), and that they had answered that this was a matter with which they did not wish to meddle, as it touched upon the authority of the Church, and concerned persons so closely related to the Emperor as the most Christian queen Katherine, and the sons of the Infante Dom Manuel of Portugal,* who obtained a dispensation in the very same degree of consanguinity. Nevertheless, if their doctors wished to study the question, they would not be hindered from giving in their opinion at the request of the ambassadors, but not by the command of the Signory, as that was a thing to which they would never consent. The Bishop retorted that he and his colleagues had already applied to the doctors, but concluded from their language and excuses that they had been forbidden by the Signory from complying with the king of England's wish. The Signory denied having given such restriction; upon which the Bishop declared that he could mention the names of doctors who had alleged the prohibition as an excuse for not giving their opinion. He was told that whoever said so lied; but, however, that the Signory would never allow this matter to be discussed under its authority. This naturally led to a dispute, in which the Bishop used rather intemperate language, and said: "It is very hard, indeed, that the Imperial ambassadors should be allowed 'motu proprio,' and without mandate, to do that which it is forbidden to us English to do, though fully authorised to apply for it, and that, when we ask doctors for an opinion, the Signory, at the request of those very ambassadors, should forbid them from delivering it." The Bishop, moreover, in the course of his speech, uttered some such threats as these: "The Signory ought to bear in mind the rich trade which this city is carrying on with England, and that there is in London much rich merchandize belonging to people of this Republic, &c." But however strong his arguments, they had no effect upon the senators, for they again told him that no such order had been given, that the matter should be put under deliberation, and an answer returned to their application.

I myself went next to the College-hall, where, after transacting some other business, all those who did not form part of the Council of the Ten were ordered out of the room, and the missing members sent for, when one of them related to

* Dom Manuel of Portugal was married first to Doña Isabel de Castilla (daughter of the Catholic Sovereigns), then a widow of his first cousin, Don Alfonso. After her death in 1498, the King married her sister Doña Maria, who died in 1517. Dom Manuel and Doña Maria were the parents of Isabella, the wife of Charles V.

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me the conversation that had passed between one of the senators and the Bishop. I thanked them in Your Majesty's name for their firmness in refusing to command their doctors to give an opinion in the case. Told them I believed the king of England wished to ascertain the truth, as nothing else could be supposed of such a prince, but that the unwarrantable method adopted by his agents led exactly to the contrary result; because if they wished to know the truth, and nothing but the truth, why not believe as well in the doctors who said that the Pope could dispense as in those who maintained that he could not; if their object was truth, they ought to be as satisfied with the one answer as with the other. Added many other arguments, and in order to confirm them more in their purpose of not allowing the English to tamper with the Paduan doctors, I said I would point out to them two cases of marriages here at Venice, one resembling exactly that of the king of England, the other that of the king of Portugal. I told them the names of the parties, and they said I was right. The man who married two sisters is still alive, and has sons by both wives, and the man who married his brother's widow died at the siege of Naples by Lautrec, he being a Venetian proveditor. There was here, in Venice, a Spaniard, who had also married his brother's widow, though both man and wife had left in debt. In Castille and in France, I daresay, the cases occur by hundreds, so that were it only matter of custom and use the Pope could dispense.

The general of the Augustinians is incessantly importuned by the English to adopt their wicked opinion; but notwithstanding their solicitations he still maintains the contrary view. So does the prior of Santisban here, belonging to the same order not only does he not share the English opinion, but is actually writing against it. Your Majesty might write letters of encouragement to them, for certainly both the one and the other do this more out of love of justice and attachment to Your Majesty than because it touches the Church and the Pope.—Venice, 26th July 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "A la S. C. C. M^{t}."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the same sheet. pp. 20.

26 July. **385.** Cardinal D'Osma to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 303.

With regard to Siena he (the Cardinal)* is of the same opinion as his colleague (Mai). He thinks that if the Cardinal can be persuaded to act in common with the duke of Amalfi (Piccolomini), everything can be satisfactorily settled there.

Has asked the Pope whether there was anything new to write to the Emperor. He said there was not, for Mr. de

* Fr. Garcia de Loaysa, bishop of Osma.

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Tarbes had not yet written. He feared, however, that no good resolution in that affair could ever come from France.

Respecting the Pope's contribution towards the expenses of the army before Florence, he (the Cardinal) is doing all he can. Thinks, however, that a letter from the Emperor to that effect might be useful.

Escalingas* has levanted with 5,000 ducats, which the Pope purposes to discount from [his monthly contribution].—Rome, 26th July 1530.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas de Miçer Mai y cardenal Osma de 26 de Julio."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

26 July. **386.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,587, f. 300.

Has recently pressed the Pope to say what he thinks ought to be done at the Diet of Germany. His answer was, that after discussing the affair with the cardinal of Sant Sixto [Gaetano], he has come to the following resolutions: 1st, that whatever is not "de jure divino" should be reduced to venial not mortal sin; 2nd, that the consecration and communion should be "super utraque especie"; 3rd, that the marriage of the priests (*clerigos*) should be according to the custom of the Greeks. His Holiness, however, begged him (Mai) not to write to Court, as it was better that these concessions should be made one by one.†

Tarbes had promised to write what his master's intentions respecting this business really are. His Holiness pretends he has not heard from him; he (Mai) suspects that he has, and that his proposition is so outrageous that the Pope wants it to be modified before it is published.‡

The duke of Alba [Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo] had shewn the Pope letters from the French ambassador at Venice, purporting that the Turk was making great preparations to come to Italy and Rome next year. Told him that very reassuring letters had lately been received from Rodrigo Niño, and that there was nothing of the sort going on. It was an exaggeration and intrigue of the French, who have also circulated rumours of war for the purpose of sewing division between the Pope and the Emperor.§

The French who are here at Rome and a good number of Italians are very much afraid that the result of this Diet will be that the Emperor will become absolute master of all Germany,

* Scalengues, Skalange, Escalenga, a captain in the Imperial service, about whom see Vol. iii., part 2, pp. 59 and 72. His true name seems to have been *De Scalengues*, probably a Frenchman formerly attached to Bourbon.

† This paragraph has on the margin the following note, apparently in Gattinara's hand: "His Majesty would have preferred that no allusion had been made to the business to be discussed in the Diet. These are things which, if divulged, might be the cause of serious inconvenience. Let the matter drop altogether."

‡ To try and ascertain what the proposal may be, and report.

§ To avoid as much as possible to mix in such affairs, or take engagements, &c.

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and through it subdue the whole world. That is the reason why they dread it, and the Pope likewise, because they believe that out of it will spring again the idea of a general council. Is trying to comfort and encourage the Pope, who talks very well of His Majesty, of the Diet, and of the enterprize against the Turk, although here at Rome, nay, in all Italy, he is considered to be a Frenchman at heart, and that he wants to go over to France (*y se quiere yr en Francia*). Tarbes, by his manners, is every day losing reputation with the Pope, and also because it is said that the chancellor of France (Prat), whose creature he is, is gradually forfeiting his master's favour.

The duke of Savoy (Carlo) has lately sent here an ambassador to declare that not having succeeded in coming to terms with the Lutherans of Switzerland, he has determined to fortify four towns on his frontier; but that should the Lutherans become too strong for him, he must have at least 200,000 ducats from the Christian princes, to help him in the defence of his estate. The Pope has approved of the idea, and promised that in the case of this occurring he will write circular letters to all the princes of Christendom, and persuade Your Majesty to contribute 40,000 ducats, the king of France the same, the rest of the sum wanted for the purpose being supplied by the remaining princes.*

Has heard confidentially that the above-mentioned ambassador brings two projects by which the Pope could raise money; one from the abbots and priors of France, who send to oppose what Tarbes gained in the matter of the presentation; the other to establish a tithe (*decima*) in France. This last project must be opposed, for if the French once get into the way of extraordinary tithes, they will soon make them ordinary and expend the produce for their own purposes.

His Holiness has lately sent to France one of his chamberlains, named Domenico Centurione,† who, on quitting Rome, declared that he was going to spend the summer at his house in Genoa. Has written to the Imperial ambassadors in France and Genoa, that they may be on the alert and have him watched.

Hears that the Pope has likewise sent his own confessor to the duke of Milan. At first it was supposed that he had gone thither to procure the liberation of the Visconti,‡ who attempted to assassinate the Duke; but since then it has been ascertained that the real object is to quiet and calm Sforza in case these last matrimonial overtures of the French should have over alarmed him.

The Pope says he has fresh advices from England, and that the King had said that if he (the Pope) wished, he might now play a good game. The Pope told him (Mai) in confidence

* As above, and whenever matters of this kind are brought forward, let the Pope and the rest consider how much the Emperor has on his hands, and that he cannot possibly attend to every quarter. *Gat.*

† In the first letter to Figueroa, this fact to be mentioned. If at Genoa, what he is doing, who are his friends? If gone to France, what about? *Gat.*

‡ "La deliberacion *del visconde* (?) que le quiso matar."

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that he thought the King's words implied that something new was in the wind. Thanked His Holiness for the intelligence.*

Troubles in Lucca. Has no news from Marcilla who resides there for the Emperor.

The Christians of Switzerland are holding a general Diet.

Affairs of Siena, and opinion of the duke of Amalfi thereupon. The only effectual way of stopping the continual riots there is to send thither the Cardinal [D'Osma], that he may govern the place in conjunction with the Duke [of Amalfi].

The treasury at Naples without money to pay the troops. Escalingas (Scalengues) ought to be made to disgorge the 5,000 ducats he took; otherwise the Pope says that he will certainly discount them from his monthly contribution.

Has agreed with the Pope that the Imperial army shall go for winter quarters to the territory of the Palavesinos (Pallavicini) for 20 days, and that there, and where they now are they will be able to pass 40 days. After that it is to be decided where they are to go next, whether to Asti or to other places which have hitherto been exempted.

Don Juan de Borja and the Camarino suit.—Rome, 26th July 1530.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 9.

28 July. **387.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 74.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 308.

Wrote on the 13th and 23rd the news of this city. Since then what has occurred is this. Last Sunday the bishop of London (Stokesley), the resident English ambassador (Casale), and Ricaldo (Richard Croke) went to the College-hall to ask for an answer to the king of England's letter, and the application made in virtue of it. The Signory replied that they had conferred with their Council of Ten, and with the "Pregadi," as usual, and had read to them the King's letter, and that there was no one present but wished to gratify the king of England in that respect. The Council, after mature deliberation, thought that the whole matter was against the authority of the Holy See, and highly injurious to the Emperor, he being nearly allied to the queen of England, to the king of Portugal, and to the Empress [Isabella], through her father [Dom Manuel], who had all married under similar† dispensation, and that the thing was so scandalous that they dared not meddle with it themselves, or give orders to their doctors at Padua to do so. The king of England, they added, ought to be satisfied with this decision, inasmuch as orders should be issued for the doctors of the University not to give opinion one way or the other,‡ at which His Holiness and the Emperor might have reason

* "Que el Papa le ha dicho que tiene fresco aviso de Ynglaterra que aquel Rey avia dicho que si su St. quisiese podria jugar un buen juego, y que con mucha confianza le declaró que lo decia por alguna nueva inteligenca, y quel le dió gracias."

† King Dom Manuel had married two sisters, Doña *Isabel* and Doña *Maria*, both daughters of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. See above, p. 658, *note*.

‡ "Que se tuviesse por contento de este estado [de cosas], en que asi mesmo con su autoridad no darian sus dottores conseio contra lo que el quiere."

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to complain. The Bishop and his colleagues expressed so much dissatisfaction with this reply, and made so many exclamations, that the discussion lasted upwards of two hours, and would have lasted the whole day, had not the Signory determined to rise. Words of menace were not wanting on the part of the English, nor able men either on the part of the College to give them such an answer as they were not pleased to hear. At last the Bishop declared that he would not take this as the Signory's final answer, but begged them to reconsider the matter well, and observe that it was the king of England who made the petition, and that they had no right to be offended, any more than His Holiness and the Emperor, at their master's inquiring into the truth of an affair which touched him so nearly; upon which they parted in anger.

Yesterday the Bishop and his colleagues returned to the College-hall, where substantially the scene of last Sunday was re-enacted, as he (Niño) was informed, by one who went thither on some other business. Was told that the Bishop had made a last effort; he would not (he said) leave the Hall without a further request that they would re-consider the matter, declaring that he would return again for the answer. They have all promised him, however, that they will remain firm, even should the king of England come himself to make the request.

Such is the state of this business at present; and, moreover, the Emperor must know that these English are very much ashamed (*corridos*) of the opinions they procured at Padua from the 11 friars, because those who gave them happen to be among the lowest and most despicable of mankind. That is the reason why they are now trying to repair their error, and insist so strongly upon having the authority of the Signory to that effect.

Scarcity of corn in Venice.—Humbly request the Emperor to allow them to take 100,000 "salmas" from Sicily on the the payment of all duties, those of exportation included.

It is rumoured here that the duke of Milan is negociating a marriage with the sister of the marquis of Monferrara [Bonifacio VI.] with a view no doubt to succeed to that estate. If so, the uncle's feeble health gives him a very good chance of inheriting the estate.*

The ambassador who went from Arreso (Arezzo) in Tuscany to the Imperial court came back the other day much discontented, and consequently begged this Signory to take the inhabitants of that place under their protection. Their application,

* "Por ser el tio della de la ynhabilidad que es." Bonifacio VI. who was only 13 years of age died in March (?) of this very year in consequence of a fall from his horse. He was succeeded by his uncle, Giovan Georgio Paleologo, bishop of Casale, who renounced all his benefices in order to marry, but died on the 13th of April 1533. He had been betrothed to Julia or Giulia, of Aragon, daughter of Frederic, king of Naples, before his marriage took place. Bonifacio had two sisters, *Maria* and *Maryarita*. The former, who had been married to the marquis, afterwards duke of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) was actually divorced from him, and Margarita, her sister, became soon after the wife of her own brother-in-law (Gonzaga), who had been betrothed to the said Giulia of Aragon, thus showing how very frequently the court of Rome dispensed for such marriages, especially between princes.

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however, was refused. They afterwards went to count Guido Rangone with a similar petition, inviting him to become their captain, with as much pay as he would like to have. He answered that he himself was a vassal, and cared not to become a lord. The ambassadors then went away quite in despair, threatening to form an alliance with the Florentines and pay them 12,000 ducats every year on condition of their being free, with only a governor in criminal matters appointed by Florence. They pretended that in the meanwhile they would assist that Republic with 3,000 men, and be able from Arezzo to cut the supplies going to the Imperial camp.

The Florentine agent residing in this city assured the Mantuan yesterday that the ambassador of his Republic in France had begged the King to help them with money, and that the King had answered that he could not possibly assist them now; upon which the Florentine ambassador had requested the payment of 350,000* ducats the King owes them, and that he had answered: "I will think about that."

It is here reported that king Francis has sent count Pietro Francesco Pontremoli† to Rome for the purpose of obtaining terms for the Florentines. If, therefore, the answer which he is reported to have made to the ambassador as above be true, it is to be hoped that the surrender of that city will take place soon.—Venice, 28th July 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

28 July. **388.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 311.

In consequence of his frequent communication with the general of the Augustinians on this English affair, he (Niño) has contracted such friendship for him that scarcely a day passes without his seeing him. As he is honest and learned, and a native of this city, and his cell is much visited by many gentlemen belonging to this government, he very often furnishes him with very good information. The other day he said: "I want to tell you a secret much more important than the English business itself, but you must first promise me upon your oath not to reveal it to anyone, for were these Venetians to know that I disclose their secrets to you I should certainly be stoned (*apedreado*).

Relates the conversation he had respecting the Turk and the news from Constantinople of the 17th June.

Spanish. Cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

29 July. **389.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 314.

Has done his best to ascertain which way these English agents wrote last, that he (Niño) might intercept some of their letters and learn what they are about; has in this manner

* Thus in Bergenroth's copy, but there is reason to think that there is one zero too much.

† No doubt the same individual elsewhere called François. See above, pp. 635, 653.

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obtained possession of those which are enclosed.* Not choosing to trust them to any person here who can read English, begs that they may be translated by some one learned in the English language, and a copy of the Spanish translation sent to him (Niño), that he may see how the English conduct their business, and what hope they have of gaining their end, and whether this Signory is deceiving us, and favouring the English more than they say, &c.—Venice, 29th July 1530.†

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "A la S. C. C. M^{t}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

30 July. **390.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 50–1. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 321.

By another lengthy despatch, which goes along with this, I have advised of general news. Will now treat exclusively of the English suit. The bishop of London [Stokesley] has worked so hard in Padua that 11 friars, not very highly esteemed as to doctrine or piety, met the other day and passed by vote, on behalf and in the name of the theologians of that university, the opinion "that the Pope could not dispense for the marriage of the king and queen of England." This opinion is founded upon arguments of easy refutation and altogether false, which will be of no avail here, though they may possibly make an impression on those who bear no good-will to the Emperor. The same has been done at Paris, as appears from letters received by His Holiness from Alberto di Carpi and from his Nuncio, as well as from Garay to me, though the last-named insists upon the Pope sending thither a commissary to look into the affair and punish the guilty parties,‡ (*cipher:*) for it would appear after all that the most qualified among the Paris doctors voted in our favour. The fact is that had the Pope issued the brief he promised two months ago, commanding the universities not to deliberate in a body or take part in the affair, nothing of the sort would have happened either at Padua or Paris; but notwithstanding my entreaties and solicitations His Holiness carried the draft in his pouch (*bolsa*) all that time, and could never be persuaded to sign it. I am still requesting him to send it on; whether he will or not remains to be seen.

(*Common writing:*) The opposite party are now very busy trying to have the brief which our people applied for from England, soon after my arrival in Rome, revoked, or at least declared null and void; but as such a declaration would not suit our purpose, His Holiness, Sanctiquatuor, and I have

* The letters here mentioned are not in the packet.

† In Bergenroth's transcript the date is "xix Jullio."

‡ "Esto mesmo he visto que se ha hecho en Paris segund escriuen Alberto de Carpi y su Nuncio al Papa, y á mi Garay, ahunque pide (*sic*) que el Papa inbie alla algund comisario para castigarlos, y que conozca de aquellas differentias."

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now been disputing about it for upwards of ten days,* though it must be owned that the Cardinal (Sanctiquatuor) shews good disposition to serve His Imperial Majesty; and it is to be hoped that when the case comes to be tried, all these cardinals will be staunch (*haran bondad*), since not only is justice on our side, but the affair is one which touches on Papal authority. Meanwhile attested copies of all papers and documents from Spain or England ought to be sent to me, for should the proceedings begin after these vacations, and the Imperial lawyers not be in possession of them, I should be really ashamed (*corrido*) of myself. The memorandum of the doubts and objections [raised in England] has already been received in Naples.†

Respecting Isabella Colonna, the Pope, after hearing what his commissaries had to say in the matter, examined her himself, and some days ago asked my advice in the case. Answered that I could not give my opinion in a matter which Your Imperial Majesty had committed to his decision, as well as the selection of the person who was to marry the lady. The only thing I could do or say in this matter was to request that he would make a declaration as soon as possible. The Pope answered that he had already written to his Legate to talk it over with Your Majesty, and, therefore, that most likely it had been done by this time.

Letters from Naples have been received stating that Hernando Gonzaga is about to marry a daughter of the duchess of Termini.

Ascanio Colonna came about a fortnight ago to Rome, and called upon me. Whilst walking together in a garden, [adjoining the embassy,] he said that he was very contented and happy, and as good a servant of the Emperor as ever, although his having been denied certain favours (*mercedes*) at Bologna might induce people to imagine that he was disappointed and angry. Told him that nothing of the sort existed. Your Imperial Majesty had always spoken of him in terms of gratitude and affection; besides which he (Ascanio) could very well see how you had behaved in this affair of Isabella Colonna. Orders had been issued that in case of the lady not being married to Luigi Gonzaga, his own son [Fabricio] should be preferred, and if this marriage could not be effected, that she should be for Fernando Gonzaga. His answer was that he cared not to whom Isabella Colonna was married; he (Ascanio) considered that alliance as quite unfit both for his son and for himself, owing first to the disparity of age, and secondly because he (Ascanio) objected to have as daughter-in-law a great lady possessing large estates (*una nuera grande y señora entretanto*).

* "Agora andan por revocar un breve que me imbiaron (*sic*) á pedir de Anglaterra luego que aqui vine, ó á lo menos por declararlo, y por que la declaration no me está bien ha mas de × [dias] que la andamos porfiando su Sd. y Sanctiquatro y io, ahunque en la verdad, &c."

* "Ya en Napoles tienen las dubdas." The paper here alluded to is in *Add.* 28,582, f. 270.

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"Besides," said he, "I do not think that you would wish to see my family richer and more powerful than it is now, (and he said *you* out of courtesy, meaning no doubt Your Majesty). I am already rich enough, and possess more estates than all the Roman barons put together." Replied that he was not to think of that; never in all my experience of Imperial councillors had I found one of them influenced by such considerations. Your Imperial Majesty was far too great and too powerful to descend to such trifles. "If I wished at one time for this marriage," retorted Ascanio, "it was for the sake of the country people and vassals (*villanos y vasallos*), for the preservation and care of the Colonna family, and of those connected with it, and that I might avoid law suits, for everything this lady has a right to is really inherited from her forefathers, at least the estates in the Roman territory, for as to those of Naples the Emperor actually refused them to me at Bologna, though I consider myself entitled to them by my long services to the Empire. Not one of my predecessors ever served out of the kingdom of Naples itself; whereas I am the only one of my family who took service and came to Rome in the Emperor's interest, and bad enough it was for me, for all my towns were burnt, and my lands sacked in consequence."

Told him not to wonder at the Emperor's resolution, because, there being one party interested in the affair, he could not possibly grant his request without previous inquiry. "That is not the way," he replied, "to treat a man of my condition and parts. I myself in my humble sphere treat those who serve me in a very different manner. I give them favour, not merely justice. I speak openly to you; seeing the manner in which I was treated, and how little I was to expect from yonder court, I came to Rome and made myself the Pope's intimate friend." "The Emperor," I speedily observed, "will not mind that, as long as His Holiness is a good father to him." Upon which Ascanio begged and entreated me to keep this conversation a secret and not to write to Your Majesty about it. If he had said thus much, he added, it was merely to unbosom his grief, and complain of what he considered to be an injury to his reputation and honour. I have mentioned it because I have long suspected that Ascanio was discontented, as I had occasion to write in my last despatch, and also because I think it important for Your Majesty to be acquainted with these facts for the future, not that I am afraid of Ascanio forgetting his duty, for I believe him to be a man of honour.—Rome, 30th July 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on the margins. pp. 4.

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31 July. **391.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS ISABELLA.

S. E. L. 635, ff. 87–88. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 355.

Her letters of the 22nd June, 9th and 14th inst. were duly received after he, the Emperor, had written through Anton de Vedia, her gentleman usher (*uxier de camara*). Has felt the loss of the Infante Don Fernando, their son, more than she can imagine. Sends now Don Enrrique de Rojas with instructions to inquire particularly about her health, and bring back news from Spain.

Here [in Germany] We are still deliberating as to the best remedy to be applied in these matters of the Faith, and though up to the present time no final decision has been taken, We trust to God that some means will be found for the speedy settlement of these German dissensions.

The Pope's friendship for us is on the increase. Italy is in peace, and Florence so invested and reduced that the citizens begin already to speak about its surrender.

In France the most Christian Queen, our sister, has been received in pomp, and the marriage consummated. Great rejoicings and festivals have been made, of which a full account has been remitted to Spain. The King, moreover, seems determined to keep this peace, and preserve our friendship. We have sent Mr. de Rroucarme* to visit the King and Queen in our name, and if somebody has not been sent from Spain to congratulate them, it is important that some person of quality should be dispatched on a similar errand.

The Turk, We now know for certain, is not to invade Germany this year, but all the same is said to be making great preparations for the next.

To establish well the proceedings in the case of Her most Serene Highness the queen of England, it will be necessary, as they write to me from Rome, to examine the treaties of league and confederacy made at the time when the Queen's marriage, first with prince Arthur, and afterwards with king Henry, was negociated.† Let search be made for them, and authentic copies forwarded with all diligence to Mai at Rome.

Fifty thousand ducats to be paid to his brother, the king of Hungary, upon the revenue of the "Cruzada y Quarta" of that year.—Augusta (Augsburg), the last day of July 1530.

Signed: "Charles."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

* Thus in the copy (p. 356), but though I have not collated it with the original, I do not hesitate to say that it is a blunder of the scribe, and that *Noircames* is the proper name.

† "Para fundar el proceso de la Serenisima Reyna de Inglaterra, nuestra tia, me scriven desde Roma que ay necesidad de ver los tratados y capitulaciones de ligas y confederaciones que se hicieron quando se trataron los casamientos de la Reyna, primero con el Rey Artus y despues con el Rey Enrrique."

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— July. **392.** CLEMENT VII. to KING FRANCIS.

S. E. Rom. L. 849, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 353.

Exhorts him to attend in person, if possible, or otherwise by means of his ambassadors, the Council which is to be held in Italy, in the most convenient place, for the purpose of arresting the progress of heresy,* as his Nuncio, the bishop of Como,† will verbally inform him.

Addressed: "Christianissimo Regi," Rome, &c.

Latin. pp. 2.

1 Aug. **393.** Covos to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 635, f. 89.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581 f. 1.

Offers his condolence on the death of the Infante [Fernando]. The Emperor carried his portrait always about with him, and shewed it to everyone. He has felt his loss immensely, and now sends Don Enrique [de Rojas] to visit her in his name and console her for their mutual loss. He will be the bearer of a letter in the Emperor's own hand, which she (the Empress) is to read alone, and, if she pleases, communicate afterwards with the Council of State.

The Emperor is surrounded by business of all kinds, to which he attends daily and without interruption in the hope of being soon able to return to Spain.—Augusta (Augsburg), 1st August 1530.

Signed: "Covos, Comendador Mayor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

2 Aug. **394.** The EMPEROR to MIÇER MAI.

S. E. Leg. 1,557, ff. 81–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 3.

With regard to the matters of the Faith We have nothing to tell you, because We are daily expecting the answer of His Holiness, which We trust will be favourable, and that he will consent to the celebration of a council general, not national, because in our opinion the latter would be objectionable in many ways, and besides could not lead to any good. Meanwhile We are considering what answer is to be made to the articles proposed by the Lutherans; the Papal Legate takes part in the business; nothing shall be done without his advice.

The steps you are taking in the matrimonial case of the queen of England, our aunt, are very commendable, and We thank you for your zeal, &c.—Augusta (Augsburg), 2nd August 1530.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

* Copy made by Mai. The brief itself is erroneously docketed: "Copia del breve mandato per S. Sd. a lie (*sic*) potentati de Italia," whereas it is addressed to Francis. It has no date.

‡ Cesare de Trivultiis, bishop of Como, was at this time Papal Nuncio in France.

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2 Aug. **395.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 14–15. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 4.

Gracious answer, and that His Majesty will be pleased to hear the same from his lips.

Upon the Emperor's arrival in Germany some provision shall be made.

That his intention is to return by way of Italy, and his principal reason that he may again see the Pope and kiss his feet.

Reports a conversation he had with the Pope on the affairs of France before the Emperor's departure for Germany.* Gives his opinion about the Council, and believes that a Diet must needs be convoked in order to look out for a remedy, though temporary, for three or four years.

That His Imperial Majesty cannot delay much longer his return to Italy.

The marriage proposed by France.

Thanks for the grant of Florence.—Modena, and Reggio.—Investiture.—The French would like to win the Pope's favour by making him believe that all obstacles in the way of the Council are raised by them, and that he ought to be grateful.†

Two Florentine ambassadors coming to kiss the Emperor's hands in thankfulness for what has been done.

Siena, &c.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

2 Aug. **396.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 34.

Your Majesty will learn from the Queen's own letters now enclosed,‡ as well as from my last despatches,§ the position of affairs here, and the great need there is for immediate redress, also the measures to be adopted for the assistance of the Queen; and therefore will no further allude to the subject in this my despatch. Your Majesty will also have heard from Madame and from Dr. Garay what passed lately at the university of Paris. The said Dr. Garay has earnestly requested me to remind Your Majesty of the expediency of obtaining from the Pope at the present time a commission addressed to the two persons named in his letter to Your Majesty for the purpose of inquiring into the injustice and injury done to the Queen, and likewise to the Parisian doctors who are on her side.

I have written to Messire Mai about this commission, which cannot fail to be of good effect; but as there may be great delay in obtaining it and getting it executed, I think it would be well in the meantime to apply to the king of France, since, whilst apologizing to your ambassadors for the favour shewn to the king of England in this matter, he is known to

* The paragraph stands thus: "Da larga cuenta de lo que su Sd. le mandó que informase á su Mt. quando partió *para aca* en las cosas de Francia."

† "Y que los franceses le querrian ganar [al Papa] con esto [de la restitucion de Modena y Reggio] y con decir que han estorvado el Concilio."

‡ Not in the bundle.

§ "Que ausy par mes penultiemes et dernieres."

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have said that *he was quite ready to do as much for Your Majesty.* I am decidedly of opinion that this profession of good-will ought to be turned to account. It might well be that in fulfilment of promises of his own (if he has actually made any), or of Mr. de Langeais (Guillaume du Bellay), about whom I have frequently written to Your Majesty, the King had persisted in procuring the seal (*sçel*) of the university of Paris; but now that he is no longer bound by any such promises he might, without attracting observation (*soub main ou dissimulant*), retrieve the whole affair, and give each side full justice, by writing to the President of Paris to admit the appeal of Garay and of the doctors of his opinion, and order that they should be allowed to have advocates, notaries, and agents (*procureurs*) for the prosecution of their appeal, which they have not hitherto been able to obtain. Further, it would be advisable for Your Majesty to require the said king of France to forbid Langeais or anyone else to corrupt the other universities of his kingdom, as he (Langeais) has undertaken to do. This of course will be too late with regard to Poytier (Poitiers), which university has already decided in favour of the Queen, as Your Majesty has perhaps heard through Monsgr. de Granvelle, to whom the said university sent a copy of their decision (*deffinition*); also to require the king of France to carry out his promise to the Imperial ambassadors of issuing in a public and authentic form the opinion of the 43 [doctors] who held for the Queen, as there can be no better antidote than this to destroy the effect of the said seal (of the Paris university), when this cause is brought before the Parliament of this kingdom.*

The said Parliament has been prorogued till the 5th of October, this question of the marriage being apparently the chief, if not the only cause for the re-assembling of its members. I have spoken to two of the lawyers (*procureux*) in the said Parliament who are devoted adherents of the Queen; but they very much fear that they shall be compelled to accede to the King's will, even if the votes are taken of each one separately, as was done in the case of the nobles, when the letters, about which I have already written to Your Majesty, had to be signed and sealed.† Represented to them that they had now a good excuse for refusing to be drawn into this, considering that the Pope was acquainted with all the facts of the case, and had threatened excommunication to anyone who should either counsel or favour this second marriage, as they would perceive from the brief, of which I gave them a copy to circulate

* "Qu'il veuillie fere bayllier en forme publicque et auctentique l'opinion des xliii. que ont tenu pour la royne, cart yl n'y a contrepoyson meillieur pour abbatre l'auctorité de leur dits sçel venant a traytter ceste matiere devant les estatz de ce royaume."

† "Mays yl craignent fort qu'il ne soint induytz et contraintz d' obtemperer a la voulente du roy mesmemant syl sont prins de ung a ung comme lon feist les grans quant yl fust question de signer et sçeller les lectres dont ay çydevant escrit a votre maieste."

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[among their colleagues], which they have faithfully promised to do. I feel quite sure that when this matter is brought before Parliament, the Queen will request me to give notice of this brief, or at least to offer, in Your Majesty's name, some sort of opposition or protest; I beg, therefore, for instructions on this point.*

When the King first received the news of the decision of the university of Paris in his favour he was greatly delighted, and gave most festive entertainment to the French ambassador (*et le festoya grandemant*), keeping him three or four days in his company to take part in the hunting and share the spoils of the chase; but since he has heard what really took place at Paris, namely, that the decision of the University was very far from being unanimous, (as the French ambassador represented to him,) his favour has greatly abated,† and Jehan Jocquin has actually left court to visit the port of Antonne (Southampton), and several other places in the country; in fact it appears that even while at court he (Jocquin) did not attend to business in any way, but only cared for hunting and amusement.

The first person who has stated here the number, names, and relative position of those who at Paris declared for the Queen, is a chaplain of hers, who, when called before the King's Council to answer for having said in several places that all those who advised the King to take any other wife than the Queen were very wicked people, boldly confirmed that statement, and added that since the Church had approved of this marriage for so many years, and since the Pope had threatened excommunication to all those who should countenance the second, anyone abetting the King in this unrighteous act was,—the duke of Norfolk there present not excluded,—a traitor to God and to the King;‡ and, moreover, that no trust could be placed in the seal of the [university of] Paris owing to the corruption which had prevailed there, in spite of which 44 doctors among the most learned and honoured in Christendom, the list of whom he then and there produced, had voted in favour of the Queen. They say that when the duke of Norfolk saw the list (*role*), he said to the Queen's almoner and to her chancellor, who had been sent for that they might hear the chaplain's declaration: "Certainly the man is right, (*cipher:*) and I must say that it is a most wicked and treacherous act on the part of the French to have stated that the consent of the University was unanimous."

* "Je suys seur que venant a tyaytter dicelluy affere ausdits estatz la royne me sollicitera de intimer le dit brefz ou de fere de la part de vostre maieste quelque opposition ou protestation, a ceste cause, supplie a vostre maieste me fere entendre son bon playsir."

† "Le quel yl retint troys ou quatre jours pour le fayre participant et de la recreation de la chasse et du fruyt dicelle. Dempuys qu'ilz eurent sçeu comme se sont estoit (esté) passe a Paris, et que toute l'universite n'y avoit point consentu (*sic*) comme publioit le dit ambassadeur, le feste fust bien refroydie."

‡ "Quil diroit plus avant que non seullemant yl nestoint gens de bien, mays que lon les pouvoit appelle [r] traytres a Dieu et au roy ceux que telles choses persuadent au dit roy, et fust ce le duc de Nolpholc que la estoit present."

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The said chaplain was immediately banished from court by order of the King, who soon afterwards sent the duke of Norfolk and his own first secretary to the Queen, to request that she would have him punished for his insolence. The Queen replied that justice was entirely in the King's hands, but that it would not be justice to make anyone suffer (*lapider*) for having acted rightly. The Queen had meditated giving notice (*intimer*) of the brief on this occasion, but out of love and reverence for the King she refrained, and has hitherto delayed writing again to the Pope, however much I have urged her to do so.

After the said seal had been received here, the duke of Norfolk said to the Queen's almoner that now that the Faculty of Paris had decided upon this case, there really was nothing more to be said about it, and that he should therefore represent to the Queen that she had much better consent to the divorce with a good grace than go on opposing it. The almoner refused to take such a message, which, he said, his duty, honour, and conscience forbad. The Queen, however, would have been well pleased if the King, or some one in his name, had made such a proposal, for this would have given her an opportunity of shewing her courage and her hopes. Indeed, she has never been firmer in purpose than since hearing of what has passed in Paris, and does not care a straw for all that has been done there in favour of the King; and, in my opinion, she is quite right, for I have certain information that one of those who went over to agitate for the King has said the same since his return from that capital, and expressed his great surprise that there should have been so many distinguished men in that university ready of their own accord to speak out so boldly and firmly in support of the Queen's cause.

The King has begun carrying on a prosecution against the priests and prelates who obtained preferment whilst the Cardinal was Legate;* he has now referred the matter to Government, and it is to be feared that he will cause the greater number of those who hold with the Queen to lose their preferment; the surest means this of getting hold of a large sum of money, and also getting the prelates and Clergy so in his power that they shall sanction and forward this marriage, which he has always said should have the advice and authority of the Anglican Church.

A courier from Rome arrived here for the King eight days ago. As no news has been published I conclude that the intelligence was not agreeable. The King is sending to-day, with despatches for Rome and Venice, a relative of Gregoyre de Casal, who is going thither in all haste. He refuses to take any packet from his friends here unless he sees first

* "Le Roy avoit interpouse de persecuter les prestres et prelatz qui s'estoint ayde de la legation du Cardinal; maintenant yl a remis la querelle sur le bureau, et est a craindre qu'il ne face prisse de biens et benefices [sur] la pluspart de ceux qu'ont tenu pour la Royne."

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whether there are any letters of mine inside, which is, no doubt, done by the King's command.*

As the King pretends that the German universities are all in his favour, it will be advisable to give them timely notice, that they may decide for the Queen. Several private persons here continue to write in favour of her; I have already forwarded several of these treatises to Messire Mai, and I am now sending another by a community of monks (*colliege de religieux*), who do not choose to be known. I think that if Monsignor de Granvelle had leisure to look into them, he would report favourably to Your Majesty.

The earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) is daily expected. There is a rumour that he is not at all pleased with the court of France; the doubt will be cleared up on his arrival. It is also said that the bishop of Bayonne is coming with him as French ambassador to this court.—London, 2nd August 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

3 Aug. **397.** Miçer Mai to Francisco de los Covos, High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 831, ff. 64–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,531, f. 6.

(*Cipher*:) Makes a few remarks concerning the Council, and refers him to his last despatch. The Pope seems to consent to the meeting, not only in word but in deed. Nevertheless, the French and English ambassadors court him now more than usual, and represent all manner of dangers that may arise from it. Cannot discover what they are about, but he (Mai) is carefully watching every sign or indication that may help him to find out the truth.—Rome, 3rd August 1530.

Bishop of Tarbes.—Florence.—Bull of pope Adrian, &c.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very Illustrious and Magnificent Lord, the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

4 Aug. **398.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, ff. 54–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,531, f. 7.

A few hours before the courier of the 1st August left, the Emperor's letter of the 22nd July came to hand. Had no time then to acknowledge receipt of the said letter and the papers (*escrituras*) that came with it, and which are now being transcribed to be returned.

The powers sent are quite sufficient. Informed the Emperor that a meeting (*congregation*) had been held, which neither Miçer Andrea del Burgo nor he (Mai) had attended. Nothing,

* "Aujour dhuy le dit seigneur Roy a despeche pour le dit Romme et Venise ung parent de Gregoyre de Casal que sen va en grand diligence et na voulu prendre pacquet de nul ses amys qu'il nay voulu veoir sil en y avoit point de miennes, que na este sans le commandemant du Roy."

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as he hears, was resolved upon except to write again to all the Christian princes, the Emperor and his brother not excluded, to join in the undertaking. Does not think it was necessary to write to the king of Hungary on the subject.

Some time after this, as Miçer Andrea complained to the English ambassador about the delay in this matter, the latter said that the best plan would be to fix at once the quota to be paid by each prince, the Emperor to put down 20,000 ducats, the most Christian King as much, the king of England and the Pope 10,000 each, the remainder of the sum up to 80,000 to be divided between the Italian estates and the king of Portugal. Went to see the Pope, who approved of the plan and distribution, but as this is only a project, and comes from the English ambassador, it must be carefully examined first, and then submitted to the Congress for approval.

The Count* called yesterday on the French ambassador (bishop of Tarbes) with a letter from his master, the king of Hungary, and they conversed a good while on this business of the crusade against the Turk, the latter observing that as regards the contribution of the most Christian King, there was no necessity for sending here [to Rome], the Emperor might apply direct to France,† without the interference of a third person no longer required between them. (*Cipher.*) Burgo and he (Mai) went to the Pope and repeated these words of the French ambassador, that he (the Pope) might see that it is not we [the Imperialists] who chose to avoid his intervention. We shall see how this matter ends, and whether the rate of contribution proposed by the English ambassador is approved of, for certainly that would be the shortest expedient, and the least subject to such inconveniences as their applying for crusades and other ecclesiastical grants; though, on the other hand, they are so cunning that they will undoubtedly apply for them all the same whatever the agreement may be. His Holiness, however, is on his guard about this, and not likely to accede to their wishes.

Tarbes said also to Miçer Andrea that it might be desirable that upon the Emperor's return to Italy there should be here a conference between the Pope, His Imperial Majesty, and the King, his master. If not, the conference (he said) might take place somewhere near Flanders (*acia Flandes*), for it is the French King who desires it most. The same was said to the Pope by squire Francesco (*el escudero Francisco*),‡ who came the other day [to Rome] on the Florentine business.

* Miçer Andrea del Burgo was created count de Castil Leone in 1529.

† "Y passaron muchas cosas señaladamente esta [decir] que en el socorro del Christianissimo no era menester ya imbiar aca sino que V. Mt. imbiasse á Francia a pedirlo redondamente á la francesa, sigun el dize, que no havia ya menester terceros entre ellos."

‡ A courier of the name of "Francisque" is mentioned in a letter from Montmorency to the bishop of Bayonne, dated 26th October 1528, as having been sent to St. Pol, in Italy; but this one must be *l'escuyer François* of pp. 635, 643.

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The Bishop [of Tarbes] went on to say that he was sorry to see that the Imperial ambassadors mistrusted him. They would not allow his secretary (*su hombre*) to go to Florence, and that he considered an injury to his King. Being now on friendly terms with the Emperor all mutual good offices ought to be continued. The treaty of Cambray did not forbid his master from favouring and helping his own friends when they were not in arms against the Emperor. The kingdom of France consisted of various provinces united together, whilst the dominions of the Emperor were more scattered. For that reason his master had more want of friends, &c. Miçer Andrea told him that the measure had been taken in consequence of certain intercepted letters, &c.

(*Common writing:*) Letters from France of the 15th July have been received purporting that the King was to start the next day, accompanied by the sieur de Praët, and that not having obtained queen Eleanor's act of renunciation in the form he wished to have it, he had left commission to the Imperial ambassador to attend to it.

(*Cipher:*) It is reported that a Florentine, named Roberto Nasi,* inquired the other day from an Italian captain whether he would have the courage and the power to raise 8,000 men, and that the captain answered that he would, provided the order came from the king of France. Roberto said that the King would be glad, and that the men might come through the land of the Venetians and of Genoa, who certainly would not prevent their passage, and that besides, being a fine set of men, they themselves might procure provisions, &c. All this is improbable, and besides, if they do come, they will not be in time to save Florence, which is at the last extremity, as the Emperor will judge by the enclosed advices.

An agent of the marquis of Mus is going to the court of France to ask protection for his master. He (Mai) has written to Caracciolo to have his eyes on him.

Has seen letters from France in which it is said that the King is determined to wait and see what the Pope, the Emperor, and the Italians will do, and that he will then submit to the Parliament of Paris the question of whether or not he can legally ratify the treaty of Cambray, and that after the decision by that body he will act according to his interests. Others again assert that the articles of the treaty are to be modified in the following manner: The Emperor to give up Milan to the eldest son of this marriage between his sister [Eleanor] and king Francis. It is also stated that the Florentine ambassador in France was greatly in despair, and had actually written to his Republic advising them to lay down their arms. But all this news has no solid foundation, and besides, if there should be anything of the kind the Emperor is sure to know it through his ambassador in

* Probably the Roberto Nassy mentioned in Brewer.

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France, who must have more accurate information on these points; he (Mai) will not make any further allusion to it.

No sooner did letters come from Ascanio Colonna saying that the project of marriage between Isabella Colonna and the abbot of Farfa had been abandoned, than he (Mai) wrote to Ascanio's brother, Cardinal [Pompeo Colonna] informing him thereof.

Has overheard, but cannot exactly recollect where and how,* that the Pope is about to borrow from Your Majesty, on sound securities, as much as 50,000 or perhaps 100,000 ducats towards the expenses of Florence. The Pope himself has said nothing to him about this, but the other day he requested him most earnestly to write to the Prince [of Orange], begging he would, after the taking of Florence, remove his army somewhere else, for the country (he said), already exhausted and ruined, could not possibly support the Imperialists any longer.

The names of the doctors who voted against the Queen, or rather against the Pope, in Paris have been received. They concluded that the Pope could not dispense in this case except "for a reasonable cause," whereas the cause for which pope Julius dispensed was most urgent, as declared in the brief itself. Moreover, it is said in the conclusion that according to the University's statutes, there ought to be a majority of two thirds, and yet their votes are only seven or eight more than ours. (*Cipher:*) However this may be, it appears that the Rector and heads of the University have not behaved well in this affair; the most Christian King and his ministers might also have acted better; but I trust to God that if the cause be heard here, at Rome, all these wicked doings of theirs will be of no avail. Their conclusion, however, does no harm, for Dr. Benito (Benet) told me the other day in Chapel that the Baron [de Borgo] was going [to England] for the purpose of arranging that the cause should be tried at a neutral place (*lugar indiferente*).† Went up to the Pope and complained. The Pope denied it. Told him also that Your Majesty had made up his mind on this question; it could not be tried elsewhere than at Rome, or wherever His Holiness resided. Even thus there will be some difficulty. Begs for Ortiz's speedy arrival, that he may inquire into the state of the affair before we come to close quarters with our adversary.

Rie,‡ the brother of Balançon, arrived the day before yesterday with letters of credence for the Pope. Malatesta offers one of three things: To cause the Florentines to lay down their arms willingly, or procure the surrender of the city by setting his own band against the citizens, or else evacuate the city with his own men, amounting, as he says, to 5,000. Although Malatesta cannot yet answer for Stephano Colonna, he is pretty sure of gaining him over to his ideas.

* "Yo he entreoydo y no puedo llegar al cabo de que nació."
† "Que el Baron iba para concertar que esto se viese en un lugar indiferente."
‡ "El hermano de Balançon Rie."

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(*Cipher:*) Rie further says that Fernando de Gonzaga was going into Florence for the purpose of inducing the Florentines to capitulate, protesting that unless they surrendered immediately the Prince would not be responsible for the sack or any other calamity that might fall on them.

The Pope was glad to hear of the above intelligence, and requested him (Mai) to send for Muxetula, that he might go to the camp, and as a lawyer and man of business assist the Prince in framing the capitulation. The Pope intends besides sending thither either Sancti Quatuor or Salviati who is still at Piacenza.

Rie said besides that Baubri was greatly wanted at the camp, as the Prince wanted to send him to the Emperor on a message respecting his intended marriage to the marchioness of Montferrato, whose mother, he says, has sent word that although she was half promised to the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza), she will be happy to marry her to the Prince, with the Emperor's consent. Bauri (*sic*) is expected here hourly; his servants have been some days waiting for him. Cannot say whether the law suit, in which he has been for some time engaged, detains him or what it is, for the marquis de Quarata went away some days ago, and the duke of Gravina three days after.

The castle (*rocca*) of Bracciano is on the point of surrendering.

His Holiness has determined to send cardinal Salviati to the camp before Florence, with two or three Florentines of his party, that they may assist the prince of Orange in the capitulation, and see what is to be done with the Imperial army afterwards.

(*Cipher:*) Besides the 50,000 ducats which, as above stated, the Pope wants to borrow from His Imperial Majesty, it would appear that he intends asking the duke of Milan for 50,000 more out of the sum he is to pay, and 30,000 from France. These he will easily get, for his ambassador importunes him night and day, and it is to be feared that the King wants to secure him for some purpose of his own.

Joan de Lanuza and his coadjutorship.—Order of Montesa.—Carlos Torrellas.—Rome, 4th August 1530.*

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

4 Aug. **399.** The UNIVERSITY of ALCALÁ.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 113.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 15.

The Rector and Faculty of Theology of the University of Alcalá (Complutensis), assembled at the church of St. Ildefonso on the 4th day of August 1530, determined—

1st. That the marriage with a deceased brother's wife is not contrary to the Divine Law.

* Paragraphs of this same letter are to be found in *Add.* 28,581, f. 13.

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2nd. That the Pope can grant a dispensation to allow such marriages.—Compluti (Alcalá de Henares), 4th August 1530.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

400. The Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca on the Divorce.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. Leg. 4, f. 113. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 16.

Annotationes ad opinionem Universitatis Complutensis super matrimonio Regis Henrici VIII. cum Regina Catharina.

Non signatura. Non datum.

Indorsed: "Censura sobre las pareceres de las Universidades de Salamanca y Alcalá."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

5 Aug. **401.** The Emperor's Instructions to Gutier Lopez de Padilla, gentleman of his household.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital. L. 483, f. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 20.

He is to go to the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) and ask him in the most friendly way to consent that his quarrel with the Pope concerning Modena and Reggio be compromised as decided by us. The peace of Italy depends, as it were, on it. We fully promise to terminate this business in three months, and not ask for further delay.—Augusta (Augsburg), 5th August 1530.

Spanish. Original minute. p. 1.

5 Aug. **402.** Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 56. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, ff. 21.

Has just received a letter from Fernando de Gonzaga, dated the 4th, informing him that the day before yesterday the prince of Orange had an encounter with the enemy's forces coming out of Pisa—3,000 infantry and 300 horse—and routed them in such a manner that only 200* escaped, and these are now hotly pursued by the country people (*villanos*) after the Italian fashion, so that very few will live to tell the tale. The victory, however, was dearly bought, for the Prince, as a brave and chivalrous knight, led the troops and was killed in the onset. May God give him Paradise! It will be a great loss for His Imperial Majesty. It is to be presumed that the Collateral Council of Naples will take the measures required in this emergency. Nevertheless he (Mai) has, with the advice and consent of the Pope and of cardinal Osma (Garcia de Loaysa), written recommending that the marquis del Vasto should come at once to take the command of the forces, because as he has much credit with the soldiery, he may perhaps prevent the sack of Florence. After the taking of that city the Marquis may go to Hungary or wherever the Emperor pleases, because as he is not an ambitious man, he will do his duty without having view to grants of land, &c.

* Segni estimates the loss of the Pisans on this occasion at 2,500. *Storie Fiorentine*, p. 123.

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Jo. Antonio Muxetula ought also to come, and the Emperor to send from Germany some qualified person to take care of this business of Florence, as well as of that of Siena, which must also be looked into.

As the Florentines have great faith in Malatesta, and the latter was in treaty with the Prince, he (Mai) is now trying to send him a message through his nephew Ballon (Baglione)—through whom the affair was first conducted—assuring him that any former stipulation between him and the Imperial ministers will be faithfully observed.* Has written to Naples requesting that similar instructions be given to the Marquis [del Vasto].

Meanwhile Fernando de Gonzaga, who remains in command of the forces before Florence, has been urged to prosecute the siege with all vigour, and will receive similar instructions from Naples.

Does not send the particulars of the battle in which the Prince was slain, because Gonzaga himself did not write in detail. The messenger who brought the letter says that Ferrucho (Ferrucci), the same captain who defended Volterra, and took refuge in Pisa, and Jo. Paulo (Giovan Paolo), the son of Renzo de Chieri (da Ceri), were both taken prisoners.†

Rodrigo Niño writes that the king of England has sent 8,000 or 10,000 ducats to his ambassador in Venice, and that he has seen letters of exchange to the amount of 4,500, besides another of credit for any sum he (the English ambassador) may want for the purpose, as it is said, of relieving Florence. If the report be true, the other 20,000 of the contribution mentioned in my despatch of the 26th of May, may be included in the letter of credit, but very likely the money comes too late.

It might be, however, that the money which has arrived in Venice is for no other purpose than to bribe right and left in the Queen's case.—Rome, 5th August 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

* Guicciardini intimates that a secret agreement existed between Malatesta and the Prince: "Avuto forse, come i Fiorentini sospettarono, fede occultamente de Malatesta Baglione, col quale aveva pratiche strettissime, che in assenza sua non assalterrebe l' esercito, el Principe andò ad incontrar il Ferruccio."

† The battle was fought at Gavinana, not far from San Marcello, the Imperialists entering the town by a breach made in the walls, whilst Ferruccio and his men arrived at the opposite gate. Il Ferruccio, or Francesco Ferrucci, as he is otherwise named, had successfully defended Volterra against the marquis del Vasto and Marramuldo. Taken prisoner at Gavinana, he was conducted before the latter captain, who being his personal enemy said to him: "Tu sei pur giunto alle mie mani," and wounded him in the throat with his dagger, after which he was quickly dispatched without mercy and against all the rules of war. Amico d'Arsoli, another captain, had a similar fate; Marzio Colonna bought him for 600 crs. from two soldiers who had taken him prisoner, and then slew him with his own hand, on the plea that he had killed in battle his cousin, Scipio Colonna. As to Giampagolo or Giovan Paolo da Ceri, the son of Renzo, he redeemed himself by paying 4,000 crs. Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, p. 418.

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8 August. **403.** The Capitulation of Florence.

S. Pat Re. Div. de Ita. L 595, No. 42, B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 283.

Articles of the capitulation of the Florentines, signed by Bartholomew Valori* and Don Ferrante di Gonzaga, general of the Imperial forces.—Firenze, 8th August 1530.

Indorsed: "Copy of the capitulation of Florence."

Italian. pp. 3.

10 August. **404.** Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 57–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 24.

Encloses copies of intercepted letters from the ambassadors of Florence and Ferrara in Paris.†

(*Cipher:*) Has mentioned in another despatch the substance of a conversation with the bishop of Tarbes respecting an interview between his master, the King [of France], and the Emperor, the Pope, and the king of Hungary, to be held either in Italy, on his return, or in Flanders. Went and told His Holiness, but on the same day Mr. de Tarbes also waited on the Pope and told him that the Imperialists were trying that the interview should take place in Flanders, not in Italy, which could nowise turn to his (the Pope's) advantage. Lost no time in assuring His Holiness that the idea of the interview had originated entirely with the French; he (Mai) knew nothing about its object, but this he could affirm, that if the meeting was really intended for his benefit and that of the Emperor, it mattered little whether it took place in Italy or in Flanders.

Cannot say for certain what object the French may have in view for proposing this interview [in Italy], and for wishing the Pope to be present at it, unless it be because they fancy that his intervention may be useful in asking for a reduction of the terms of the peace of Cambray.

(*Common writing:*) No mortuary service for the Prince can be performed at Rome, as the Pope says that it is not customary to celebrate funerals except in the case of kings.

Advices from Naples agree that the marquis del Vasto will come as soon as the weak state of his health will permit. He has already sent on the duke of Malphi (Piccolomini), who arrived yesterday in Rome.

As the soldiers are sons of different mothers, so have they different opinions. At the camp some begin to murmur, and say that Don Fernando de Gonzaga ought not to undertake anything until the arrival of the Marquis [del Vasto]; others maintain that being the Prince's lieutenant he cannot pass over the command to another until the Emperor has made the appointment. However, as Don Fernando is a wise man, he is sure to do the right thing in this respect.

* Bartholomeo or Baccio Valori, as he is otherwise called, was at this time the Pope's commissary at the Imperial camp. The capitulation itself, a summary of which may be seen in Varchi (*Stor. Fior.* p. 428), and Segni (p. 125), has been printed at full in various collections.

† That already abstracted at p. 652; that of the Ferrarese ambassador is not in the volume.

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(*Cipher :*) The Mantuan ambassador, now here with the Pope, spoke some days ago in praise of his master (Federigo di Gonzaga), observing what a good soldier he was, how devoted to the Emperor, and how fit to take the command of the Imperial army before Florence, &c.

(*Common writing :*) Muxetula writes that he is coming [to Rome] soon, but Gonzaga having since sent word that his presence is very much wanted at the camp before Florence, he (Mai) has requested him to come back as soon as possible. Lope da Soria likewise has offered his services, as he says he has nothing to do at Siena for the present.

Since the Prince's death the Florentines have resumed negociations, and there is hope of their surrender, since all that is asked of them is that the Medici be restored to their former authority in the Republic, and the government established according to the Emperor's wishes.

(*Cipher :*) No later than yesterday he (Mai) had occasion to impress His Holiness with the absolute necessity of attending to his own succession, and fixing the rights of his heirs [at Florence]. Told him that as long as he lived there would be no difficulty, all would obey him, but that it would not be the same with his heirs of the Medici family.

His Holiness has requested them (the Imperial ambassadors) to call the Emperor's attention to two points. One is, what is to be done with the Imperial army after the taking or surrender of Florence; the other, how Malatesta Ballion (Baglione) is to be dealt with. Only the other day his nephew Galeazzo, and Centurione, the Pope's chamberlain, were sent with a secret message to the said Malatesta, and it is very important that in the case of his helping in the surrender of Florence we should know how to act towards him.

A few days ago a brief was obtained that no one should counsel, testify, or speak on the case of the king and queen of England, except as for conscience and truth, not for favour or respect of persons. The King's ambassadors complained that this was equivalent to forbidding them to apply for counsel, and taking lawyers' opinion on the case; and, moreover, that as the words of the brief were that they (the English) were forbidden all defence "according to Canon or other law," it was evident that we wanted to exclude theologians. They have since made a great fuss about it, and as the Pope and cardinal Sanctiquatuor said to them that they do not understand the letter and meaning of the brief, they have now asked for a declaration, and accordingly framed a minute, which, not being to the Pope's liking, he caused to be re-written. Even then he (Mai) and the Queen's lawyers disapproved of it, and another one was accordingly made out, which was again modified, Sanctiquatuor having objected to some of the words. This last is not entirely to our taste, but the Queen's lawyers having found it sufficient for the purpose, he (Mai), after a long dispute with Sanctiquatuor, has given his consent. As the

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sole and exclusive object of the English ambassadors is to gain their cause anyhow, they wanted the minute to be drawn after their fashion. They went to see Sanctiquatuor, disputed and quarrelled with him, and made themselves so obnoxious and disagreable (*porfiaronle y hostigaronle*), (*cipher :*) that "he called them heretics, and told them that their cause was a bad one, and that they would surely lose it." This His Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of the schedule (*scedula*) in Sanctiquatuor's own hand, the original of which he (Mai) keeps in case it may be wanted hereafter.

These people will not give the brief he (Mai) applied for, and which they promised, commanding the universities not to pronounce an opinion on this cause; but I will push for it, and will have it at last, though differently worded from what Sanctiquatuor agreed at first, for he now tells me that it can no longer be made out in the form previously agreed between us, and, strange to say, gives as an excuse that His Imperial Majesty has more universities in his dominions than the rest of the world put together, which is the very argument he (Mai) brought forward in support of the Emperor's claim, when he told him (Sanctiquatuor) and the Pope also that we only asked for what is just and reasonable, and nothing more.

Respecting the cardinal's hat for the Auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci), he (Mai) hears that when the application was made, the Pope answered that he wished first to know the will of the king of England. If so, I hold him to be as much a cardinal as Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont), especially as the office of auditor, which he vacates, is such that the Pope may sell or give it to some one who will accept of it as gratefully as a hat. And, as he (Mai) has often said in his despatches, the more friends the Emperor has in the College of Cardinals at all times, and especially at the Pope's death, the better; these things cannot be disregarded. (*Cipher :*) Begs the Emperor to write a word to the Pope about the future creation of cardinals: they ought all to be such as befits the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, and the Emperor's service, that he (Mai) may more effectually promote this latter object.

Miçer Philippo Decio has given an opinion that pope Julius could dispense with reason, but that the reason alleged in this case is not sound. He (Mai), before he left Monçon, asked several times for the deeds and papers (*autos*), then in the hands of Jo. Aleman (Juan Lallemand), with which to prove this cause in reference to the Queen's first and second marriage, but was told by the Chancellor that the papers were in the hands of Mr. de Granvelle. Repeats his request, and begs that they may be sent from Spain, because in 40 days the holidays will be over, and should the suit re-commence he has not one single document to bring forward, although for the last two years he has applied for them both to England and Spain.

(*Cipher :*) Miçer Andrea del Burgo spoke the other day to

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the English ambassador about the subsidy against the Turk. His answer was exactly the same as the one which Tarbes (cardinal Grammont) made on a similar occasion, namely: "That we might send to England for it, without losing our time here." So that in fact the answer of these two individuals seems to have been preconcerted between them, and must proceed from some mysterious cause. One of two things, either the French and English together wish to prevent the Emperor from acting in this affair conjointly with the Pope, or else they want to open the way for more delays in this matter, so as to deceive us entirely. However it may be, he (Mai) has very little hope of a subsidy being obtained, either from France or England, because, as the intercepted letter of the Ferrarese ambassador says, at a time when the kings of England and France acknowledge the Vayvod as King [of Hungary], and allow his ambassador to visit their courts, any harm may be expected of them.

Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] further brought the ambassador to speak about the [new] marriage, and about this brief, telling him that the King [of England] had no reason to despair, with other words to the same effect. The Englishman contradicted this, and Miçer Andrea very sensibly answered that those who despaired came to a bad end, and so they separated good friends. The Englishman came afterwards to him (Mai), and said he wanted the words of the brief to be changed, and complained much of the Pope, whom he accused of being partial to us, whereas we complain of him as partial to them. (*Cipher:*) However, His Holiness is very cold about it, and pretends he cannot do more. If this affair of Florence comes to a good issue, he (Mai) intends touching him up again.

(*Common writing:*) In Naples some Spaniards have mutinied. Alarcon is gone out against them.

Figueroa writes [from Genoa] that on the 27th of July Andrea Doria was at Iviça with 23 galleys and 10 galleots to provide himself with biscuit, and then cross over to Barbary.

Rodrigo Niño says that he does not think the Venetians will entirely disapprove of the meeting [of the Council], but that there is a rumour that the Germans will not accept of it, though they may still live in the Catholic faith.

Bracciano surrendered to the Pope; the citadel was also on the point of capitulating, hostages had been exchanged, &c., when treason (*bellaqueria*) broke out among the men, in consequence of which Sciarra Colonna hanged several of the culprits, and returned thither in force. The castle cannot hold out for more than two or three days.

With regard to Isabella Colonna the Pope says that he (Mai) is to consult the Emperor. Whilst waiting for the answer nothing is being done in her case. When Luigi Gonzaga heard of the death of the Prince, he called [at the embassy] and said that if his services were required [in

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Hungary] or elsewhere, he would willingly leave this and go where the Emperor wanted him most, as captain of his army, or in any other capacity.—Rome, 10th August 1530.

P.S.—Since the above was written a courier from Venice has arrived with the news that the abbot of Farfa is returning home, and will be contented to surrender Brachano (Bracciano) either into the hands of cardinal de Agramonte,* or of Renzo de Chieri (da Ceri), or of the ambassador Casale, who resides here for the king of England, or else into those of count Della Mirandola. (*Cipher :*) As this fourth is the only good [Imperialist] among them, and the others cannot be trusted, he (Mai) went to the Pope and deliberately told him that the proposition was unacceptable, and had all the appearance of covering some intrigue. In case, however, of its being accepted, the Count ought to be chosen. The Pope answered that he was on his guard, and would take care not to be deceived.

Letters from France have also been received, dated the 26th of July, from Logua (Loches), where the court was on its way to Angulema (Angoulême), purporting that the King was sending to the Emperor a gentleman of his chamber, for the purpose of thankfully announcing the restitution of his children and consummation of his marriage [with queen Eleanor], also to intercede in favour of the Neapolitan refugees (*fuorusciti*), and ask for the restitution of the French galleys.

It is also rumoured that the French wish for an interview of their king with the Emperor, but will not press this matter further out of consideration for the king of England.

The Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency) has come back in a very pacific mood. With his arrival all those rumours of war, which circulated formerly at the court of France, have entirely disappeared. Hears that the Grand Master himself has said to a great friend of his, that since his return he has been able to defeat several plans more or less warlike.

Has received the despatches brought by Balançon; they were forwarded by Fernando Gonzaga. Will answer them by next post.

From Florence the news is that the inhabitants are reduced to great extremities, owing to Malatesta and Stephano Colonna having actually refused to go out and fight in compliance with the wishes of the "arrabiati," as the chiefs of the people are called.† They have taken away from Malatesta the supply of rations, and to such an extent that Don Fernando has to send him his daily food from the camp. The soldiers inside have also been deprived of their rations, and it is to be feared they will sack the city. Believes that His Holiness will send 60,000 ducats [to the camp]. At the request of Malatesta, as

* Agramonte or Acromonte, as Onuphrius Panvinus of Verona has it in his *Epitome Pontificum Romanorum*, p. 392, is for Grammont (Gabriel de), bishop of Tarbes, and cardinal since 1529.

† Both Segni and Varchi give a detailed account of the *Talleschi* and the *Arrabiati*, the two contending factions at Florence.

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it is asserted, a colonel of the Imperial army was to go into Florence as a sort of hostage or security whilst the capitulation was being discussed.

The news, such as it is, was communicated to the Pope by him (Mai). He was pleased with the intelligence, though he found it strange and difficult to reconcile with other advices; for it is publicly stated here that the majority of the Florentines wish to open two gates for the Spaniards to go in and sack their city, in spite of the Pope, who intends to govern them, whilst others threaten to set fire to their houses rather than be again under his sway.

Fabricio Marramaldo and Alexandro Vitello are gone towards Pisa at the head of their respective forces. (*Cipher:*) It is to be feared that they will sack that city, where a good deal of merchandize and property belonging to the Florentines is stored. Has, with the Pope's advice and consent, written to Gonzaga to have an eye on those captains, and prevent all mischief, and also to have the prisoners taken after the battle in which the Prince was slain examined, in order to ascertain who sent them [to Florence], by whom they were paid, and what the object of the expedition was.* The information not to be published until we have agreed what portion is to be made public, and which is to be kept secret.†

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Aug. **405.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 851, f. 66.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 30.

Cardinal Sancti Quatuor laughed when he (Mai) applied for a brief allowing Carlos de Torrellas, notwithstanding his oath, to declare in the cause of the murderers of Francisco de la Cavalleria. He (the Cardinal) maintains that it is for the judge to apply the torture and extort confession from the parties concerned; the Church cannot absolve anyone from breaking his oath. Has since had letters from Vaguer, who is at Naples, intimating that the inquisitors in this particular case can institute legal proceedings, even against the archbishop.

The very same night that the news of the defeat of the Pirans and death of the Prince came to Rome, it was publicly said about midnight (*cipher:*) that the Pope had died suddenly. As the intelligence seemed correct, and had besides a certain appearance of truth, he (Mai) called together his retainers, gave them certain orders, and accompanied by three or four of

* "Tambien he escrito que pesquisen en los presos de la jornada del Principe á que iban y quienes los ymbiavan, y quien les pagava, y que deseño tenian, por que es bien que V. M^{t}. lo sepa, y por que no es bien que lo sepan todos lo he scripto al don Fernando que despues de sabido no lo publique hasta que lo comuniquemos entre nosotros el y yo para ver lo que se habrá de publicar."

† It is asserted by Varchi and others that Il Ferruccio went to Florence by the order of the Gonfaloniere [Raffaelo Girolami] and Dieci, who had sent for him, intending to take away the command from Baglione, whom they no longer trusted, and give it to him. p. 412.

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them, rode in disguise towards the Palace, in order to ascertain whether the news was true or not. Passing by the hotel of the duke Alessandro, found that the rumour of the Pope's death had simply originated in a fainting fit, which had lasted for some length of time, and was purposely kept secret. He is now as well as ever.

Cardinal Tortona (Uberto di Gambara) said the other day to Miçer Andrea de Burgo and to him (Mai), that were the Pope to die now, and a new election to take place, we should scarcely have cardinals in the conclave to follow our inspirations. He is quite right, and His Imperial Majesty ought to see to this, for the contrary party is doing the same.—Rome, 10th August 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very Illustrious Lord, the High Commander of Leon, first Secretary of the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Aug. **406.** The Emperor to Prothonotary Caracciolo.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 332.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 35.

With regard to the intended marriage of the Duke [Francesco Maria Sforza] with the Pope's niece, We have nothing to say. The marriage may take place.

The Duke's physicians, We hear, advise change of air, and therefore he intends going first to San Antonio de Padua to accomplish a vow, and thence to Venice. Is to do all he can to dissuade the Duke from that journey, and, at all events, follow him wherever he goes, and not lose sight of him.—Augusta (Augsburg), 12th August 1530.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 1½.

12 Aug. **407.** Margaret of Austria to the Emperor.

B. Bib. d. Bourg., No. 16,070, f. 125, p. 401.

Secretary Des Barres, on his return from France, has informed her of the flattering words which king Francis addressed to him and to his colleague, Mr. de Praët, when they took leave of him and of his mother, the Queen dowager (Louise de Savoie). On that occasion the King told Secretary Des Barres that he wished for a closer and more binding treaty with the Emperor, as well as for an interview for the purpose of proposing marriages between their children, &c. Des Barres has also brought a memorandum very similar in its contents to the one sent to Genoa, and begged her, in the name of the said king and of his mother, to do all she can to bring about the said treaty, matrimonial alliance, and interview. Has replied summarily and in general terms that she (Margaret) is ready to employ herself in any way that may lead to the preservation of friendship between him and the Emperor.

Mons. de Gheldres, and the complaints of the inhabitants of Utrecht and Doureissel against him, which she sent in a memorandum by Likerke.—Interview with him, at Gorkem

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Vyene, or the neighbourhood, to be proposed, and if accepted, fixed for one day this month.—Malines (Mechlin), 12th August 1530.

Signed: "Votre tres humble tante, Marguerite."

French. Copy. pp. 3.

13 Aug. **408.** MANDATUM PRO NEGOCIO REGINÆ ANGLIÆ.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 90.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 36.

Powers granted to Eustace Chappuys (*sic*), of his Council and his ambassador in England, to represent and petition for him in the suite of queen Katharine, his aunt. Datum in civitate nostra imperiali Augusta die xiii mensis Augusti anno Domini M.D. XXX. imperii nostri decimo, et aliorum omnium regnorum XV°.

Latin. Original draft. pp. 3.

14 Aug. **409.** The ABBOT of LLOR to FRANCISCO DE LOS COVOS.

S. E. L. 851, f. 71.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 39.

The new comet and its meaning.

As the English affair is postponed or suspended, cardinal Egidio intends going to Viterbo towards the end of this month. As he does not go far, and promises to return as soon as he is wanted, his absence from Rome cannot cause any inconvenience.

Addressed: "To the very Illustrious and Noble and High Lord, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

15 Aug. **410.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 4 *b*.

The answer to this paragraph went by another courier.

That in the matter of the French marriage, the Pope has resolved to follow the Emperor's opinion. Not to drive the king of France to despair, or he will, after two or three months' time, tell the ambassadors that there is no chance.

The Pope is about to send the archbishop of Brindisi to treat about the Council.

Genoa, and what the Pope says about defenderlo.

The duke of Albany has spoken secretly to the Pope's captains. His Holiness is perfectly on his guard, and will not be at fault.

Answered.

Arrival [at Rome] of the bishop of Ausar (Auxerre) to conclude the marriage. The Pope has already granted all that Tarbes asked of him. The French keep pressing and threatening the Pope, but he is determined not to grant his consent to the marriage, knowing as he does that it will

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be better for him that his niece Catharina should marry the duke of Milan. Yet he is afraid of breaking entirely with the king of France.

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

20 Aug. **411.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 35.

Since my last despatch Your Majesty's letters of the 8th and 17th ult° have been received. I have delayed answering them, thinking that either on the arrival of the earl of Wilchier (Wiltshire), and of Monseigneur de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), who are hourly expected, or else after the meeting of an assembly, which the King has been purposing to convoke, and of which I will speak hereafter, there might be something of importance to communicate.

I immediately apprized the Queen of the state of affairs at Rome, and read to her such passages of Your Majesty's letters as concerned her personally. She has sent me word that her surprise is great at hearing that the proceedings at Rome have been suspended or withdrawn. At first she feared that the English "angelotz" had perhaps found their way thither, and that the Pope himself was turning tail,* (*common writing :*) but upon reflection, seeing that a Papal Nuncio is actually coming to this country, and knowing what he comes for, her confidence in the justice and good-will of His Holiness has somewhat returned, and she sincerely hopes that her cause, being supported by Your Majesty, will ultimately be decided in her favour. She cannot really believe, whatever the Pope may say to the contrary, that this sending of his Nuncio originated with him, she fancies it must have been at the instance and request of the English ambassadors, who have no doubt represented that the King, their master, would be more easily brought round by persuasion than by coercion and force, all this being done, as she thinks, for the purpose of stopping legal proceedings [at Rome], and gaining time. The Pope should not have listened to this suggestion of the English ambassadors, for in reality there is no argument he could adduce, not even if he came in person, that would be of the slightest use at the present time; for since the King obtained so many seals in his favour he is more bent upon the divorce than ever he was, and more and more in love with the Lady. However, though the arrival of the Papal Nuncio at this juncture may be entirely fruitless as regards the King, it may yet have a beneficial influence on the English parliament through the prelates who constitute part of it. It would be more beneficial still were the Nuncio to bring a mandate from the Pope to inquire as to the Queen's virginity at the time when she married the

* "Fust de prime face estonnee de ce que la procedure de Romme sur son dit affere avoit este retractee et aneantie, craignant que les *angelotz neussent vole par la* et que le *pape n'eust tourné bride.*"

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King, and also as to the means employed in obtaining the seals of universities and chief persons in this country. I have written to Messire Mai to procure such mandates from the Pope. Had the brief of which Your Majesty sent me a copy come sooner it would have been of great service; but neither of this said brief, nor of the Nuncio's departure [from Rome] have I received intelligence up to the present hour, which, considering Miçer Mai's habitual diligence and punctuality, and his having written to me that he had actually sent it on, makes me suspect that the letter in which it was enclosed has been intercepted. The Queen's Council are now engaged in discussing the difficult points which Your Majesty ordered me to consult. They have not yet made their report, and I am urging them on that I may have their opinion and forward it to Rome.

Immediately on the arrival of the Earl [of Wiltshire] the King dispatched a messenger express to Rome to take among other things the seals given in his favour by the universities, colleges, and private individuals here and abroad. The said messenger also took (*cipher:*) 3,000 crs. ready money, and, some say, letters of exchange for a still larger sum, a sauce which will make the said seals very palatable [at Rome]. Two or three days after the King sent notice to the archbishop of Canterbury (Warham), to the Chancellor (Cromwell), and to several other lords and councillors to assemble at Antoncort. (Hampton Court) on the 11th inst. Suspecting that the meeting had been convoked for the purpose of taking measures about the divorce, I sent word to the Queen that she should at once intimate the inhibition to the said Archbishop, of whom she has some doubts now though he was at first one of her Council. The Archbishop, on hearing of the brief said that he would obey His Holiness' commands implicitly, but that he was surprised that the King had received no intimation of it, and if he had, how he had not on hearing of it risen (*mutiné*) against the Queen and those of her Council.* But what surprised him most was that the King, knowing of the brief, could be so cunning and wily as to dissemble and hide it for such a length of time.

(*Common writing:*) On the 11th the King, having left the Queen at Windsor, went to Antoncort (Hampton Court), where on the same day the above-named persons and Jehan Jocquin also were assembled. The meeting was continued on the following days until the 16th. I have been unable to ascertain whether the Queen's case was brought under consideration or not. The duke of Norfolk, it is true, had assured me more than once that nothing of the sort should be discussed there, and yet, on the 17th, another courier was

* "Et qu'il estoit fort esbey que le roy neust este aduerty du dit bref ou que en estant aduerty yl ne se soyt mutine contre la royne et autres de son conseyl; mays que encoures se donnoit yl plus de merveillies si le dit seignieur roy la sçeu (l' a sçu) quil ayc use [de si grande ruze et cautelle de l'avoir dissimule et occulte]."

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dispatched to Rome, which must be in consequence of some resolution passed at that very meeting. They have since been trying to persuade me that it was called merely for the purpose of considering the business for which the bishop of Bayonne has expressly come over; but as that ambassador arrived by post only the day before yesterday, and will not see the King till to-day, the assembly can hardly have been convoked in reference to him. However this may be, the Bishop, on his arrival in London, sent me word that had he been able to come and see me privately and without the King's knowledge, he would certainly have done so, but that it was a matter of strict etiquette to see the King before holding intercourse with anyone else, and that as he had to negociate with the King he would afterwards tell me very pleasant and agreeable news.* I have no further information on this subject, nor do I know yet what has brought him over; but I will do my best to unravel the mystery.

For nearly one month the King has transacted no business at all, with the exception perhaps of that for which the above-mentioned assembly was convoked; he has given himself up entirely to hunting privately and moving from one place to another,† so that there has really been no opportunity of obtaining an audience or speaking to him on the affairs of Germany, as Your Majesty wished, or on the assistance given by him to the Florentines, respecting which last I have on more than one occasion written to Your Majesty, and related what the duke of Norfolk once said to me. I have since made every possible inquiry about this matter, and cannot find, after the affair of Florence was introduced here, that the King has sent abroad any considerable sum of money, unless it be through the person who procures him his supply of wine from France. Although it is highly improbable that the King should engage in an affair of this sort—which after all can only result in harm and discredit to himself—and therefore make him waste his money, of which he has now less, and is more avaricious than ever, besides provoking and irritating the Pope; yet I fancy that he is so very envious of Your Majesty's growing power, and so desirous of reducing you and the Pope to some strait that may cause you both to stand in need of him, that he may, blinded as he is by his passion, be pushed to worse extremities.

I will do my best to obtain information on the above points, with a view to forward the same to Your Majesty, and also to enable me to speak with decision at the right moment. The person (*cipher*;) who had charge of the Florentine business was the consul of that nation, a merchant who has since become bankrupt, by which the King has lost upwards of 50,000 crs.

* "Et que ayant a negocie [r] avec le dit seigneur roy yl me dyroit toutes pleasantes et aggreables nouvelles."

† "Le roy a tousjours vacgue (*sic*) a ses princes chasses errant de la et della."

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I had been expecting tidings from the *Grand Squire*; but until the other day, when he sent me *a piece of venison*, I had not heard from him. I received at the same time a message with his excuses *for not having come to see me.* He would have called but dared not do it *under present circumstances.*

The Cardinal sends *daily to inquire* how the Queen's cause is progressing, and *why it is not more energetically pushed.* He dislikes delay above all things, for he thinks that this business once settled he has a good chance of returning to power.—London, 20th August 1530.

Signed: "Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

20 Aug. **412.** Dr. GARAY to the EMPEROR.

Arch. de l'Empire, Sim. K. 1,483, No. 50.

Begs to be excused if he writes so frequently; the urgency of the case is such that he cannot do otherwise.

Yesterday, the 19th, a post left this with all the papers hitherto made out by this Faculty in the matter pending between the queen of England and the King, her husband. This was done by the command of the king of France, who, they say, wishes to see the whole, before communicating with François Bonvalot,* the Imperial ambassador, as he once promised to Praët and (Des) Barres. Has done all he could to obtain the said papers, but the King would not let him have them.

In order that no cheating should take place this time, as formerly, he (Garay) has contrived with much trouble and labour, owing to the number of our opponents, to have the process read and corrected in his own presence, and in that of Beda (*sic*), the syndic, two doctors and one bedel; the register to remain in the hands of another bedel. A duplicate of the whole in the same form as the one now sent to the King, to be signed by the above parties and the dean (*doyen*) of the Faculty, because the document sent to the King has only one signature, that of the bedell. In this manner there can be no trickery (*bellaqueria*) practised.

Has never been able to procure and send home a transcript of the papers themselves for His Imperial Majesty to see whether any change has been introduced in them or not. At any rate His Majesty may be sure that what he (Garay) has hitherto had occasion to write on this particular matter is the exact truth. Should the document above alluded to, and signed by the bedel of the University, make its appearance at the Imperial court let an investigation be made as to whether at the bottom of one of the conclusions his (Garay's) own opposition and contradiction to it, as well as the appeal of several doctors of this university, and the names of

* The copy has Bonvalet.

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those who are in favour of the Queen are inserted or not, because on this last point the Queen's right principally rests. The names of these doctors whose opinions are favourable, went some time ago by another conveyance. Sends now a duplicate list, in case the former has been lost.

If the Pope fears God, loves justice and the peace of Christendom, he cannot do less than punish the excesses hitherto committed in this scandalous affair, and have the Queen's right proclaimed to the world. Wrote a month ago to His Holiness relating how the affair had been conducted here, pointing out the judges to be chosen, and proving, moreover, that all scholastic doctors who stand by the decretals of the Church are really in favour of the Queen; representing also the irreparable evils that might ensue, were he (the Pope) to shew weakness in this matter, for if once he allows himself to be thus despoiled little by little of his authority he will soon be left without any; and lastly, that since this affair is one which principally concerns him and the Church, he is bound to see that justice is done in the case. Wrote also in this sense to the ambassador (Mai), but has had no answer from either.

Begs His Imperial Majesty to take this affair in hand. His own impression is that if the Pope only does his duty, the votes of this Faculty will be decidedly in favour of the Queen, The malice with which the affair has been throughout conducted becomes manifest from the fact that the king of England, who has no other excuse or pretext to allege except the conclusion of this Faculty, has been, and is still, trying to secure the votes of the doctors.

Has been told here that the Pope is remiss. His Majesty ought to see that there is no delay. There is danger in it, as there is also in the money which our opponents are spreading right and left. Has always hoped that God in reward for His Majesty's and the Queen's virtues will ultimately bring her victorious out of this affair. Meanwhile, the German universities ought to be consulted, and their opinions taken and forwarded to the Pope. Had this been done at the beginning the king of England would not have had one eighth part of the votes in his favour. Is amazed how the Pope could allow this thing to go so far, since it is quite enough to induce all men of letters, who fear God, to hold him in suspicion.* The affair, moreover, is of such importance that His Majesty is bound to have it discussed, and determined within his own dominions with much better right than other princes, whom it does not personally concern, and who, merely to please their friends, cause such scandalous seditions within their own estates as might destroy the whole Christian community.—Paris, 20th August 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

* "Basta esto para tenerle por sospechoso."

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21 Aug. **413.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581. f. 42.

On his arrival at Rome, both His Holiness and Miçer Mai, applied to him for two things, namely: his opinion in writing about the capitulation of Florence; the other, where the Imperial army is to go afterwards, and where it is to be quartered at the least expense for the Emperor. On both these points he (Muxetula) has tendered his opinion, a duplicate of which is here enclosed. Was also much pressed both by His Holiness and by Miçer Mai to visit the camp before Florence, as it was presumed that he (Muxetula) could report more easily from the spot, but has not deemed it necessary to go thither, and indeed does not intend to move from where he is until he receives express orders from the Emperor.

The great objection to the draft of the capitulation is in his opinion the smallness of the sum demanded from the Florentines, only 80,000 ducats, and then that Malatesta and Stephano Colonna should be allowed to remain in the city with the forces under their command, whilst the Imperial army is to be paid off and broken up. Considering the treacherous acts committed during the last war, he (Muxetula) did not consider it safe or prudent that the city should, as it were, remain in the hands of our quondam enemies. Has, therefore, advised that besides obtaining hostages for their fidelity, a force of Spaniards equal at least in number to the Italians under Malatesta and Colonna should be quartered within Florence, or else that if those captains dismiss, as they ought immediately to do, the greater part of their men, the city be occupied by 2,000 Imperial troops, Spaniards, Germans, or Italians.

With regard to the money, it has been agreed that either the Pope or the Florentines, as it may be, will find the 180,000 crs. required for the pay of the Imperial troops, the Emperor paying the rest as formerly agreed.

This morning the Marquis [del Vasto] left for the camp; but scarcely had he ridden 20 miles when he came back, saying there was no occasion for his going further, for he had met a man on the road bringing letters from the camp in which he was informed that the duke of Mantua had been appointed to the command of the Imperial forces.

At first, it must be owned, the Marquis felt piqued at the appointment of the Duke, and considered himself injured; but since then he has been told that His Majesty had made that nomination thinking he was still unwell at Naples, and not in condition to take the command of a large army; on the death of the Prince [of Orange] Gonzaga had succeeded, and yet His Majesty had not hesitated to appoint his brother, the Duke, besides which his (Vasto's) services were required in Hungary, &c.—Rome, 21st August 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Addressed; "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

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24 Aug. **414.** Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 95. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 48.

Not a step has been advanced in the negociation. The king of Hungary writes to his ambassador here, the Pope has secret advices from Venice confirming the news. The intelligence circulates among a few, and Rodrigo Niño himself knows nothing about it, for he wrote last on the 17th and said nothing.

If the Turk does not winter between the Save and the Drave he will quicken his march more than usual, so as to be in position at the time of beginning the campaign without losing any previous time on the road.

With regard to the general alliance, both defensive and offensive, nothing has been done; the powers from England and France have not yet arrived, and it is to be feared that all will end in nothing, notwithstanding the assurances we get every day from France that they are seriously thinking about it.

An attempt has been made by the English ambassador to fix the proportionate quota to be paid by each of the Christian princes. Until the distribution, such as it is, be approved by His Majesty, he (Mai) cannot say anything in favour of or against the plan. Has, therefore, declined giving an answer, and will wait until the plan is discussed in the assembly. Thinks there is no harm in accepting the offer, for after all little is better than nothing, and should the distribution not be approved at the Imperial court there would still be plenty of time to have it altered, although if he (Mai) is to speak his mind openly, neither France nor England will ever give one farthing towards it, and if they do it will be under condition of getting a crusade and other grants from the Pope. This is the reason why his (Mai's) opinion is that if a good peace, or else a truce for a number of years could be made both with the Vayvod and with the Turk, it would be by far the best means of defeating the intrigues of these devils, who though they themselves may be at peace with the Emperor, would be delighted to see him at war with the Turk, for they think and proclaim that the forces of the Infidel are, or will be, a sort of corrective against His Majesty's growing power.—Rome, 25th August 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 Aug. **415.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 88. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 55.

Has received the Emperor's letters of the 18th inst. in answer to his several despatches.

The bishop of London (Stokesley) is still here, engaged in collecting what these his friars have written. He begins to despair of getting the doctors and professors [of Padua] to counsel in this case, for the Signory has flatly refused his application. One of the opinions most valued by the said bishop was that of a Spanish canon of the Augustinian

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convent of San Giovanni di Verdara at Padua, Don Rafael de Coma by name. Having ascertained that in the same convent lived another canon, also a Spaniard, named Don Pablo Torrellas, sent for him and told him what these English ambassadors were doing here against the Queen, and that he (Niño) had learned that a countryman of his had written in favour of the king of England, and against the Queen. Don Pablo Torrellas was to persuade him to revoke his opinion. He has since so admirably fulfilled his commission that not only the Prior but all the canons of that house, have been gained over to our cause, and that Don Rafael de Coma himself has revoked the opinion he gave against the Queen, and has actually written in her favour. As it is not easy to procure good scribes (*buenos escritores*) here, and yet it is very important that His Majesty should have transcripts of Coma's paper—to be forwarded to the persons now writing in favour of the Queen, that they may see what this Coma has written in favour of Her Highness [the Queen], and also what he once wrote against her, after seeing the opinions in favour of the King*—it would be well to send also a copy to the ambassador at Rome, and give another to the bishop of Quieta (Chieti), who wants it. Niño is now having 10 copies printed, which will be ready in a week. Don Pablo is here attending to the printing, &c.

Is also endeavouring to get the Dominican Prior of St. John and Paul of this city to revoke an opinion he gave some time ago, and which the bishop of London values most. Wants him also to give up all he has written against the Queen; but the Prior, whose name is Master Thomas Oniven,† refuses to do so unless he receive an express order from Your Majesty. Has agreed with him that if a letter be written in his (Niño's) credence, stating that Your Majesty has been informed of the Prior's qualifications and learning, as well as of his labours for the refutation of the Lutheran sect, he will take up the case and do wonders.

Letters have arrived from London advising that the King has ordered great rejoicings to be made, apparently for the restitution of the sons of France, but in reality for the determination of the Parisian theologians in favour of his bad cause, which determination he has caused to be proclaimed in the streets and market-places. And it is added that the English murmur so much [about this] that they have distinctly said that even if the Pope should determine in favour of the divorce, they would not suffer the Queen to be so insulted. All this an Englishman, greatly attached to His Majesty, has told him in confidence.

* "Y porque me parece que conviene embiar à V. M^{t}. dos traslados desto para que V. M^{t}. los mande embiar á los que escriven en favor de la Reina, no tanto por lo que este ha escrito en favor de Su Alteza como por que vean lo que escrivió [en] contra, haviendo visto las opiniones de todos los otros que han escrito en favor del Rey."

† Thomas Omnibonus or Ognibene. See Brewer, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, Vol. iv., part iii., pp. 2887 and 2993.

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It appears that the day after the receipt of the above letter, the bishop of London called on the bishop of Chieti (Giovan Pietro Caraffa) and had a long conference with him on the subject of the divorce, and at last requested him most earnestly to write to the King plainly what he thought about the matter, as it might be that his opinion would have some influence on the King, for certainly, he said, the King loved the Queen so much that he would be glad if a person of his quality and parts should tell him that he ought to withdraw from his purpose. In this manner he (Caraffa) would pay a debt of gratitude to the King for the love and affection he has always borne and still bears him. And many other things to this tenour.* The Bishop related all this to him (Niño), and he answered by shewing him copies of the above English correspondence, from which, when compared with the words of the Bishop, we concluded that it is not virtue but necessity that prompted the English bishop (Stokesley) to ask him to write to the King. Told him, moreover, how important it was that he should send his opinion in writing to the King. It might happen that his letter would produce the effect pointed out by the bishop of London. At any rate the work was so good, and so meritorious in the eyes of God, that it was of more worth substantially than all the penance he might impose on himself in his present retirement. "If I were you," (added Niño), "I would not be contented with that, I would go to England myself and admonish the King over and over again." His reply was that he had determined to retire to a wilderness, the better to examine the question, and have a sufficient ground for his opinion. This he would send to the King in England by one of his comrades (*compañeros*). Did not insist more upon this subject, but thinks that if His Majesty were to write him a letter of encouragement, relating the above facts, and begging him to prepare his paper as soon as possible, and deliver it personally into the hands of the King or through a trusty person, much good might be worked, the Bishop being of the quality that he is, and much esteemed by the king of England.

Has been told that the said bishop of London gives out that they have sent him a brief from His Holiness dated the 4th inst., authorising any doctors and theologians, as well as canonists and lawyers, friars or laymen, of whom an opinion might be asked in this matter of the divorce, to give it without respect to any prince or person according to their consciences, and regardless of bribes or promises under pain of

* "Y otro dia despues quel obispo de Londres recibió estas letras fue á ver al obispo de Civita de Quieta, y passó con él muy grandes platicas sobre este hecho, y al cabo le pidió con grandissima ynstancia que escribiesse al Rey de Inglaterra lo que desta cosa sentia, y su opinion muy clara, por que podria acaescer que con escrivirsela se apartase de la opinion en que está; por que en la verdad el rey queria tanto á la Reina que holgaria que tal persona como la suya le dixesse que se apartase dello, y que con esto él haria la obra que tal persona como la suya era obligado, y pagaria al Rey el amor que le tiene y le ha tenido; y sobresto dizen que passaron muy buenas palabras."

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excommunication. He (Niño) is astonished at His Holiness having issued such a brief, and has written to Mai to inquire the truth about it, and to let him know, because should it be so, all he has been working at here will be of no earthly use, since there will be scarcely a doctor or student who will not conclude that neither this Pope nor his predecessors could dispense on such a marriage as that of the King and Queen. (*Cipher:*) Indeed he does not hesitate to say that had he not importuned this Doge and Signory, as he has done, the English might have got all they pleased here, and the Venetians would have been glad of this opportunity to curtail the Pope's power in spiritual as well as temporal matters. Until an answer come from Miçer Mai he will say no more on the subject, save confirm his above statement, that if the brief has really been issued, and its purport is as above, no doctor, bachelor, or student [at Padua] will fail to say that pope Julius had no power to dispense, &c.

(*Common writing:*) The bishop of London has received 4,500 crs. on bills of exchange, besides a letter of credit on a banker of this city to draw any money he likes.

On the 14th inst. the Signory received letters from their ambassador at Constantinople, of the 15th of July. They contain no news of importance except an account of the festivals for the circumcision of one of Solyman's sons. But on the 23rd, another from the abbot of Santa Maria de Crema at Ragusa, for him (Niño), and another for secretary Urries came to hand, containing further information; encloses them both.

Is doing all he can to gain the confidence and friendship of the French ambassador, as he has been instructed to do, and has no doubt that through his means many facts may be learned, of which we might otherwise be quite ignorant. Count Guido Rangone told him (Niño) the other day that the King [of France] is fast dismissing all the Italians he had in his service, and that the "fuorusciti" of Naples are in despair and ready to hang themselves owing to that king not choosing to help them in any way, and having told them to quit France, &c.

Negociations of Gutierre Lopez de Padilla at Ferrara.—Permission to the duke of Milan to send a person to France. The Duke is expected in Venice for the 10th or 15th of September. When he comes, he (Niño) shall not fail to apprize His Majesty of his doings. At present the general opinion here is that he comes to thank the Signory for their late interference in his behalf, and also to borrow money from these bankers with which to pay the remainder of the 300,000 crs. when due. He has, moreover, applied to the Switzers for a safe-conduct, as he wishes to send some one thither to treat with them.

A letter from the said duke [of Milan] to his ambassador here informs him that prothonotary Caracciolo is unwell. Should he not recover soon he (Niño) wishes to know how the question

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of precedence is to be decided, for he hears that the Signory has determined to make the Duke a splendid reception, and as the Papal Legate is absent he shall be called upon to go next.

(*Cipher :*) Is in almost daily communication with the general of the Augustinians, who gives him daily proofs of his affection to the Emperor. Has repeatedly told him: "You may write home and say that as much in this Turkish affair as in any other I am ready to serve the Emperor with all my heart, but for God's sake let it not be known that I supply you with information, for should these people hear of it I should lose my life through it."

Mr. de Pelu's mission to Mantua, and the Duke's acceptance of the post of commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces.

(*Cipher :*) This Signory has no hope of His Imperial Majesty being able to settle the Lutheran affairs without a council, which they desire most ardently thinking that the Council once assembled, the Pope will remain without one single vassal, and that in this way they (the Venetians) will recover Cervia, Ravenna, and several places in Romagna. They say that it appears to them impossible that His Majesty should not think as they do, for in that case the Emperor might get the rest of the estates of the Church. Keeps repeating to those who speak to him in this tone, and who are the chief officers of this Republic, that in proposing the Council His Majesty has no other object in view than to settle matters of Faith.—Venice, 26th August 1530.

P.S.—Forgot to say that I have obtained the enclosed copy of the act (*auto*), which the English caused to be drawn by the doctors and theologians of Bologna, and which they value much as coming from subjects of the Pope, and from a city in the estates of the Church. I am told that the bishop of London will soon go thither to get each of the doctors, who have signed the said act, to write a treatise in support of his opinion. This will shew Your Majesty how the English manage things of this sort. I have sent another copy to Mai, that he may inquire from one of the Spanish scholars at the University who the notary was who drew the instrument, that all may be warned against writing in favour of the English and against the Church of Rome.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 16.

28 Aug. **416.** [Cardinal Colonna] to the Emperor.

S. E. Roma, L. 849, f. 109. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 63.

Hears from Rome that poor Juan Perez [de Nueros], as he was returning to Naples, was assassinated at a place 30 miles from that capital, between Velletri and Sermoneta.—Naples, 28th August 1530.

Signed: "Pomp.* Vicecancellarius."

Italian. Original. p. 1.

* If Pomp. is meant for Pompeo, cardinal Colonna, at this time Vice-Chancellor at Rome and viceroy of Naples, must be meant.

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30 Aug. **417.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 5.

Sends the deed of investiture of Florence.

The negociations for the marriage of the Pope's niece continue.

Ferrara, &c.—Rome, 30th August 1530.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

30 Aug. **418.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 82–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 66.

Deeds of Ferrara and Modena.

(*Cipher:*) Some people here, at Rome, and especially the Venetian ambassador, shew surprise that Your Majesty, at this present juncture, when the affair of Florence is over, and peace seems fairly established everywhere, should appoint the duke of Mantua (Federigo de Gonzaga) to the command-in-chief of your armies. In addition to this Don Fernando, the Duke's brother, writes from the camp that he has orders from Your Majesty to engage the Germans for three months more, and the other day a captain of that nation, accompanied by three "bandereros," came here to Rome to claim, as he said, the pay of 1,000 men of his countrymen, who had followed the prince of Orange to Gaviñana, where he was slain. The Pope has answered that he has nothing to do with such claims; that was the business of the Imperial commanders; he had regularly paid his contribution towards the expenses of the army, &c.

I have already informed Your Majesty that the mutiny of Naples has been put down by cardinal Colonna on the payment to the soldiers of 115,000 ducats, making seven months' pay. Expressed my fears about Joan Perez de Nueros and another courier who left [Augsburg] on the 12th of August. When I heard of his mishap I immediately went and spoke to the Pope, who sent commissaries to make inquiries on the road. The papers and letters were so stained [*bañadas*] with blood that it was impossible to read a word of them. Only the packet containing Your Majesty's letters came without injury, and I really believe that it was miraculously saved by God that the warrant (*provision*) therein contained might be used at the present juncture, and so I forwarded it to Naples immediately. The bodies of the two Spaniards were found close to Velletri, and there is even some clue as to the criminals, which I purpose following as far as I can that misdeeds of this sort may be guarded against in future.

With regard to England and the cause of Romarico Monte, I need not say anything further, having already written to Mr. de Grandvella (*sic*) on the subject. The only thing to observe is that all this bragging of the English (*bravear que hazen los angleses*), and their asking that the cause may go back to England to be tried, may be intended as a sort of pressure (*torcedor*) to oblige the Pope to have it tried out of Rome in some place free from suspicion. What do they mean by "free from suspicion?" I cannot say, but certainly if I am to judge from the tricks (*bellaquerias*) in which the English indulge and the good disposition of the Romans to

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accept bribes, I should say that Rome is a suspected place for us and not for them. According to Niño, the bishop of London has received in Venice 4,500 ducats, which I think are not to be spent in alms.

Pension to the viscount of Erol on the fruits of the abbey of Monte Aragon.

Cardinal Ravenna writes that his brother, Ancona, will be here shortly.

The Pope tells me that Miçer Antonio di San Felice is tired of France and of the French, and wishes to return. The Pope in reality intercedes for him strongly, and says that he cannot do more harm at Rome than in France, and that Your Majesty, who is generous, ought to forgive him.

(*Cipher:*) The duke of Ferrara, as I am told, has sent the most Christian king of France a copy of the pamphlet (*libelo*) which the Papal solicitors first presented to Your Majesty against him. There is a passage in it thus worded: When Lautrec came to Italy by the command of the most Christian King, the duke of Ferrara took up arms against Your Majesty, *against God,* and against the articles (*capitulos*), &c. The Pope thinks that the words *against God* have been added, and is very much hurt at it. I have seen the draft the Pope has, and certainly those words are not in it. That which the solicitors shew here agrees with the French copy.

The bishop of Tarbes [Grammont] and the duke of Albany are expected here. I have tried to ascertain what the object of the latter is, and I am told that he comes for the purpose of settling about the property of the Pope's niece [Catherina], which he (Albany) retains in France.* I shall be on my guard to see if he brings anything more.

It is also said that the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) is to come here as ambassador, and that Miçer Visconti was coming on a pilgrimage to Loreto; but if so, he has not arrived yet.

The last advices from France of the 11th inst. unanimously agree that the King and the courtiers are only thinking of hunting and pleasure. Twelve thousand francs had been distributed among the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," that they might be able to live, and those of Lombardy were also intriguing famously, but to no purpose.

Andrea Doria and Pedro de Bazan left Mallorca on the 9th bound for Barcelona.

I have occasionally informed Your Majesty of the ups and downs of this Bracciano warfare. First, that the castle was on the point of surrendering, then that the besieged took possession of two pieces of ordnance belonging to the Pope, and so forth. Only three days ago 15 or 20 men of the garrison made a foray into the Campagna of Rome, so that in point of fact we must consider ourselves besieged by them. Went to

* "He querido saber porque, y dicenme que viene para concertarse con el Papa de la hazienda de la condesa (?) su sobrina, que la tiene el dicho Duque. Yo estaré sobre aviso á ver si ay otra cosa."

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the Pope and complained. He promised that he would order the place to be dismantled the moment he took possession of it. I then heard that an agreement was spoken of through the mediation of cardinal de Tarbes, who was heard to say that it was not in the interest of the most Christian King that the abbot of Farfa or Bracciano should be destroyed. The Pope having asked my advice I told him my mind openly, not as a contradiction to Tarbes' statement, but for the benefit of the Apostolic See. (*Cipher:*) The Pope said that he would send for Marramaldo's men, who are doing nothing at present, and whom he cannot pay. Cannot say whether he will do it or not, for this good man (*buen señor*) is apt to change his determinations very often.

(*Common writing:*) Hernando de Gonzaga, and the quartering of the Imperial army.

Fancies that the marriage settlements between Luigi Gonzaga and Isabella Colonna will go by this post for His Majesty's approval. Has written to the archbishop of Bari (Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino), communicating an idea of his. —Roma, 30th August 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 10.

— Sept. **419.** The Divorce.

S. E. Prat. c. Eng. L. 4,120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 199.

Memorandum of letters to be written to different persons respecting the marriage of the queen of England.

The points to be written to Miçer Mai are as follows: 1. That in the original agreement made by the king of England [Henry VII.] with the Catholic King (Ferdinand) about the marriage of Henry with the queen Doña Catalina (Katharine) are two or three passages declaring that the marriage with Arthur was consummated, although in the dispensation brief this is not affirmed, unless it be understood "per verbum forsan." It must, therefore, be considered whether it will be beneficial for the cause to exhibit an attested copy of the said instrument that it may be got ready.

A transcript of the brief of pope Julius [II.] to the king of England on his dispensation for the second marriage shall be sent by the first courier.

The documents which it is important to procure and send to Rome, in the Queen's behalf, are as follows: 1. The agreement for the second marriage confirmed by the Catholic sovereigns [of Spain], 24th September 1503, enacted before notary Almazan at Saragossa. 2. A treaty of peace between the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella] and Henry VII., as well as the contract for the Queen's first marriage, anno LXXXIX., with a set of instructions to the ambassador besides.

The documents to be presented by virtue of the compulsory letters (*compulsoriales*) are these: 1. The second treaty between the Catholic sovereigns and the king of England, Henry VII., upon the marriage of his son Henry VIII.

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2. The power given by the Catholic sovereigns to Hernan Duque [de Estrada] to demand the 100,000 crs. dowry from the King, and to request him to let Doña Catalina come back to Spain with her household servants, &c.

3. To search [in the Archives and elsewhere] for letters of the ambassador, saying how the King would not allow her to go, nor restore her property, and also for letters of Henry VII. on that very subject.

4. A paper signed and sealed by Henry VIII. acknowledging the receipt of 500,000 crs. for the dower of the second marriage.

5. A bond of certain Genoese bankers engaging to pay to Henry VIII. 45,000 crs. as part and portion of the said dower.

6. A copy of another receipt of 100,000 crs. at the time of the first marriage; signed by a notary.

7. An account of the expenditure of the 200,000 crs. on the first marriage. It is unsigned, and, therefore, it will be necessary, in order to ascertain in whose handwriting it is, that it be shewn to the notaries and their clerks.

8. A letter of the Catholic king in the possession of the said Doctor [La Puebla] ought also to be presented, because he says in it that he will make war better than on the Turk; it is a copy.*

9. The letter of Henry VIII. [after his marriage] stating that he was well satisfied, and describing his coronation, anno 1509.

10. Two letters of Henry VII. asking for a respite of the terms of payment of the dower, and saying that he has forborne to accept some other proposals of marriage more advantageous in point of money, for the sake of preserving, &c.

11. Also the letter written by the king of England to pope Alexander upon the dispensation for the second marriage, dated 28th November 1504.

12. A letter which Dr. Beltran has in his possession, signed by the Catholic king [Ferdinand], which the archbishop of Toledo gave him.†

Spanish. Original copy. pp. 4.

4 Sept. **420.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 88-9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 76.

Wrote last on the 30th by a courier whom the Pope dispatched with "los actos para su causa y compromisal." I then mentioned how, according to letters from France of the 19th inst., the duke of Albany was coming here to Rome, and that I thought he came for the purpose of settling with the Pope about the property of his niece (Catherina), which the Duke holds, or perhaps to marry his own son to her, as he

* A marginal note says this was taken by Dr. Beltran to shew to clerks and have it inspected.

† "Tambien se ha de presentar la carta que tiene el Dr. Beltran firmada del Rey Catolico que la entrego al Señor arçobispo de Tolledo." Such is the reading in Bergenroth's copy; but I venture to suggest that instead of *al* Señor Arçobispo, *el* Señor, &c. should be substituted.

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has tried to do at other times. Since then I have ascertained two facts, one is that he (Albany) has charge of negociating the said marriage for the duke of Orleans, not for his own son, for so Albany himself has confessed in France, with great secrecy.

The other is that the English ambassadors, now here, believing him to be no friend of their king, have complained much of his coming to Rome, at a time, too, when some harm might be done to their cause. That is the reason why cardinal de Tarbes has written home, and why the Pope believes that he will not ultimately start on his mission. I am of a contrary opinion; I think the Duke will come, and that the king of France will also be glad to have him here ready for what may come out of this [general] council, and that the Pope will also be pleased to see him (*cipher:*) and make us jealous of this contemplated marriage, because, although he is good and friendly towards Your Majesty, yet I see that he delights in these counterpoises (*contrapesos*), and it is almost impossible to detach him entirely either from France or England.

(*Common writing:*) The duke of Milan, they say, has left Cremona for Pavia; he is to go from thence on a pilgrimage [to Loreto], and lastly to Venice.

(*Cipher:*) I cannot help thinking it very strange that the duke Francesco should thus abandon his estate, and go to Venice at the present time, for certainly his health is anything but fit to encounter the fatigues of the road. I fancy that he goes thither for the purpose of selling or mortgaging some lands, by which means he may pay the remainder of what he owes Your Majesty, and liberate the castles of Milan and Como. I have written to the ambassador at Venice (Niño) to be on the look-out, and inform Your Majesty of whatever he may learn on that particular, and I fancy that he will have time enough for that purpose as the Venetians are not over quick in disbursing money at any time.

I am also told that the Duke [of Albany] is pressing this marriage of the Pope's niece, and yet I have information from another quarter to the effect that he is trying for another one in Germany, and that the French King's councillors are divided in opinion on this point. I recollect that when I first came to Rome I had charge of speaking to His Holiness about a marriage of his niece either with Don Jorge de Austria,* or with his brother, Don Leopoldo, at the same time that I brought forward that of the most illustrious Duchess [of Camerino]; but as the Pope told me to speak only about the latter, and that the former could very well wait, I made no more observations. I wish for instructions on this particular, because the Pope readily owns that the duke of Orleans' proposal is only a hoax and a device to keep him in suspense.

(*Common writing:*) Wrote to Your Majesty that Juan Perez de Nueros and another Spaniard had been assassinated

* A natural son of Maximilian, about whom see vol. iii., part 1, pp. 325, 912, and part 2, p. 817.

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near Velletri. Every possible inquiry has since been made by the Pope's commissary, and a "barachelo" sent to the spot; the result of which seems to be that some of the robbers, who now infest that district, must have committed the murder. Not satisfied with this, I have requested His Holiness to send down the governor [of Rome] to make further inquiries. At Naples it is suspected that the deed was committed by Neapolitans owing to Perez being the bearer of despatches concerning that kingdom; but as no proof is given, I am inclined to believe that the former suspicion is the more likely to be true. The Pope is very much hurt at cardinal Colonna having said in public that Perez was assassinated at his instigation merely because he was known to be bringing from Germany his brevet of viceroy of Naples, a thing which is very much against the Pope's interests. I have done my best to persuade the Pope that the report is utterly false, but he tells me that he knows it on good authority.

(*Cipher:*) The people of Bracciano are still making forays into the Campagna. I speak about it incessantly to the Pope, who always says yes to any proposition of mine respecting the abbot of Farfa, but takes no decision whatever. He is a most timid and irresolute man, who wishes evidently to be on good terms with both parties. The Abbot, who as may be gathered from other facts, is under the protection of the French ambassador, attempted some time ago to go to Mantua, but the Duke said that he could not possibly receive him being, as he is, in disgrace both with Your Majesty and with the Pope.

(*Cipher:*) Cardinal Colonna, in answer to a letter of mine concerning the marriage of his niece [Claudia], writes to say that he cares not to whom she is married. On the other hand, I hear that her marriage [to the Abbot] has already taken place, and although Julio Colonna denies it, the Abbot confirmed the fact when he last sent his powers to treat about the surrender of Bracciano. I am trying to ascertain the truth of the case.

The Marquis [del Vasto] left Rome the other day with the intention, as he said, of preparing for the Hungarian expedition, though in my opinion not with such alacrity as might be desired. He passed first by Genençano, the residence of Ascanio Colonna, whom he visited; was there struck down by fever. I am told that he is going to Iscla (Ischia) next. What his further intentions may be I cannot say, for ever since the appointment of the duke of Mantua to the command of the forces he has been rather enigmatical; perhaps as he is young he wishes to make himself of request (*rogado*).

On the 29th ult°, as I am informed, there was a great affray between the Italians and Spaniards at the camp close to Florence. The Germans helped the latter, and many were slain on both sides. It was a miracle that Florence did not rise, but the city is now so completely at the Emperor's feet that there is no great fear of that. (*Cipher:*) The only

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drawback now is Malatesta [Baglione], whom we should wish to see further off, or else associated with some one who would act as a corrective and prevent his doing mischief, Muxetula has been sent thither for that purpose, but we have no news of him. A report of his (Baglione's) doings at Florence is anxiously expected, inasmuch as the king of France has lately charged the bishop of Tarbes and count Pontremoli to do their utmost in favour of the Florentines in the capitulation now being drawn up, which shews that they want to ensure their friendship for the future.

The duke Alessandro will leave in four or five days [for Germany], and present for the Emperor's approval his project of constitution for Florence.

The secretary of the duke of Ferrara and his overtures.

Bishop of Burgos, cardinal Colonna and Naples.—Fabricio Marramaldo left his men at Lucca, and came here. Whilst the Pope was attending to the settlement of his claims, he went to Naples and fell dangerously ill there, so much so that he was on the point of death. He has since recovered, and is now in full convalescence.

Siena is in danger of some new revolution.

(*Cipher :*) The Pope said to me the other day that wishing to know on what terms the Venetians were with France, he made some inquiries, and has found that they are not very friendly together just now. The Doge, Andrea Gritti, had been heard to say: "That the French were generally bad friends; they only cared about themselves."

When at Mantua Your Majesty gave the vicary of Naples to a nephew of cardinal Osma, Hernando de Loaysa by name. The prince of Orange, then viceroy of that kingdom, confirmed the appointment, and issued the letters patent (*executoriales*). Cardinal Colonna did the same after him; yet it would appear that some doubts have been raised as to his official appointment.*

Andrea Doria on the 21st ult° was returning to Genoa, and Don Alvaro de Bazan prosecuting his voyage to reconnoitre the forts on the coast [of Barbary]. At Barcelona they expected the bishop of Siguenza [D. Alvaro de Portugal].—Rome, 4th September 1530.

Signed : "Mai."

Addressed : "Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 14.

4 Sept. **421.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MADAME MARGARET [of the Low Countries].

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 37.

Informed Madame in his letters of the 20th ult° of the arrival of the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), who, accompanied by Jehan Jocquin, remained at Court from the

* A duplicate of the same (p. 84), adds a few paragraphs which I have omitted as mostly relating to ecclesiastical affairs.

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21st until yesterday, when they returned to London together about two in the afternoon. As soon as they had dined, they remounted their horses, and came to see me one league out of London, at a place to which I had retired, in consequence of the plague having broken out at my lodgings in town, and carried off my chaplain (*prestre*). On this occasion the Seigneur de Bayonne spoke very highly of the virtues and goodness of the queen of France (Eleanor), and of the pleasure which the King and the country at large felt in her, and then went on to say that the reason of his coming here was that the King, his master, after the great help and assistance which the King [of England] had rendered him in the recovery of his children and settlement of peace, wished to inform him fully and especially of the accomplishment of the said peace, and also to accept his acknowledgments and thanks for the rejoicings which the King had set on foot in London on the arrival of the news, and that he, the bishop of Bayonne, had been chosen for this office on account of his having come here before in more troubled times to treat of the same peace.

I could not gain any further information from the Bishop, but I have since heard from some *of the Queen's own people that he had persuaded this king to accomplish the marriage, and said that his master would engage to obtain afterwards from the Pope* all the provisions needful for such a step. It is added that some *of the king of England's councillors would not trust to the ambassadors' words, but thought it wiser to be first put in possession of the said provisions. I think this very improbable, and yet the information coming from the quarter it does, I could not omit to let Madame know thereof. Will write again as soon as I can hear more about it.*

Three or four days ago the King issued an order that no foreigner should embark at Dover, or any of the adjacent ports, without a passport, which measure has caused general surprise. Some say the order is to prevent the escape of some merchants who are debtors to the King, or of some foreigners who have plundered (*desrobbé*) churches here; but I do not think either of these an adequate reason for the measure. Spoke of this to the French ambassadors, who denied all knowledge of it; thought, nevertheless, that they looked conscious, and indeed the order could hardly have been given without good cause.

Will inquire most diligently, and inform Madame of all that I can learn.

The Queen had lately a good deal of fever for two or three days, but by the help of bleeding and purgatives it soon passed away, and she is now quite well.

There is no news abroad, which makes everyone more surprised at the closing of the ports as above.—London, 4th September 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

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5 Sept. **422.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 38.

In my letters of the 20th ult° I advised Your Majesty of the arrival by post three days before of the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), and that he was to go to Court on the following day, which he did, accompanied by Jehan Jocquin. Both remained there until yesterday, when they returned to town at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and when they had dined came to see me about a mile* out of town, whither I have come in consequence of the plague now prevalent in London, and of which my chaplain (*prestre*) has died. The said Bishop descanted at large on the virtues, goodness, and generosity of the queen of France, Your Majesty's sister, and of the inestimable love and affection which the King, his master, Madame the Regent, and the whole country bore her, which indeed (he said) she fully deserved. He also expressed his delight, and congratulated me on the news sent by Mr. de Morette, namely, that never on any previous occasion had you shewn the same pleasure as on hearing of the conclusion of this last treaty, and of the welcome reception made to the Queen (Eleanor). Then, after speaking on sundry other matters, the Bishop, without waiting for me to ask the question, began explaining the reason of his coming here at this present juncture, which was to bring to the King full and minute account of the successful way in which the treaty of peace [of Cambray] had been carried out. Such a grateful acknowledgment they (the French) considered was due to the King after the great pains he had taken to bring about the said peace, and the good feeling he had shewn towards the King, their master, in appointing public festivities in London to celebrate the restitution of his children. The Bishop added that the King [of England] had been exceedingly pleased to hear all these details, and more particularly of the said restitution. Could not get any further information from him, as night was approaching. If he does not leave to-day I will see him again, and try to learn more. Cannot tell whether the Bishop is satisfied or not with his reception here, as he said very little about it to me.

I have been told by *those who are about the Queen that the said ambassadors were very coldly received, and that at first some very sharp words passed between the King and them, though matters were afterwards set right. The ambassadors had made proposals to which the Council could not possibly assent, and had besides tried to persuade this king to accomplish his marriage at once, saying that their master engaged to obtain afterwards from the Pope the dispensations, licences, and other necessary provisions; but it appears that all the members of the Council, excepting the uncle and father of the Lady, rejected this advice, saying that this was no case which could be based on promises or engagements, and that before taking so important a step they must first be in possession of the said dispensations, licences, and all needful provisions.*

* In the despatch addressed to Margaret "une lieue."

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*Some go as far as to say that the Duke [of Norfolk was one of those who most violently opposed the measure].**

It is difficult to believe these things in view of the turn which affairs have taken *in France*, but I hope soon to obtain information which may throw more light upon the French negociations and their import.

Four or five days ago an order was issued by the King's command for closing the port of Dover, and the two others nearest to it. No one is allowed to leave the kingdom excepting merchants from Calais, or who have some business there: an unprecedented measure since the time when these people wanted to get hold of the duke of Boquingnicy (Buckingham), and the more strange because just now there is no rumour of either war or revolt in the kingdom. Some say this is being done lest the Cardinal (Wolsey) should attempt to escape, or lest certain merchants who are in the King's debt, and thieves who have lately been plundering churches here should try to leave the country; but there is not much shew of probability in any of these conjectures. Others again say that there are some Englishmen, who under cover of forged letters of marque, are committing great depredations in the Dover channel, and that the Government wants to seize them, imagining that if the ports are closed, and no previous notice issued to put the said pirates on their guard, they will enter Dover, or the said ports and then be easily captured.

One more report is that the bishop of Bayonne himself has asked for this order, that no one may leave the kingdom before him for certain considerations. I questioned Jehan Jocquin about this, but he declared that he had heard nothing whatever of such an order. I have since learnt that one of the Bishop's own suite, who was going to Boulongnie (Boulogne-sur-Mer) to bring over a vessel to convey his mother home, had not been allowed to quit. I will take every possible means to fathom this mysterious affair, and report at once to Your Majesty and to Madame that the necessary measures may be promptly taken. The Venetian ambassador is the greatest sufferer by the said measure; he had sent off a courier in the greatest possible haste with a promise of 30 crs.† for each day that he could save on his journey to Venice; but in spite of all this urgency he has been obliged to return from Dover. The said ambassador received, about eight days ago, letters from Venice and went immediately to Court. The French ambassadors being there at the time, I fancied that he would have been kept waiting some time, but not at all, he just went in, saw the King, and came back immediately. Perhaps he went thither to offer the Signory's excuses to the King for not allowing his divorce case to be debated within their territory, and also to find out whether the King's anger at

* The words between the brackets are altogether omitted in the letter, there being here a blank which was not filled up by the decipherer.

† "Trante escus" are the words, but considering the value of money at that time the sum seems excessive.

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their doings would induce him to prevent their trading for wool (*la traytte de layne*), fearing which they have as yet delayed sending over their galleasses, as they are in the habit of doing, to this country. I have since heard that the King has granted them letters patent, authorizing them to dispatch their galleasses here without further delay and buy wool. I think this and no other must have been the cause of the said Venetian ambassador sending off his messenger in such haste.

The Queen has been suffering from high fever constantly during the last two or three days, according to the report of her physician, but is now, thank God, in good health. Were her indisposition to return I should think that the arrival of the Papal Nuncio, who landed at Dover two days ago, would soon restore her. She is treated as usual, *excepting that the Lady has forbidden the gentlemen who were in the habit of visiting her, and from whom she could learn something of what is going on, to wait upon her any more, and has placed some women (femmes) about her to spy and report anything she may say or do, so that she can hear but few news and those with great difficulty.*

The King is still hunting and coming nearer to London every day. This year he has attended more to business and less to sport than for a long time previously; indeed, ever since the closing of the ports which coincided with Brian's (Sir Francis) arrival from France bearing news that Florence was on the point of surrending, he has been continually engaged in council.—London, 5th September 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

12 Sept. **423.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.*

S. E. L. 851, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 5v°.

The Pope is willing to pay the two months' contribution. Hopes that he will continue to do so.

In anticipation of a Turkish war, he (Muxetula) has prevailed on the Pope to be prepared with treasure. Two hundred thousand ducats are to be levied on the lands of the Church.

Well done.

Respecting the French marriage, His Holiness is determined not to grant his niece's hand to the duke of Orleans; he knows the French too well.

He is right.

After all the duke of Albany's plan, as he himself explained in the presence of the Pope, was one for the future defence of Italy as proposed by the French.

It is altogether a hoax.

* The marginal notes are in Idiaquez' hand.

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Letters of the Pope intercepted by the duke of Ferrara.

The Imperial army has no place to go to for winter quarters except Aste (Asti).

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

13 Sept. **424.** Gio. Ant. Muscetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 51. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 113.

By Mr. de Pelus (Peloux), who left this immediately after the raising of the siege, the Emperor was duly informed of all particulars. Yesterday, however, the city was in danger of being sacked, for Malatesta's men having met the Italians of this army, who had been dismissed from the service though not yet paid, agreed secretly to mutiny and sack the place. Was able to prevent it by getting their colonel to go out to them. Malatesta and his men evacuated the city and went to Perugia, and count Ludovico Lodrone entered Florence with his Germans.

Touar has arrived with instructions. They shall be attended to. The Germans will be dismissed as well as the Spanish infantry with the exception of 5,000 men.—Florence, 13th September 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muxetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesᵉ. et Cath. Mᵗⁱ."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

14 Sept. **425.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien. Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 39.

Since my last despatch I have been pursuing my inquiries into the reason for closing the ports, of which I lately wrote to Your Majesty, but I cannot, either from conjecture or otherwise, discover any other cause for it than that *the King having spoken very bitterly and harshly to the French ambassadors,* the governors [of this country], and especially the Lady, whose chief reliance and trust is on France, fearing lest the said ambassadors should write word to their king, *closed the ports until matters should be smoothed down again.*

Some say that *the cause of the quarrel was the King's asking for the duke of Orleans to come over here, on the plea that he is to marry the Princess.* Others say that the King, wishing *to marry the Princess in this kingdom to the son of the duke of Norfolk,* desirses to be released from his engagements towards the *most Christian King* respecting the duke of Orleans, so that he may not incur the penalty stipulated between them in case of one of the two parties withdrawing from the engagement; and that the French ambassadors have replied that seeing how things have changed since the marriage of the Princess to the said Duke was first spoken of, and considering the prospect of the new *marriage contemplated by the King,* it is absolutely necessary to decide at once either for the observance or the infringement of the said treaty,

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but wait until the said duke of Orleans be of competent age.

One can easily imagine that the King would uncommonly like *to have the said Duke [of Orleans] with him,* both as security for *the French debt, and also to obtain a release from the said engagement,* if it does really exist; and that in view of *the new marriage* he contemplates and also to avoid future mischief, he (the King) would prefer *marrying the Princess in a different quarter,* which he could never do without the consent of the *king of France, who has already good security in his hands in the shape of a large sum of money which he owes him, and which he could retain with far greater reason than this king could demand of Your Majesty the* 400,000 *crs. for not having married the said Princess.* And so by means of this *debt the French have such a hold upon the King* that he can hardly venture to act in this or other things without their acquiescence. He (the King) once told me of a plan he had to free himself from this bondage, as I have informed Your Majesty in one of my despatches, but he does not seem able to find his way to it now.

The Papal Nuncio* arrived in London at noon on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady. There was no one to receive him in the King's name either on the road or here. I sent immediately on his arrival to inquire after him, and he sent word back that he was directed to communicate with me on the business for which he had come, but that as he could not well do that without arousing suspicion or giving offence, he would not call on me until he had been to the King; he would, however, send me on the morrow his most confidential attendant to confer with, which he did, so that both through him and through one of my own people the Nuncio has by this time been fully informed of everything relating to the Queen's case, to whom, as far as I can see, *he seems much devoted.* On Sunday the Nuncio went to Court, whither he was to have been conducted (as I reported) by the Chancellor, but the latter could not attend owing to a death which had taken place in his house from the plague, and thus the Nuncio had no other companion than an Italian, who is Latin secretary to the King. The Seigneur de Rochefort received him two miles from Court, and the King was also very gracious to him. They had a long conference together on Sunday, and, besides, the King has kept him two or three days at Court. After the Nuncio's return from thence I hope to be able to advise Your Majesty of what passed at the conferences. I heard from Court, before the arrival of the Nuncio, that the King had, at the request of his Council, determined to agree to his case being decided at Rome. I shall hear more about it from the Nuncio. It is also said that Parliament is to be prorogued till the 20th of October, but I do not know whether on account

* The same baron de Borgo or Burgo mentioned in former despatches.

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of the plague or because affairs are cooling down a little.—London, 14th September 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

14 Sept. **426.** Martin de Salinas to the High Commander of Leon.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 244.

After a somewhat fatiguing journey I arrived at my destination. On the 9th inst. I was at Monesterio de Rodilla, where I was overtaken by two gentlemen of the Imperial household, who, however, did not bring despatches either from His Majesty or from Your Lordship, as agreed between us before my departure. Consequently I decided to make all possible haste in my journey, and took post to this town (Madrid), where I arrived on Monday last soon after sunset. The town being strictly guarded, on account of the plague, no travellers are admitted, especially if they come from Burgos, where, as Your Lordship must know, people are dying in numbers. To judge from what happened to me at the gates, the people of this town must have guards posted on the road [to France], whose duty it is to take all those they meet coming from Germany, dressed and booted as they may happen to be, to Her Imperial Majesty's presence, without stopping at any other place. This they did with me, for wet and covered with mud as I was, and without giving me time to wash and dress, they took me to the Empress, who was up and reclining on a couch. After kissing her hands, I informed her that "her husband, the Emperor, was in excellent health at the time of my departure. Since then (I said) two gentlemen, whom my master, the King [of Hungary], had dispatched on the 29th of August, had brought news that he (the Emperor) was doing well. The cause of my coming [to Spain] I would next day relate to Her Imperial Majesty, when I had no doubt she would be much gratified and rejoiced." This I said because the Empress needs cheering in every possible way to support her during her husband's absence.

As all the members of the Privy Council, with the one exception of the count of Miranda [D. Francisco de Zuñiga], were then in the Palace, I went to pay my respects to them, though the hour being late, I declined to say anything about my mission, notwithstanding the importunities of those who had relatives or friends in Italy or Germany. I therefore put them off till the next day, pleading as an excuse that I was exceedingly tired, and wanted time to select among my papers those that had reference to my charge. I waited next morning upon secretary Juan Vazquez, and after explaining the object of my mission, begged he would obtain an audience from the Empress, which he did for the same day at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We both then went to the Palace, and were received by the Empress reclining on her couch as on the first day. I addressed her and said that I had come to Spain expressly all the way [from Insbruck] to inform her of the Em-

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peror's sentiments towards her. The campaign against the Turk being over the Emperor's presence was no longer required in Germany; he was only detained there by his wish to crown his brother as king of the Romans. The coronation would take place soon, at one of the towns in Flanders, in order to save time, and that the Emperor might then and there embark for Spain. He ardently wished to return home as soon as possible. Most likely, if nothing occurred to disarrange his plans, he would be back in April next. To ensure her husband's speedy return certain provisions and appointments were requisite, which I would immediately submit to her Privy Council, hoping that they would be executed without delay, &c. The Empress listened with great attention to my address, and seemed greatly comforted at what I said. She is not in good health just now owing to her husband's long absence, to the death of the Infante whom she has just lost, and to the delicate state of the Prince [Philip], her eldest son, all of which accounts for the state of dejection and lowness of spirits in which she seems to be. I beg Your Lordship to report all this to His Imperial Majesty.

To this address of mine the Empress made a most gracious answer assuring me that her husband's commands and wishes should be punctually complied with. After which she herself introduced me to her Privy Council then sitting in an adjoining hall. After explaining to them the objects of my mission, I retired for some time to a closet; the Empress joined them, and the papers being read, I was again called to the hall, when the president of the Council [Tavera] informed me that the Emperor's orders should be attended to without delay. The Empress herself confirmed the statement, adding that nothing was so anxiously desired by herself and the whole of the Spanish nation as the Emperor's speedy return to his kingdom, and, therefore, that any order or appointment prescribed would be immediately complied with. After again begging Her Majesty and the Privy Councillors to consider the best means of carrying the Emperor's wishes into execution with the greatest possible secrecy and speed, I took leave of her and retired to my apartments.

I was not so lucky with the personages designated to me as having received orders to repair to Germany; for Don Antonio de Mendoça is unwilling to go, and tells me that he has already written to Your Lordship stating his reasons for not accepting the charge. I related to him what Your Lordship told me about him; but as I could not shew him any proofs, he was incredulous and paid no attention to my words. Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza says that the cause of his not having yet departed [for Germany], is that his wife is very delicate, and that he cannot travel at present. I have not delivered him his commission because the Empress and Privy Council were of opinion that I ought to wait until the messengers whom the king of Hungary announced on the 29th had arrived, as an arrangement might then be made with

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certain bankers for the payment in Germany of the 100,000 ducats with an annual interest of 8 %, and that until it was known whether the proposition could be accepted, it was more prudent not to send him (Pero Gonçalez) and the rest to Germany. Don Pedro de Cordoba is not at Court now, the Empress has sent for him, and it is to be hoped he will be here on the arrival of the messengers. If so, I doubt not he will accept the commission.

In consequence of the rumours here current among the courtiers respecting my mission, most of them thinking that I have come to receive the 50,000 ducats and for no other purpose, it has been agreed that the Empress and her Privy Councillors will give out that my object is only to visit Her Highness, and acquaint her with the state of affairs in Germany.

As my stay at Court must necessarily be short, and I must go to Medina [del Campo], the town of Castille, where more bankers reside, I have decided to start as soon as possible for that city; but lest I should raise suspicion by staying too long there, I have made arrangements for leaving the whole affair in the hands of Ochoa de Landa, the treasurer, who, without being suspected, may reside as long as he pleases at Medina, and secretly negociate an affair of this sort, after consulting with Alvaro de Lugo, to whom I have also given my instructions. I may then stay at Tordesillas as a man who has business there, for as much fear prevails here, in Spain, as you have there, in Germany, of this matter being made public, and all wish it to be kept a secret. As far as I am concerned nothing shall be left undone to promote this affair with the greatest caution and secrecy, and the same may be said of these councillors, who are ready to execute the Emperor's commands.

I beg Your Lordship to read to His Imperial Majesty those paragraphs of my letter which may be considered worthy of his inspection.

As I have not yet seen the town itself, much less the Court, I can send no news from hence. All the kingdom, however, is perfectly quiet. Such is throughout the whole country the wish for His Imperial Majesty's presence that whoever will bring news of his speedy arrival will be most welcome, though the people perhaps will make him no better reception than by importuning him with questions as to how and when the Emperor's return is to take place, for both at Court and on the roads the only topic of conversation is inquiring where His Imperial Majesty is now residing, whether Luther has the command of an army, and whether the Turk has invaded Hungary, with other similar questions with which they ply all of us as men who have seen the world and are versed in the matters which they inquire about.—Madrid, 14th September 1530.

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

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14 Sept. **427.** The Same to the King.

Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 245.

Arrived on the frontiers of Spain on the 4th inst. Had still one-fourth of his journey to perform before reaching this town of Madrid, where Her Majesty is actually holding her Court. A touch of his old complaint prevented his travelling as fast as he wished. Had he, however, made more haste he would have been obliged to wait for Mercado and for the bastard of Horraix (Roeulx) who overtook him five leagues on the other side of Burgos, and brought him despatches.

[Gives an account of his journey and the audience he had from the Empress, and then adds],—

The question of the money being discussed in Council, he (Salinas) was assured that every measure should be taken to ensure payment, but that the thing was not so easy as it appeared at first. Money was scarce in Castille, and the rate of interest very high. Other means were proposed of raising the money in various commercial or maritime towns, but none being considered sufficiently advantageous, it was decided that the best plan was to treat with bankers. His (Salinas') reply was that everything had already been tried by His Highness [the king of Hungary] and also by the High Commander of Leon (Covos); but that the interest demanded was so high that they had decided to try Medina del Campo. His Highness, in consequence, had procured bills on bankers of that town for 50,000 ducats, and was trying now to obtain other bills for the remainder, as appeared from his letter which he (Salinas) exhibited to the Empress and councillors. In case of the gentlemen appointed being ready to depart, his (Salinas') instructions were to have their journey suspended until it should be ascertained whether His Highness in the meantime had made any arrangement with the bankers. Should such be the case, he (Salinas) was to be immediately informed by His Highness' treasurer, Francisco de Salamanca.

When he (Salinas) came here [to Madrid] he found that Don Enrrique de Rojas was about to take his departure that very night. Her Majesty accordingly suspended his journey till she heard what Salinas' mission was. The greater part of the day was taken up with giving an account of it. His Highness' orders to suspend the departure of the gentlemen until the arrival of Francisco de Salamanca were then exhibited as well as the Emperor's wish that all discussion on the subject should be postponed, and the greatest secrecy observed, notwithstanding that two of them, namely, Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoça and Don Antonio de Mendoça had given him certain reasons for not departing immediately, &c.

Although Mercado and the bastard of Orrus (de Roeulx) had in reality no mission of their own, he (Salinas) bade them go to Medina del Campo to prevent any gossip during their stay at Court. He (Salinas) will wait here for the arrival of Francisco de Salamanca; when he comes the necessary despatches shall be made out for him and the others

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engaged in the affair, and he will speak to these gentlemen when the right time has come, and see whether among them and the councillors any other means can be devised.—Madrid, 14th September 1530.

Addressed ; "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2½.

15 Sept. **428.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 98–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 120.

Wrote on the 11th by a courier coming from Naples, that cardinal Ancona had arrived in Rome. Visited him next day, and found him and his nephew, the cardinal of Ravenna, very willing to serve His Majesty. Spoke to him about the Romaricomonte case, which is to be tried next Saturday. To-morrow will see him again about the English business.

(*Cipher:*) The Bracciano affair is settled, more to the pleasure and satisfaction of cardinal Tarbes than to the honour of the Pope or of the Apostolic See, because after all the Abbot obtains his pardon, and the "rocca" is sequestrated and placed in the hands of chevalier Casale, until it be decided between the brothers (Casale) to whom the "rocca" and the rest of the estate belongs.

Since the quarrel between the Spaniards and Italians before Florence, there has been no security for the former on the roads or in the inns, and even here at Rome the insolence of Giovan Paolo Cherri (da Ceri) has made matters much worse. Luckily for us that "condottiero" will be sent out of Rome to-morrow, and Mr. de Tarbes himself is to return to France in five or six days.

Gonzaga with his Spaniards and the rest of his force is at Figlino, but in such poor condition as to money and provisions that I have been told his men have lived for six days on grapes and figs, threatening to mutiny and even to march on Rome.

The English molest the Pope continually, asking him to declare beforehand what sentence he intends giving in case of their coming, as they say, to plead at Rome, and although they have been frequently undeceived as to this, they still insist, as if it were a right and due (*tan improbamente como si fuesse deuda deuida de juro*). Meanwhile they keep saying that Rome is not a safe place for them to plead in, owing to its being so close to Naples. They also ask for prorogation of the terms, and the Pope has been informed thereof. Believes upon the whole that the King will ultimately come to judgment [by proxy], firstly, because he cannot legally avoid it; and secondly, because Decio, the counsel, has given him hopes by saying that, though the Pope has power to dispense, the cause of the dispensation was not a legitimate one.

Mentioned some of this in his despatch of the 11th. When Muscetula left for the camp he saw Decio at Siena, and they debated the case together. That lawyer ended by owning that if we could only prove our assertion, that

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the Queen's first marriage had not been consummated, reason was on our side. This is the only fear he (Mai) has, for otherwise right is decidedly in favour of the Queen. As to the fact itself, and the proofs thereof, fancies that none will come from England, and that if any are sent from Spain they will come too late, for he recollects having applied for the papers at Monçon the year before when Your Majesty wished him to go to England, and up to this day not one has been received.

The duke Alessandro [de' Medici] left three days ago for the court of Your Majesty, some say to offer his services, others to prosecute the Florentine affair.

Conferences with the Sienese envoy Mario Bandini.

Was secretly informed yesterday of a marriage about to take place between the widow of Vespasiano Colonna and Giovan Paolo da Ceri; does not believe the report.

Antonio de Leyva is much better after his baths and wormwood (*palo de Indias*).

Capino, the gentleman-in-waiting to the duke of Mantua, the very same man who years ago went to France to take the relaxation of the King's oath, and the draft of the treaty which the confederates emphatically called "the Holy League," arrived here the day before yesterday. Having certain suspicions, he (Mai) inquired from a friend of his, a captain, what could have brought him to Rome, and he said he had come for the purpose of offering his master's excuses for not having taken sooner the command of the Imperial army. Met him afterwards and he made the same statement. Now as this formality had already been complied with, his (Mai's) suspicions naturally increased, and he, therefore, went to the Pope and asked him. His Holiness said that Capino had come for the purpose of representing that his marriage with the sister of the duke Don Hernando was invalid, owing to the dispensation being invalid, as the Pope could not dispense his first marriage with the marchioness of Monferrato, and though the sentence against that marriage had been given at his request, he pretends that it was not right. This, it is said, was the real cause of Malatesta's imprisonment.—Rome, 15th September 1530.

P.S.—Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] sends word that he has seen a letter from one of the councillors of the duke of Ferrara, advising that his master has succeeded in having the term at which he has to pay his debt to Venice prorogued for three more months.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

16 Sept. **429.** Baron del Borgho, Papal Nuncio in England, to Clement VII.

S. E. Rom. L. 849, f. 102.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 126.

Having asked the king of England to help in the enterprize against the Turk, he replied that he did not believe the Infidel could do much mischief, and he adduced as an

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argument that the Emperor had not said a word about it at the Diet. The King, moreover, complained of His Holiness who, he said, had revoked the legates appointed at his request, committed the cause to the Rota, and then sent the inhibition to the Queen. He threatened that unless the case were committed to the archbishop of Canterbury or to "tutti li collegii de le chiese d'Inghilterra," he was determined to go on, for he knew His Holiness had promised the Emperor to give sentence in the case in favour of the Queen. Proposed to him to have two judges elected by him and two by the Queen; but he was not satisfied with this arrangement, and on Borgo proposing that the Pope should name a fifth, the King said that if it came to that, he would prefer to have the fifth elected by the king of France, who was related to the Emperor, and a friend of his, but that in nowise could he agree to the cause being judged out of his kingdom.* The discussion was prolonged almost until night, and both were talking about other things, when the King desired him (Borgo) to discuss the matter with the duke of Norfolk and Dr. Stephano (Stephen Gardiner). On doing so, the Duke spoke much about his devotion to the Holy See, and how he had always stood and would in future stand by the Clergy (*le cose di prete*), but that whereas his master had distinctly declared his will more for one thing than for the other, he was bound to support him, and that the King would never consent to have the cause judged out of the kingdom, &c. The King after this made the same statement, and said he had prorogued Parliament (*la dieta*) that was to have met in England on the 2nd of October, for 20 days longer, after which, if no answer came, he would act for himself.

On the subject of the Florentines the King owned having written in their favour, but said that it was done at the instigation of other parties. He did not particularly wish for an English cardinal, but recommended the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) and Casale.

His (Borgo's) opinion is that the cause ought not to be proceeded with if the King promises to remain inactive, for the duke of Norfolk assured him the other day, as if it came from himself—not from the King—that he would stake his existence that if nothing was done at Rome his master would not proceed with the case in England.

Let this be a secret, but he (Borgo) imagines that a suspension of the cause for ever (*perpetuamente*) on condition however, of one of the parties giving notice one year or six months before might prove a good expedient. The King, however, disapproved of the matter being remitted to the General Council.

Another expedient: His Holiness might also endeavour to bring about an interview between the King and the Emperor, and get the former to agree to the cause being committed to the Rota.

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Hears that the King has asked that the duke of Orleans should go to Flanders on the plea of matrimony.—London, 16th September 1530.

Italian. Contemporary copy.

19 Sept. **430.** Opinion of the university of Salamanca concerning the Divorce of the king and queen of England.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 105. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 129.

Expose the facts of the case, prove that marriages of affinity are not contrary to Divine Law, and answer the objections raised against the validity of the Papal dispensation.—Salamanca, 19th September 1530.

Latin. pp. 12.

20 Sept. **431.** Clement VII. to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital., L. 593, f. 27. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 138.

Thanks him for the reduction of Florence. Commends the services of Ferrante Gonzaga, and refers for the rest to his nephew, Alessandro, bearer of this present, and to his legate at the Imperial court (Campeggio).—Rome, 20th September 1530.

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

— **432.** Notarial Instrument concerning the Divorce.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 111. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 139.

Affidavit of Diego Lopez de Fuentelisaz attesting that the Rector and doctors of the university of Alcalá have unanimously determined in five propositions concerning marriages of affinity favourable to the side of the queen of England.

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

20 Sept. **433.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 40.

Received the day before yesterday Your Majesty's letters of the 29th ult°, together with the power of attorney (*procuration*) to act in the Queen's affairs, which I hope to use in such a way as shall please and satisfy Your Majesty. I have informed the Queen of this and of all the rest, which has given her singular pleasure, and she is now in as good hope as she ever was. I will make every effort to keep her in it, omitting nothing which may be for her interest, and disregarding any suspicions which the King may entertain about my doings.

Your Majesty's instructions respecting the *bishop of Bayonne* have been most implicitly obeyed. I have, as related in my despatches of the 5th and 14th inst., lost no opportunity of informing him of Your Majesty's great desire for the observance of peace and continuation of the friendship between his master and yourself. The day after receiving his visit I went to return the attention; but he was not in, and the following day he had left very early. I have, therefore, been unable to speak further with him and inquire what his mission to this court was. I have, nevertheless, been assured in several quarters that the *ports were only closed* because

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after his altercation with the King *he (the Bishop) had threatened to leave* and report to his master that one of the chief *reasons for his coming over here was to bring the consent for the Princess' marriage to the son of the duke of Norfolk*, and to offer *the eldest daughter of France to the King himself*. I have not been able to discover any sign of this, nor do I think it very probable, for since *the fall (deboutemant) of the Cardinal, the French have carried on all their intrigues through the Lady and through her father and uncle*, whom, as they wish to keep on friendly terms with *this king, they would not dare to affront*. Besides, they well know that the love of *the King for the Lady is so great that he would not give her up for the eldest daughter of France, or anyone else in the world*. Nor do I think it likely either that the French would attempt any such thing, for *being short of money* they would rather put forward some scheme *either for drawing it from this* country, *or deferring their own payment* of the debt, than propose or countenance matrimonial alliances *which would, as in this case, necessitate an advance of money on their part*. They would, on the contrary, have a fair excuse for *retaining a part of the said debt, whilst there was a chance of the duke of Orleans marrying the Princess*, and even if they should be brought to consent to her *marrying the son of the duke of Norfolk* it might be for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with him; besides which it might well happen that on account of the said *marriage, as well as of that which the King meditates, the latter* finding himself in hot water with Your Majesty, and with *his subjects, would be compelled to purchase the French king's favour and aid by releasing him from the whole, or a part of his debt*. Many here share my opinion on this last point.

Yesterday the Papal Nuncio sent to say that he had returned from Court, and would call on me, as he had much to communicate in pursuance of his instructions. He came and gave me a long account of what had passed between the King and himself, which I will abridge as much as possible First, he said to the King that His Holiness had heard from certain spies (*par plusieurs et certainnes expiëz*), on whom he could rely, that the Turk would not venture to undertake anything this present year on account of the peace concluded between the Christian princes; but that hearing a few months since that in the conclusion of that peace there had been more dissimulation than sincerity and good-will, and that it would not be a lasting one, he was now making preparations to invade Europe next year by land and sea with three powerful armies. Therefore His Holiness entreated and exhorted the King to exert himself for the complete and thorough pacification of Christendom and resistance against the Turk. The King did not give the Nuncio time to finish his speech of persuasion and remonstrance, but replied hastily that such

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reports were unfounded, and circulated of intent (*controuves*), for had such extensive preparations for war been made by the Turk they must have been known to Your Majesty, who was the chief person concerned. The letters which he had quite recently received from the Imperial court, said nothing about a Turkish invasion, and he (the King) would not believe the report unless the Turk should make a forward movement at the invitation of the Venetians. After which the King repeated to the Nuncio, almost word for word, what he has always said on this subject to me, and not only did he (the King) whithhold then and there any promise of help against the Turk, but what is still worse, refused to give credence to the statements made on the Pope's behalf.

The Nuncio then went on to speak about the Queen's affairs, saying that the Pope felt much surprise that the King, instead of shewing any gratitude for all the favours bestowed upon him, should have been finding fault with His Holiness, and complaining of him, as he had done lately. The King could not find fault with the advocation of the case, or any other part of the proceedings hitherto instituted, all of which had been done in a strictly legal manner, and that it was Your Majesty who might and ought to complain of the favour shewn to the King in this and other ways, such as the prorogation of the proceedings whilst the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) was at Bologna, &c. The King, however, would not acknowledge that he was under any obligation to His Holiness; on the contrary, he maintained that all had been done by command of Your Majesty. The Nuncio said also that the Pope, though much pressed by you, would not consent to the suit being prosecuted during the vacations, but had, on the contrary, revoked the greater part of the proceedings, and foreborne from issuing any prohibition to the universities of Paris and others, although informed of the intrigues going on there, and of the injury likely to be done to ecclesiastical authority, adding, that since the King harboured such suspicions, His Holiness was content to withdraw entirely from the whole affair, as he would rather die or resign the Papacy than that this cause should be settled otherwise than to the mutual satisfaction of those concerned in it. After hearing which the King, in spite of the Nuncio's courteous and conciliating language, began to abuse the Pope and the Roman court in general, speaking of the need there was of a thorough reformation* [of the Church], that it was solely through the Pope that he was in this difficulty, for that he had sent him from Orvieto a brief expressly declaring the divorce to be a matter of necessity, and that now, as he knew from good authority, the Pope had promised Your Majesty that the decision should be given entirely in favour of the Queen. For these reasons

* "Ayant le roy ouy le tout, non obstant toutes les susdites cortoysies il commença a blasonner le pape en plusieurs sortes, et puys generallement la court romainne, et dire de la necessite dune bonne reformation."

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he (the King) would never consent to the cause being decided either at Rome or in any other place where the Pope or the Emperor had jurisdiction.

Then the Nuncio proposed that the King should choose two persons on his side and the Queen two on hers, and that these four should give sentence. The King said he would do nothing of the sort; he knew very well what the law was, and that whenever four judges had to decide upon a marriage question, two being in favour of and two against it, Law always gave sentence for the former. The Nuncio upon this made various suggestions, and at last proposed that to obviate this difficulty the Pope should elect a fifth judge to sit with the other four. This again the King declined, saying that it would be indirectly throwing the whole decision into the Pope's hands, and that if a fifth judge were absolutely necessary he should be content to have him nominated by the king of France, although he might well suspect him as well as Your Majesty, considering that one word from the Queen, your sister, might cause the nomination to fall entirely on the person you most desired. And upon the Nuncio here observing that the Pope should at least have a joint nomination of the fifth judge with the king of France, and mentioning also other modes for the said election, the King replied that this was all labour lost, that even if he would consent his people would never do so, for that it had been enacted by several ancient Popes (whose authority should, on account of their sanctity, be of more weight than that of recent ones), that no cause having its origin in this country should be advoked to another kingdom, and that he (the King) had recently sent to inform His Holiness of this privilege, and to request that in conformity with it he would allow the archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate and Legate of England, to give sentence in the cause, or else to permit that all the clergy of the kingdom, among whom there are (as he says) many learned and holy persons, should decide. "Should the Pope refuse this just and lawful request of mine (he added), I know well what I shall do, for having fulfilled my duty to God and my conscience, as well to my own subjects, as can be proved by the seals and signatures of all the nobility of this realm, I can safely proceed to action. I am now only awaiting the return of the messenger I have sent to Rome, to appeal to Parliament for a decision which that body cannot fail to give, as it will shortly re-assemble partly on this business; so that should the Emperor threaten me with war on this ground, I hope to be able to defend myself well with the help of my brother and perpetual ally the king of France, even should the Pope assist the Emperor. In such an event," the King added, "I would demand from the Pope to visit His Imperial Majesty with ecclesiastical censures for breaking old and new alliances, to which he is so solemnly pledged, and in which he ought not, and should not, for the sake of a woman, fail towards so great a friend as I am."

The Nuncio being quite unable to find any way of appeas-

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ing the King, and the hour being already late, then took his leave, begging the King to think over these matters before their next meeting.

Next day the King went out hunting and did not receive the Nuncio, but on the third day he sent word that he would see him either before or after going to the hunt. During the King's absence the duke of Norfolk spoke with the Nuncio about this marriage much to the same effect as he has done to me on various occasions, also of his great desire for the preservation of peace, and the devotion which he and his predecessors had always felt for the House of Burgundy, and asked the Nuncio whether it would not be an admirable plan to arrange a meeting between the Pope, Your Majesty, and the King, his master; when the Nuncio, having observed that the great distance would be a hindrance to the Pope's being present, the Duke rejoined that at any rate there would be no difficulty in bringing Your Majesty and the King together.

At this point the Nuncio was summoned to the King, whom he found more obstinate and louder in his invectives against the Pope than even at his first audience, stating that he only waited for the answer from Rome to bring this whole matter to a conclusion. That he had prorogued Parliament for 20 days merely to give time for the arrival of this answer, though common report said it was on account of the plague, and that Your Majesty had agreed with the princes of Germany, to convoke a General Council, which was entirely against the Pope's will (*à la barbe du Pape*). The Nuncio, seeing the King's obstinacy, pointed out the many dangers which might arise should the King precipitate the affair. If he would only promise not to move in it himself, he believed the Pope would also pause until some amicable settlement could be made. But notwithstanding all the Nuncio could say, the King declared that he would make no such promise, he would act as seemed best to himself. He was very well aware that Your Majesty, whom this case did not personally concern, and the Queen, who is in the enjoyment of her wealth and rank, would continually try to delay proceedings.

The Nuncio delayed taking leave of the King till the next day, hoping that he might on another occasion obtain a more favourable answer, but the interview proved just as fruitless as the previous ones. The Nuncio then intimated to the King that he had a letter of credence for the Queen, containing only the compliments usual on such occasions, and that with his permission he should like to present it, but this was denied. As the Nuncio informed me, the Pope had expressly instructed him *to ask the King's leave to deliver the said letter* to the Queen, *because should the request be refused,* as it has actually been, *it would be a still further proof of the King's bad feeling in the affair.*

Just as the Nuncio was about to leave, the duke of Norfolk came up to him, and resuming the conversation on the choice of impartial judges, the Nuncio said that the King had spoken to him of the prospect of a General Council being held,

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and that the best thing for him to do was to place this decision in their hands. The Duke seemed very much surprised at this information, and therefore *went off at once to speak of it to the King, and returning almost immediately, said that the King declared he had never said a word about a General Council. At last the Duke told the Nuncio that, although the King had not named this, he might write to the Pope and say positively that the King promised upon his honour that this question of the divorce should not be brought before Parliament,* begging the Nuncio at the same time that the whole of this conversation and engagement should be kept perfectly secret, and especially that *the Pope should not mention it to his ambassadors at Rome, nor he (the Nuncio) to me.* After which the Nuncio left Court, accompanied only by the Italian secretary, who had attended him on his way thither, *his reception upon the whole being but indifferent.*

After the Nuncio had related all this to me, he added that he feared the evil was too deeply rooted or too far gone to yield to gentle treatment; *it needed now cautery and incision, and other strong remedies. It was, moreover, to be feared that should this course be adopted at Rome, the King would immediately bring some measure before his Parliament,* from which there could be no retreat—*the advice and will of the people being attended to—except by war, at which France would be only too glad, as it would give her an opportunity to revenge and compensate herself for all her losses;* and that latterly, as he (the Nuncio) was passing through France, there was some rumour (quelque fumee) of undertaking the conquest of the county of Dast (Asti) in the name of the duke of Orleans.* The Nuncio concluded by saying that it might after all be wise to suspend all further measures until Your Majesty and this king could meet; but still he would in this *be guided by my advice and His Holiness' commands.* Shewed the Nuncio most distinctly that *moderation with this king only made him more obstinate,* for formerly he himself had urged the Queen to consent to *the case being advocated to Cambray, to be there decided by impartial judges (of which plan the duke of Norfolk had also spoken to me) and now on the Pope's earnest request he refused.* Represented to him also that no good could arise, *but a great deal of mischief, from delaying the proceedings*; that the true thing to do was *for the Pope to deliver sentence at Rome immediately, for then the King would find no one in his kingdom or elsewhere to help him in a quarrel against the Church,* and that it would never do to wait for the meeting of the Council, as it was quite uncertain when it could take place, and would be besides equal to throwing the whole responsibility *on Your Majesty's*

* "Quil estoit a craindre que recommançant de proceder a Rome que ce Roi en ses etatz ne procedat a œuvre de fayt, que ne se pourroit retraytter, l'y entretenant le conseil et volonte du peuple sans violence de guerre, et que la France seroit trop aise de veoir ce jeu pour se pouvoir venger et recompenser de ses pertes et hasars."]

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shoulders, and giving the King an opening for quarrelling with you, for the King (I observed) probably assumes that were he to meet you, *he would, either by argument or importunity, induce you to grant his requests,* which I was quite certain you would never do, and were the refusal to be given in person the King's vexation would be all the greater. Other considerations did I put forward on this occasion, too long to be given here in detail, all of which the Nuncio thought right and reasonable. The Nuncio has therefore determined to follow my advice and *write to the Pope that the only thing to be done is to have sentence passed at once in this affair, and in the meantime prevent Parliament here from taking any decided step in* the matter, and address to the King a "bref reaggravatoire" (final monition of excommunication) *following upon the one issued at Bologna,* with a commission for its presentation *to the King and other parties concerned,* without which *precaution it would be of no avail.*

The letters which the Nuncio is writing on this point go by the present courier, may it please Your Majesty to have them forwarded as soon as possible, that there may be no further delay *in the proceedings at Rome, and that the brief may arrive here before the meeting of Parliament, which will be about the 20th of October.*

As a welcome to the Nuncio, seeing how little was shewn him on the way, they have published here, to a grand flourish of trumpets, an edict of which an Italian translation is enclosed,* which edict, as the Nuncio well knows, has only been issued to spite the Pope, and in some manner intimidate him against making the matter worse.† The order to publish the edict was issued on the very day that the Nuncio had his first audience from the King, as plainly appears from the date of that document. Indeed, had it not been for the above-named reason and for the King's wish to annoy His Holiness, there could have been no object in making prohibitions (*defenses*), for no man in the kingdom, after seeing how a cardinal legate coming from the Pope had been received here, would venture to thwart the King's will. It may be that by the comprehensive nature of the said prohibitions, the King desires to prevent any opposition being offered to him in the Queen's case, which he fears much more than anything else actually dealt with in the said edict.

The Nuncio says that there has been for some time in the court of France, *secretly, an ambassador from the Vayvod, who is afterwards to come here.*

The greater part of the prelates and clergy of this country are just now in a state of great consternation, for they are being proceeded against for having paid the Cardinal honour as Papal Legate, and the King maintains, as I have already informed Your Majesty, that for this reason all their goods and preferments are to be confiscated, and they themselves imprisoned.

* Not in the letter.

† "Lequel edit, comme bien cognoyt le dit nonce, na este preconnise sinon pour [despit du pape et pour luy donner quelque craincte."

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The number of bishops and abbots in this predicament exceeds 60, of the other clergy 150.*

The Chancellor, I hear, has spoken so much in the Queen's favour that he has had a narrow escape of being dismissed.

The King has discovered of late that what passed *in his Privy Council got wind,* and now he has taken such rigid measures and precautions that it is impossible for *the Queen or anyone else to learn the least thing of any importance except by means of bribery and pensions,* as I have already informed Your Majesty.—London, 20th September 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 8.

23 Sept. **434.** The Emperor to Miguel Mai.

S. E. L. 1,557, ff. 99–101. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 140.

His letters of the 24th and 30th ult° have come to hand.

Malatesta.—Marquis del Vasto.—Florence.

Wishes that the affairs of this latter city be arranged in such a manner that the Florentines enter into a league with him (the Emperor) and the Pope, and contribute a certain sum of money.

The Italians have no reason to be dissatisfied with the appointment of the duke of Mantua (Federigo de Gonzaga), to be commander-in-chief of the forces.

The Germans to be re-engaged for three months.—Their pay.—He (Mai) is to assist the Pope in the enterprize against Bracciano; and not to attach faith to what the abbot of Farfa and his abettors may tell him.

Concerning the general undertaking against the Turks, he (Mai) is to negociate with the Pope according to his instructions. Although considerable sums have already been spent in that service he (the Emperor) is willing to contribute towards it at the rate that has been proposed. But if a good and solid peace can be obtained the Pope must guard against granting a crusade to the King [of France] on the plea of a Turkish war.

His information from France accords with that received by the Pope. The King's intentions as regards the Council seem to be good.

Neapolitan finances and "fuorusciti."—Highwaymen in the kingdom of Naples.

The Pope's claims on the duke of Ferrara.

There can be no doubt that the English will try every means to carry out their purpose in the cause of the queen of England. He (Mai) is to pay the greatest attention to the subject, and report constantly what is being done. Rodrigo Niño will have informed him of what the bishop of London (Stokesley) did in Venice in order to obtain opinions in favour of the King, his master. He has since gone to Bologna

* "Le nombre des evesques et abbes que sont aux dits filles (filets?) passe soixante; des aultres prestres plus de cent et cinquante."

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for the same purpose, and it is reported that he has, in fact, obtained some. That is not proper behaviour, especially in a city like Bologna, belonging to the Pope, and where there is a college founded by a Spanish cardinal. Has, therefore, ordered that representations be made to the Cardinal Legate, and commands him (Mai) to go at once and speak to the Pope on the subject.

Rodrigo Niño writes from Venice that the Pope has issued a very strong brief respecting the opinions given by the Paduan doctors. Cannot believe it, for if such a brief had been issued he (Mai) would have mentioned it. However this may be, he (Mai) is charged to use the greatest possible diligence in this affair.

Abbacy of Montearagon.—Castille.—Church patronage.—Crusade.—Isabella Colonna.—Antonio di San Felice.—Siena.—Augusta (Augsburg), 23rd September 1530.

P.S.—The religious question is taking an unfavourable turn. Some persons are negociating with the Lutherans, hoping to persuade them to forsake their errors. Fears that they will not succeed.

Marriage of Doña Julia, daughter of queen Isabella [of Naples] with the duke of Mantua.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of secretary. Idiaquez. pp. 12.

25 Sept. **435.** Lope Hurtado to the Empress.

S. E. L. 369, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 129.

The king of Portugal* is now sending Bernaldino de Tavora to visit the queen of France (Eleanor). He has begun to proceed against the Lutherans, and has ordered some Germans to be cast in prison.—Lisbon, 25th September 1530.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 Sept. **436.** The Abbot of Llor to Francisco de los Covos.

S. E. L. 859, f. 147.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 143.

The Emperor's last letters concerning Modena have given great satisfaction in Rome.

Has informed the ambassadors (Mai and Osma) that a Venetian has been secretly dispatched from Rome to England. He pretends that he will return soon with a good and satisfactory answer. The Venetian, in his opinion, ought to be arrested on the road. Knows him very well; he is very dangerous, being a learned man. Has, therefore, given an exact and detailed description of his person to the ambassadors. His name is Miçer Marco,† 65 or 70 years of age.—Rome, 16th September 1530.

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and noble lord, Secretary Covos, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

* This king of Portugal was Dom João. Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza] was still accredited to him.

† The copy reads Marlo, which I have not hesitated to change into Marco.

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— **437.*** The Opinion of Brother Felix de Prato.

S. E. L. 206, f. 139 v°.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 273.

Certain theologians of a recent school pretend that a marriage with a deceased brother's wife is prohibited by Divine Law, as the sacrifice abrogated only the ceremonial and judicial precepts of the Old Testament, but confirmed its moral teachings. Husband and wife are one person in the flesh. As, therefore, marriages between persons related in the first degree of consanguinity are forbidden, so are also forbidden the marriages between persons related in the first degree of affinity. The Pope cannot dispense where these obstacles exist any more than he can permit a man to have two wives.

This is the gist of the reasoning on the one side. On the other side it is asserted that the Pope can permit a marriage with a deceased brother's widow, and they maintain that such a marriage is not prohibited by Divine Law, but only by human law. By the former, that of Mount Sinai, marriages between brothers and sisters were not forbidden. Papal dispensations are not to be judged according to general rules, but only according to the peculiarities and circumstances of the persons concerned. The Prophets confirmed this doctrine, as for instance in the case of the "meretrice uxore," and others.

His opinion is that the Pope can dispense in cases of marriages in the first degree of affinity.

Latin. Transcript from the Roman Archives, pp. 14. *English abstract by Bergenroth.*

27 Sept. **438.** Cardinal Grimaldi to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 146.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 144.

Thanks the Emperor for his kind letters, and again offers his services. Writes in credence of Miçer Andrea Grimaldi, who will verbally explain his affectionate regard and readiness to serve.—Rome, 27th September 1530.

Signed: "Cardinalis Grimaldo."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½

28 Sept. **439.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 98–100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 146.

On the 16th inst., after his letters of the 26th ult°, 4th and 12th inst., the bishop of Vasone (Vaison) arrived, who the morning after sent his secretary to say he was going to the College-hall, and wished to know whether he could do anything for him, for he had been instructed by the Pope to do so. Told him that he might apply for the payment of the 25,000 ducats, which His Holiness had engaged to pay by the convention (*capitulacion*) of Bologna in case the Signory

* This document is without date, but from the place it occupies in Berzosa's collection of transcripts from the Vatican, it is clear that it was drawn about the end of September. See Niño's despatches of the 25th of May.

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refused. The Bishop promised to do so, and went to the College-hall, and announced that the duke Alessandro and he were both going by the command of the Pope to Your Imperial Majesty to compliment you on the good success of Florence. The "Dieci" answered that they were glad of it, but as to the payment of the money, they refused saying that they had no means of making it (*ninguna forma tenian de hacerla.*)

Coming out of the College the Bishop called and gave him the Papal brief announcing the Duke's and his own departure for Germany, to compliment Your Majesty, &c. Replied that their mission had been known for some time at Venice, and that people suspected they only went thither for the purpose of getting the Duke appointed king of Tuscany, which would be a very offensive measure to the Venetians, if it should be carried into effect. The mere suspicion of such an appointment had been the sole cause of their unwillingness to enter sincerely into His Holiness' views. They were much displeased at the issue of the Florentine disturbances, and would gladly have helped that city had it not been that they refrained out of respect for Your Majesty. The Bishop positively denied such to be the object of his mission, and confirmed his former statement. He left that very night for Trent, there to take up the duke Alessandro, and continue their journey.

Next day I, myself, went to the College-hall, and the councillors told me with a rather incredulous air what the Bishop had stated to be the object of his mission, and that if they had refused payment it was because, though they were willing to do anything that was agreeable to Your Majesty, they had not at present the means, as it was with the greatest difficulty that they could meet their own debt to Your Majesty.

On the very same day that the Bishop was here the duke of Mantua wrote to his agent in this city that he had received orders from Your Majesty to disband (*deshazer*) the Imperial army, dismissing the Italians altogether, sending the Spaniards to Naples, and the Germans to Germany, which intelligence caused great joy here at Venice, and calmed their suspicions and fears; but having since heard that our troops have not yet evacuated Tuscany, their suspicions have been aroused more than ever.

On the 23rd this Signory had letters from their ambassador in France stating that three great personages were soon to start on various missions; one to Your Majesty, another to the Pope, and a third to the king of England. This and a conversation, which the ambassador of France had the other day with cardinal Pisani, has so puzzled the Signory that they have sent a man expressly to Rome to ascertain what those princes, and especially the French king, are about. And they say that a message from France has been conveyed to the Pope to this effect: that Florence being his (the Pope's) native country, and he having a right to do as he pleased

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there, king Francis had hitherto refrained from helping the citizens, as it was his duty to do; but if he (the Pope) attacked the duke of Ferrara, as was rumoured, he would be obliged to defend him. Meanwhile the Duke writes to his ambassador that he intends coming and spending a few days here. The same is announced of the duke of Milan. What their object may be we shall see.

On the 26th the Signory had letters from their ambassador with the Turk, who, it was said, had gone to Anatolia, leaving all his bashas at Constantinople, with the exception of Ibrahim, whom he had taken with him. Yet it appears that the negociations for making Constantinople a mart for the spices still continued, at which these Venetians were terribly frightened, as it would be the ruin of their city. Among other things which they were about to send to the Turk in order to propitiate him, there is a talk of sending him a unicorn horn in a gold casket which they have among their treasure.—Venice, 28th September 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

30 Sept. **440.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 102.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 152.

The Turkish undertaking and his own idea about the Venetians.

Rumours of a marriage to take place between the Vayvod and queen Mary [of Hungary].

The duke of Mantua, as Your Majesty has been informed, wishes to return to his first marriage with the daughter of the marquis of Monferrato. The Abbadin has been to Mantua, and brought news that Your Majesty referred the matter to the Pope, which statement was then published. Now intelligence has since been received that the lady herself is dead, and I am secretly informed that the Mantuan ambassador has had letters from his master to that effect. But nevertheless the Duke will not marry Doña Julia [Giulia], because he alleges that being married to the other sister, as he pretends, he cannot possibly marry this one. This, however, he keeps secret, I cannot say whether for the sake of obtaining better counsel, for I am told he has sent to Siena to procure Il Decio's opinion on the case, or whether he is waiting for God to solve the difficulty, because there was a rumour the other day that Doña Julia (Giulia) was unwell. At any rate he would not like this to become public.

A marriage is spoken of between the son of the duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo) and the Pope's niece (Catarina), and the Pope tells me that among the things which Malatesta [Baglione] asked of the Pope after the surrender of Florence, one was the hand of another of his nieces "la duchesina di Camarino" for his son.

* *Marginal note in the hand of Covos.* "The ambassador is to assure the Pope of the Emperor's good-will."

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The other day it was rumoured at the Palace, and throughout Rome, that the duke of Malfi (Piccolomini) was about to rise at Siena. Though the report cannot be true I have written to Lope de Soria to be on his guard.

Affairs of Genoa and discontent of the people with Andrea Doria, reported in a letter from a Luquese to the Pope.

Cardinals Osma and Tarbes.—Misrepresentations (*chismes*) of the latter, and his endeavours to bring on a quarrel between cardinal de' Medici and the duke Alessandro.

Jacopo Salviati is not so high in the Pope's favour as he used to be, though in public there appears to be no change. Two are the causes, as I presume: one, that in this Florentine affair Salviati is of a contrary opinion as to the form of government to be established in that city; the other that, as I am told, his accounts of the time he administered the Pope's finances are being looked into, and just at the beginning a deficit of 100,000 crs. has been found.

This same Salviati told Miçer Andrea del Burgo in secret that things were not quite so smooth as we imagined. The most Christian King, he said, pined more than ever for the duchy of Milan, as well as for the amendment of some of the articles in the treaty of Cambray; he hated the Pope, and if he could only agree with Your Majesty, would certainly work for his deposition.

The Council.—The Pope is very much out of spirits, he has frequent conversations with Tarbes and the Venetian ambassador. There can be no doubt that the whole thing is extremely odious to him on two considerations: the first that he is afraid of Your Majesty and the king of France meeting, in which case the balance is sure to turn against him; besides which, all other considerations apart, the circumstance of his being a bastard* might tell wonderfully against him. The other is that pontifical madness (*locura*) prevails amongst the cardinals to such a degree that half a dozen of them at least at the present moment wish to become Popes.

Mentioned in one of my despatches that a marriage between the widow of Vespasiano Colonna, and sister of Luigi Gonzaga, and the son of Renzo da Ceri (Giovan Paolo) had been much talked of. Has since seen Gonzaga about it, and represented to him that a lady of her quality, having a dowry of 30,000 crs., could not be married to the son of a "condottiero," who had done so much harm to the Imperial cause.

The governor of Bracciano has refused to surrender the "rocca" into the hands of Gregory Casale, as agreed.

Cardinal Mantua has returned from a visit to his sister, the duchess of Urbino. I have visited him, though we Imperialists have little to expect from him, he being a

* Clement VII., whose name, before the Pontificate, was Giulio de' Medici, was the natural son of Alessandro.

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Frenchman at heart. Doria, however, will soon come to Rome and counterbalance his influence.—Rome, 30th September 1530.

Signed: "Miçer Mai."

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Rome of the 30th of September."

Spanish. Original. pp.* 10.

30 Sept. **441.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 52–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 159.

Reports the arrival [at Florence] of a German (*tudesco*) named Juachin, who says he has come by order of His Majesty [the Emperor] and of the king of Hungary, his brother, for the purpose of watching the ambassador of the Vayvod, who is in France. Has paid him 200 crs.—Florence, 30th September 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

30 Sept. **442.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 849, f. 58. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 161.

His Majesty's ciphered letter of the 23rd came duly to hand. Had no time to decipher it before the departure of the courier. Intends to leave for Rome in a day or two, but should very much like to consult two or three points in his instructions, principally about the army and the best means of disposing of it.—Florence, 30th September 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 8.

30 Sept. **443.** The Emperor to the Empress.

S. E. L. 635, ff. 91–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 168.

Press of business has prevented his answering her letters of the 22nd of June and 9th of July.

Preparations of a fleet against Algiers, and reasons why they ought to be discontinued for the present.—Andrea Doria to remain in Spain till October for the protection of the coast of the Mediterranean.—Don Alvaro to receive by inventory the two galleys and two galeots taken from the Moors of Algiers by Andrea Doria. Upon estimation their value to be paid to him. The galleys of Il Gobo, Martin de Arego, and six more from Barcelona to remain on guard off the eastern coast. —Cannot spare for the present the two galleys promised to the Order of St. John.

Death of Bartholomé Ferrer, the treasurer.

A servant of the marquis of Comares, the governor of Oran, has come and complains that his master is not properly supplied with provisions, &c. The Marquis offers to tender his resignation.

Doña Luisa de Acuña and Don Manrique de Lara.

* The abstract itself is in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez, and the marginal notes are by Covos.

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The churches of Murcia and Carthagena.—Augusta (Augsburg), 13th September 1530.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Addressed: "To the most serene, most high, and most powerful Empress and Queen, my very dear and very beloved wife."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

— **444.** ACCOUNT of business done at the DIET of AUGSBURG.

S. Pat. Re. Conc. y Disc. L. 1, f. 44. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 181.

Ratio rerum gestarum in comitiis Augustæ Vindelicorum habitis pro Religione Christiana. Anno Domini MDXXX.

Latin. Contemporary copy in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. pp. 3.

1 Oct. **445.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 41.

Last Sunday the Papal Nuncio went to Court to complain of the edict (*constitution*) recently promulgated here, and of which I enclosed a copy in my last despatch. Before he was admitted to the Royal presence, he happened to meet the duke of Norfolk in the ante room, and began telling him the cause of his visit, &c. The Duke having requested him to communicate on the subject with the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Wiltshire, the Nuncio represented to them how the said edict had been promulgated to the visible prejudice and vilification (*vilipeinne*) of the Apostolic See, and how much better it would have been if the King had, through his ambassadors [at Rome], requested His Holiness to forbear from enforcing any measures at variance with the laws and customs of England. The Pope, he observed, had never done anything of the sort in times past, but had always striven to augment rather than diminish the privileges and prerogatives of the King and kingdom. Upon which the said gentlemen began to say that they cared neither for Pope or Popes in this kingdom, not even if St. Peter should come to life again; that the King was absolute both as Emperor and Pope in his own kingdom, and that His Holiness was doing all he possibly could to alienate the affection of the English, who had done him such good service, and shewed him incredible obedience, not, indeed, because they were bound to do so, but quite voluntarily.* After a little more taunting (*braveries*) of a like nature, the Duke and the others restraining their anger somewhat, said that it now rested entirely with His Holiness to make this king and kingdom more devoted and

* "Les susdits seigneurs luy commençarent (*sic*) a dire quil navoint affere en ce royaume ne de Pape ne de Papes, se oeres que resuscita Sainct Pierre, cart le Roy estoit Empereur et Pape absolu en son royaume, et que sa sainctete tenoit tous moyens a luy possibles pour soy allener de la volente de ce royaume que luy avoit fait tant de service et monstre incredible obedience, sans toutesfoys y avoer tel debuver (devoir) may seullement de pure gratuité."

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obedient to him than any other nation in the world, and that would be by acceding to the request made by the King through his late ambassador. If he would not do this he must abide the consequences, for they would do wonders.

After a good deal of argument, the Nuncio took the duke of Norfolk aside, and said they all were greatly mistaken if they thought by such like edicts and statutes to intimidate His Holiness; that his greatness, authority, and magnanimity raised him above all sense of fear, and that they should consider that such disorderly proceedings would in the end redound rather to the discredit of this king and kingdom than of the Pope. The Duke listened for some time to the Nuncio's speech, and then went in to the King's cabinet, who was with his Council for more than an hour before the Nuncio was called in. Once introduced to the Royal presence, the King said to the Nuncio that he did not recollect having had any edict published to the Pope's prejudice, but that if he (the Nuncio) would point out wherein the offence lay, it should be set right. That by virtue of his prerogative and authority he had desired to guard against any opposition to the ordinances which he had already made, and was about to make, in Parliament for the reformation of the Clergy in his dominions, and had purposely avoided delay lest the Pope should in the meantime issue some contrary decretal, and excuse himself on the ground of the practices of the Roman court (*sur le stille de la cort*), as he did when his ambassadors were cited at Bologna.

Many other things did the King say on this occasion full of covert menaces, from which the Nuncio could clearly gather that the said edicts had been published solely to prevent any measures being taken against him on behalf of the Queen. Then the King complained that the Pope acquainted the Imperial agents [at Rome] with all that passed between himself and the English ambassadors, to whose representations he paid no attention whatever, and that he was greatly surprised at the delay in the return of the messenger he had recently sent to Rome, which could only be occasioned by *the Pope's waiting till he could get an answer from Your Majesty.* He also said that he had heard *that his couriers had been attacked on the road, and was surprised* that *His Holiness should suffer this;* but that he would have this stopped, for that *he should lay his case before his good brother,* the king of France, *who would espouse it as if it were his own, since what concerned the one concerned the other also. At last the King inquired whether the Nuncio had yet spoken to me,* and whether I had asked him about the cause of his coming over, and what answer he (the Nuncio) had given. The Nuncio replied that certainly I had put some questions to him about his charge, but that he had answered in general terms without specifying his principal object, *at which the King seemed well pleased, telling* the Nuncio to communicate as little as possible

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to me, for I was (he said) far too one-sided in this matter, as he had already stated at their first interview.

The Nuncio has shewn me a letter dated from Paris the 10th ult°, in which the Vayvod's agent, who has now resided for some months at the court of France, writes word that having fulfilled the mission on which his master had sent him to the most Christian King, he was obliged to return at once. He was very sorry not to have seen him (the Nuncio) in Paris, as he had several important matters to communicate, and he begged he would send him tidings through the English ambassador at Venice. Now I have reasons to suspect this letter to have been written in England, and that the writer alludes to his departure from Paris merely in order to escape observation in this country. This is, after all, the safest route for him to take, and it is not probable that he could be here [in England] without first having an interview with the King, who has always been on good terms with his master.* I will do my utmost to find out the truth of this matter. This man is the same one who, when Your Majesty was last at Bologna, came as far as Padua on his way to the Pope, but not having a safe-conduct he was obliged to leave, and went to the French court, where he has resided ever since.

The French ambassadors' servants have spread a report that Mons. d'Orleans is coming over here, and some of them have already petitioned Mons. de Norfolk, should he come, to allow them to enter his service. I have not been able to gain any certain information about this, but there seems to be little preparation at present for such an arrival.

The Queen has been rather uneasy at the publication of these prohibitory edicts (*cries et prohibitions*), as she thinks that if *the King so despises the Papal authority, he will not obey any mandate or sentence given by His Holiness*, and she is also much grieved at the general course of affairs in this country, which is certainly a very bad precedent, and must lead to dangerous consequences.

This morning a courier arrived, sent on the 20th ult° by the English ambassadors at Rome, by whom His Holiness writes to his Nuncio that in the hope of his succeeding in time in persuading the King to agree to the cause being decided at Rome, His Holiness had, at the special request of the English ambassadors, consented to delay proceedings until news came from the said Nuncio, whom the Pope most earnestly exhorts to do all he can to obtain the King's consent to the above measure. Notwithstanding *the said directions, the Nuncio, seeing the King's obstinacy, has not returned*

* "Je doubteres que le dit homme naye escripte la lettre estant desia en ce pays mesme, et quil aye signiffie son departement de Paris affin que lon ne pregne garde sur luy, et nest vraysemblable que estant çy pres de ce roy auquel son dit maystre a eu tosiours intelligence, attendu ausy que cest son plus seur chemin, quil passe sans saluer le roy."

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to Court with the letters, but has written positively to the Pope, as the enclosed letters will shew,* that it is imperatively necessary for him to proceed at once to pass sentence, since there is no hope whatever of prevailing on the King to alter his course. Begs that the letters be forwarded at once.

Jehan Jocquin, who accompanied the bishop of Bayonne to Dover on his departure [from this city], has remained in that town until his return here to-day. He stayed there on pretence of re-building a small hermitage on the sea coast near Dover, but probably some more important business detained him there, for though the King summoned him to Court three weeks ago, he has made no haste to come. Some think he is waiting for the arrears of his pensions here, or for the arrival of the Vayvod's agent above named; others say to maintain an appearance of offence at what passed between the King and the Bishop some time ago.—London, 1st October 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England; October 1st. Received the 13th."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

2 Oct. **446.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, f. 105. E. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 204.

My despatch of the 15th ult° contained a copy of the petition (*memorial*) which Andrea [del Burgo] and I, as proctors to the queen of England, presented to His Holiness in her behalf. I had carefully noted on the margin the answer given to the three articles, for the execution of which two letters have been dispatched from hence: one to the Nuncio in France, to obtain possession of the book,† and the other to the Nuncio in England, asking for information on these two points, first respecting the bribery and threats employed in obtaining the seals in England, and secondly to ascertain whether the Queen had or had not been known by her first husband.‡ My advice is that the Emperor write him a letter, praising his devotion and services, and recommending to him the Queen's interests.

With regard to the other four articles, for which, as I said in the Pope's presence, and before Ancona and Sanctiquatuor, I was waiting, I merely asked for what was put down in the petition itself, viz., first that the universities which had pronounced against the Queen, or rather against the Pope, should be asked what reason they had for so doing, and secondly, that they should now be lawfully convoked, and every

* No copy is appended of these letters of the Nuncio to the Pope; but most likely it is the one under No. 429, dated the 16th September.

† "Para que cobre aquel libro," probably the one mentioned by Garay in his letter of the 9th of April.

‡ "Y si la Reyna fue conocida del primer marido."

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doctor called upon to justify his vote on whichever side it was given, and that no university should give an opinion in this matter without receiving *first* full information from here.*

With regard to the brief, I have applied for one enjoining the King to separate from his mistress (*la señora que ama*), and for Parliament to take no cognizance at all of the affair; they have promised that I should have it after due notice being given to the English ambassadors.

The above is said to prove that had it not been for Ancona, who, as related, was present when the Pope promised all this, and a good deal more, nothing would have been obtained. He (Ancona) promised me still more the other day, but I consider this sufficient for the present, and beg Your Majesty to acknowledge the services of that cardinal and write him a letter of commendation, for certainly he has been very useful on this occasion, and may be more so in future.

The English ambassadors have presented to the Pope a very disgraceful letter from the Kingdom, of which I have very secretly obtained a copy. It must likewise be kept secret [in Germany] for fear the present negociations about the Council should be put an end to. They tell me that the original has many more signatures that could not be read or transcribed. Your Majesty will have it examined by competent people, when it will be found that the whole document is badly conceived and worse expressed, though I rather think this has been done on purpose, and that many things the King himself did not like to say he causes others to say for him. An answer is to be made here such as they deserve, and a brief issued at the same time, forbidding them under grave censures to have the affair at all discussed in their parliaments or elsewhere. As this, however, might be concealed from the Queen, I shall not feel satisfied until they give me the brief separately.

More than a month ago the English ambassadors pressed the Pope to say beforehand what declaration he is about to make in the case. This, as the Pope himself told me at the time, and as I have since heard from another quarter, he has refused, having resisted their applications until now. I can easily believe it, because it behoves him (*le está bien*) to do so, and the English complain of it.†

The said ambassadors have since asked for a delay of 15 days after the commencement of term, which the Pope has refused to grant without my consent. This I would not for a long time give, but at last being greatly importuned by the English (*que le matavan*), he (the Pope) sent for me and for Ancona, that both might persuade me to grant the said delay.

* "Y que ninguna universidad aconseje en este caso sin ser informada de aqui de él."

† "Mas ha de un mes que estos angleses (*sic*) combaten al Papa que les diga lo que ha de declarar; el qual, segun me dize, y yo lo he sabido despues por otras partes, se ha bien defendido hasta agora, y yo lo creo porque a él le está bien, y porque los angleses se quexan dello."

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The Pope was the first to mention the thing to me, he, and Ancona, remarking, as is their wont, that a delay of 15 days was nothing at all, and might give time for the King to appear here at Rome, &c., but when he heard what I had to say in reply, he agreed that I was right and that he would no longer entertain the subject. At last he proposed a middle course, which was not to open the Rota until the 8th of October, and as nothing is usually done in the first week after its opening this would be equal to granting them the 15 days' delay.

The ambassadors insist on two points which they allege as sufficiently strong to justify the Pope in dissolving the King's marriage without a legal process: the first, as set forth in the letter from the notables, in order that the Kingdom may not remain without an heir male; the second, the protest which they say the King made once, as I have already written to Your Majesty, by virtue of which he considers himself not only as released before God [from his marriage]* but as being actually in mortal sin by continuing in it, this being his principal reason for the divorce. This last course, I am told, has been advised by Decio; but both are equally false and bad, and have been very triumphantly answered here "en derecho." I am, however, sure that the Pope will not give in, firstly because I have his most solemn promise, and secondly, because it would be so unfit for him to grant such a thing; indeed even if he were inclined to do so his cardinals would not follow him.†

Decio's opinion in this matter has actually turned this people crazy (*les torna locos*), because he still maintains that there was no sufficient cause for the dispensation. I told Your Majesty in one of my last despatches that Decio was once my master, and that I had written to Don Lope [de Soria] to procure me a copy of his opinion (*consejo*). I have now got it and keep it by me, as it may be useful to know beforehand the arguments of our opponents that we may the better defeat them. I have great confidence that we shall be able to do so in the end, and have already begun to study the case during the few hours that my official duties permit me. Decio himself, as I presume, will help, for he says that he will write the very contrary of what he has written, if we only pay him for it.‡

Your Majesty will be glad to hear that here this very year, among the Roman Jews, one has been compelled to marry the widow of his brother, who had died without children, a thing which not only is not prohibited, as we maintain, but is actually enjoined by Jewish law.

It may be that with Decio's authority in his favour, the King may take courage to come over here for the trial, the

* "Et qual dise que a lo menos quanto á Dios no es ligado a matrimonio."

† "Y soy seguro que el Papa no lo hará, no solo porque me lo ha prometido pero por que ni le estaria [á él] bien, ni le seguirian los cardenales."

‡ "Y ahun el mesmo Decio por su virtud promete que escriuirá en contrario si le pagan."

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more so that, if he does not, he runs the risk of being condemned by contumacy (*en rebeldia.*) I wish it above all things.

The papers and deeds that were to come from England and Castille have not yet been received; without them the cause cannot be prosecuted.

These ambassadors are soliciting a cardinal's hat for the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci). The Pope is gradually being persuaded into this (*se va intrincando*). He says that he has given commission to the Baron del Borgo, his nuncio in England, to inquire whether it be true or not that the King wishes for the said Auditor to be made a cardinal. The answer, to be sure, will be that not only does the King wish for the hat to be given him, but that he is ready to send an ambassador expressly for that purpose. I am very much afraid that the Pope will in the end pledge his word and proceed, as he did in the case of Tarbes, because, though I warned him in time, as I have done in the present case, and he has promised to keep my warning in mind, the result will perhaps be the same. Of the Auditor I am still more afraid, for by being promoted to the cardinalate he leaves the best and most lucrative office in Rome.

The French and English both complain that Scalenga (De Scalengues) intercepts their correspondence at Asti. I believe this to be untrue, or at least very much exaggerated. Yet not to give them matter for complaint at the present moment, a letter might be written to Scalenga about it, which might be shewn to the French and English ambassadors at the Imperial court.

The king of England writes to Sir Gregory Casale that a charge has been brought against him to the effect that he had not used proper diligence in this matter, which, he says, he cannot believe, and newly commits the affair to his care, and promises great rewards if he should succeed. Casale is rather touchy, and has, as I am told, written in his own justification a very long and very discreet letter,* wherein he tells the King many truths respecting the affairs he has here in hand, warning him not to be deceived by false reports.

I mentioned in another despatch that Casale did at one time earnestly request me to allow the cause to be prorogued till the convocation or the meeting of the [General] Council, which request in my opinion is sufficiently indicative of what the king of England is aiming at. I am, moreover, told, as I did inform Your Majesty, that had not the Florentines come to terms, the English themselves would have undertaken the defence of the city.†

The same Gregory Casale promised to cardinal Trani, who

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* "El Casal es algo vivo, y por su honra ha escripto segun me dicen a su Rey las verdades de lo que alcança por aca y que allá no le engañen; plega (*sic*) a Dios que aproveche."

† "A no concertarse lo de Florentia, ellos se [lo?] desconcertaran porque tomaran la defensior le ella."

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certainly is not one of the most learned or respected in the Sacred College—an income of 10,000 ducats in England. As the world acts on such low and interested motives, the Cardinal himself told this to d'Osma, and some time after talking to [cardinal] Tortosa boasted that he could easily, if he chose, get a larger sum from the one or from the other of the parties, and that most certainly he did not intend to let such opportunity pass.

Reminds the Emperor of a request he once made in Mantua respecting the naturalization of Miçer Silvestro, the auditor of Ancona.—Rome, 2nd October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. et C. M^{ti}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

2 Oct. **447.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 8 5 f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 215.

Wrote in September last by the ordinary post. Since then the state of the divorce case is as follows: The cause has been prosecuted with the re-commencement of term. The Pope himself and others have importuned him (Mai) to prorogue it for 15 more days, but this he has persistently refused, as he has been deceived two or three or four times already, and received besides positive orders from the Emperor to prosecute the affair. The Pope has behaved so well in the matter that, although the English ambassadors earnestly requested him for this delay, he never would grant it without his (Mai's) consent. Is, however, in a very awkward position, for should the cause commence again, and the papers and documents required for the defence not arrive, he might find himself in a fix. The Emperor wrote some time ago that the papers from Spain would soon be forwarded. Begs earnestly for them.—Rome, 2nd October 1530.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

2 Oct. **448.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 850, f. 106.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 217.

The bearer of this despatch is a servant of the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys), who is returning thither with letters for his master. The despatch itself goes separately and under cover to Your Lordship, because as the man has been so closely watched whilst here, it is probable that on his arrival in England or perhaps in France he will be strictly searched.* I have given him an unimportant despatch to carry, that he may shew it in case of his being searched, and that they may not suspect that he has any more with him.

Cardinal Santa Croce went four or five days ago to see Andrea del Burgo, and told him that if the division of the war contribution between the Italian potentates was in any way opposed, the Pope might and ought to devote to that object

* "Porque sin dubda como aqui le han assechado allá le reconosceran."

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one-third of all the Church revenues throughout Christendom, sending five or six cardinals to collect the money. He himself offered to go to Spain for the purpose.

Andrea, knowing his master to be in such want of help just now, easily believed the Cardinal's words, but remembering what passed at Valladolid and other places when supplies for the Turkish war were demanded, and the great difficulties that stood in the way of obtaining them from the Cortes, I have taken care to inform the Cardinal that he had better not make such propositions to His Holiness before consulting with Your Majesty.—Rome, 2nd October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

2 Oct. **449.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to SECRETARY JUAN VAZQUEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 246.

I wrote on the 25th ult° by Muñoz,* announcing my arrival at Valladolid. Gave Alvaro de Lugo the letter and instructions whereof he (Muñoz) was the bearer. He (Lugo) shewed readiness to obey the orders of the Council, but said that the clerk who kept the accounts being absent eight leagues beyond Burgos he could not possibly attend to the business himself unless his assistant was sent for, which was done immediately by means of an express. Calculating that it would take the messenger at least six days to go to Burgos and back, I came here to Tordesillas begging Alvaro de Lugo, as soon as his clerk had returned, to let me know that I might send the treasurer to Medina [del Campo]. Seeing, however, that the period fixed for the return of the messenger had already been exceeded by two days, I wrote to Lugo and dispatched a messenger with my letter, informing him that in discharge of my duty to the Empress I had made up my mind to send a courier and acquaint her with the fact, explaining that it was no fault of mine if the affair did not progress. Lugo's answer is enclosed, whereby His Highness will see how the delay has originated.

This morning a servant of the Fuggers came to me and presented a bill of exchange drawn by the King, my master, for the 55,000 ducats which I had received. I accepted the bill at once and promised to pay it 20 days after sight. Now it behoves Your Worship to speak to the factor of the Fucares (Fuggers) at that court, whose name is Guido Horrelo, and ascertain from him how he wishes to remit this money to Germany, for the King, my master, writes that when the contract with that banking house was made it was agreed that they should have every facility to take the money out of

* Not in the register book. Juan Vazquez was at this time the secretary to the Council of Castille.

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these kingdoms. However, as the clerk who came to see me the other day stated that it was the intention of his principals to remit the money to Portugal, or else to have it taken up in Castille, it is evident that whatever they do with the money they will be responsible for it in Germany. This is no business of mine, the bill shall be paid when due and the Council will give the necessary safe-conduct to have the coin sent out of the country if necessary.

This very day Francisco de Salazar arrived, though without letters from Your Worship. I have no doubt press of business has been the cause. I perused his instructions, and was glad to observe that nothing has been omitted for the good issue o this affair and to ensure the measures taken both by the treasurer and by myself. The King, my master, has engaged to deliver the 150,000 ducats at Fuentarrabia; there the money will remain until I take it to the Fuggers. The latter, on the other hand, have engaged to deliver it in whatever town of Germany or Flanders is most convenient for His Royal Highness. So at least the King informs me in his ciphered letter, of which a copy is enclosed,* as well as that of the bills of exchange, &c. I believe the bankers themselves will come down here to cash the bills (*á requerirme*), for a letter lately received from Francisco de Salamanca informs me that they purpose coming with him. If they do not come I intend making every preparation in order to save time. The treasurer and myself have therefore agreed to commission the two gentlemen who came first and send them on with the money according to the instructions received from the King. They will start four days after the funds are in our hands, the 55,000 crs. will go first, and after that the treasurer and myself will proceed to Fuentarrabia with the rest of the money, each by a different route, and in the most secret manner, so as not to awaken suspicion, for I am known all over this country, have been seen several times coming to Spain and returning to Germany, and people will naturally wonder what I have come about. The further to avoid suspicion it has been agreed that the treasurer, whom nobody knows here, will take as far as Fuentarrabia the whole of the money there to be paid into the hands of the agent of the Fuggers. For the better execution of this plan it is requisite that Your Worship give us orders to have as many pack horses (*azemilas*) and mules as we may want. The order to come *en blanco* so as to be filled up according to our wants, a similar one for post horses and mules.†

Another warrant is required for Sancho Martinez de Leyva, his son or lieutenant (*lugar teniente*), commanding all persons

* Not in the register.

† "La cedula [para las mulas] puede rezar con titulo que son bagas (?) que su Mt. enbia a la reyna de Francia ó se envian de Portogal."

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on their passage to assist and protect them and guard them with all possible secrecy.—Tordesillas, 2nd October 1530.

Addressed: "To Secretary Juan Vazquez."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

7 Oct. **450.** Dr. Garay to the Emperor.

P. Arch. Nat. S. K. 1,483
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 219.

Your Majesty's letter of the 31st July has been duly received. Though not of recent date, it has afforded me great satisfaction, observing that my services to the queen of England have been taken into consideration. Had the letter come in time, and given me the powers with which I am now invested, I have no doubt that much harm might have been prevented, and Your Majesty would not have had so much mental anxiety.

I have not seen Mr. de Noicarme (Noircames),[1] nor do I know him. I would willingly have spoken to him on account of the credence he brings, and that he may advise what is to be done. If I meet him, I will endeavour to execute Your Majesty's commands most faithfully.

Since I wrote last nothing new has occurred worth mentioning, except that this king has given orders that all the acts done in our Faculty should be taken up to him. Though the order was secret I was informed of it in time, and God permitted that I should be the instrument of discovering some flaws in the acts, for otherwise all would have been irretrievably lost.* Among the papers sent up to the King was first, a copy of the debate (*contension*), in favour of the king of England; second, the list of the doctors who gave opinion for the Queen; third, my own opposition and protest; fourth, the appeal with the names and signatures of those who drew it up, &c., the whole being signed by the bedel of our Faculty.

I immediately informed Your Majesty's ambassador of the fact, that he might get the said acts into his hands, or at least an attested copy of them—as I once promised to Messieurs Praët and Guillaume des Barres—though I must say that up to the present hour nothing has been done in this matter. Lastly, I had a long conversation with the first president of this French Parliament (principal cause of all this evil) trying to persuade him to allow the bedel [of the Faculty] to give me a copy of the whole, begging and entreating him, at the same time, not to be the cause of a peace like this present, cemented by the marriage of the most Christian King to Your Majesty's sister (Eleanor) being broken off. The president's answer was that he could not possibly order the bedel of the Faculty to furnish me the attested copy I wanted. Were he to do so, his property and his life, though a priest, would be at stake.†

* "Y quiso Dios que allé [en que] corregir todo el caso, que de otra suerte iba todo perdido."

† "Respondiome que no podia pedirlo al bedel, y que corre peligro de sus bienes y la cabeza, aunque es sacerdote, sy tal cosa hiziese."

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I then addressed myself to the notary who witnessed the appeal, but could never obtain from him a formal act to that effect. I have, besides, written several times to Madame [Margaret]. Her answer is that the Imperial ambassadors have been duly instructed to act in this affair according to my directions; I myself have written so much and so often about it that I am really ashamed. Your Majesty may believe me when I say that, as far as I am concerned, nothing has been omitted to forward this affair, importuning the King even to excess, as the ambassador once told me; but where justice, or the love of it is wanting, all efforts are useless. The queen of England, on the other hand, advises that she has written to her niece (queen Eleanor) to congratulate her on her coronation, and at the same time to ask for her help and assistance in this affair. I cannot tell what will be the upshot of it; but I have very little hope as far as this king and country are concerned. As to Rome, I have written long ago to His Holiness setting forth the Queen's right, and the scandal likely to arise in Christendom. The better to convince him, I represented how much his honour, reputation, and authority would be affected by a yielding on this point, not forgetting to quote the writers and divines, who from the times of Origen down to our present day maintain that the Pope has the power of dispensing in similar cases. I reminded him that not four years ago he himself had granted dispensation to a gentleman of Mans,* called Mr. de Luce, to marry the sister of his first wife deceased, though the petitioner had not an income of 2,000 ducats a year. And lastly, I proved to him that the majority of the doctors of moral reputation and letters now living considered the Queen's marriage as perfectly legitimate, and that most of the English, all their bishops, the university of Louvain, and the whole of Italy (with the exception only of a few doctors without fame or learning), held the same opinion.

Here in France (I take God to witness that I am not in the habit of telling untruths, especially in cases of this sort, and when addressing Your Majesty) I do not hesitate to say there are not three men of good moral life and learning, uncorrupted by the English, who dare affirm the contrary; since, notwithstanding the violence, compulsion, and threats that have been practised, we have the votes of 46 doctors in our favour, without including in that number six or seven more who were absent at the last meeting of the Faculty but signed a similar conclusion on a former occasion.

All this and a good deal more I wrote to Your Majesty's ambassador at Rome (Miçer Mai) months ago, that he might shew my letter to the Pope, as I believe he has since done, for

* "Y que él mesmo no a quatro años, con un gentil hombre en este reyno en Omans (au Mans?) que llaman Mos. du Luce, dispenso que tubiese por mugeres dos hermanas, muerta la primera; hombre que pienso no tenia 11m ducados de rental."

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they tell me that he is very sorry at what has occurred here in Paris. Yet nothing, as far as I know, has been done to turn aside this evil, even though the simple narration of facts was enough to provoke some strong measures on his part.—Paris, 7th October 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

9 Oct. **451.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to SECRETARY JUAN VAZQUEZ.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 248.

I wrote on Sunday, the 2nd inst., advising my arrival [at Tordesillas], and the reasons Alvaro de Lugo gave for not attending immediately to business. His book-keeper (he said) was absent on leave, and until his return he could not make up his accounts. A message was accordingly sent to the clerk to return to his post, but as six days passed and the clerk did not come, I was obliged to dispatch to Valladolid Alonso de Landa, the treasurer, to inquire into the causes of the delay, that I might at once write home and not incur further responsibility. It was settled that four days after, on Wednesday, the 5th inst., Lugo should be at Medina del Campo whether his clerk returned or not. Thirteen days have thus been lost, as I will inform the Emperor on the very first opportunity. But there is another difficulty which must needs be obviated, if the Emperor's wishes are to be complied with, viz., this: Ochoa de Landa, the treasurer, called upon Alvaro de Lugo on Thursday, the 6th inst., when after dinner they proceeded to count up the money without the cashier being present. The latter, as it would appear, had received the money by weight at a certain rate agreed upon between him and the clerks of the Imperial treasury, Diego de Ayala and Machin de Plazencia. The money is in five large sacks, of five "pesos," or 40 marks each, making 15,000 one with another. The weight of the five sacks added up together makes 15,000, so that the 100 are calculated for any deficiences in the weight, say 1°/₀. Were we to receive them at this present rate, which is 10,000 in each bag, and not by weight, Her Majesty would lose upwards of 2,000 crs., and the paymaster would be benefited by that sum. As Lugo refuses to give it otherwise than by weight, as he received it, without taking into consideration this difference, it is necessary that an order come from Her Majesty [the Empress] for him (Lugo) to deliver the silver by weight, as he received it. To avoid the trouble of weighing the sacks, and to save time, I am willing to receive them labelled as they are with their respective weight, signed and sealed by Diego de Ayala and another silversmith. This is in my opinion, the only way of proceeding in this affair; otherwise, much time will be lost in the counting, and besides when the specie reaches Fuentarrabia, the agent of the Fuggers may probably refuse to receive them otherwise than by weight, as

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Her Majesty received them, of which fact they are no doubt aware, being among the quickest and shrewdest people in their profession. For the greater secrecy in this affair it has been decided that His Highness' treasurer take the 100,000 ducats to Fuentarrabia. However, as there is no news yet of the agent of the Fuggers having reached that place, the treasurer is to deposit the money at his own house in Alava, and then proceed to that place on the frontier. Should they not be there he is to wait for them until they have arrived, then return for the money and make the delivery in due form.

I have received the copy of Your Worship's letter addressed to the King, as well as the memorandum of the sale of Ramiro Nuñez' estates, but the letter from the High Commander was not in the packet.—Tordesillas, 9th October 1530.

Addressed: "To the President."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 2.

10 Oct. **452.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 108–10. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 222.

After his despatch of the 10th, he (Mai) heard that a courier from France had arrived with letters of the 22nd ult°. Tried in vain to ascertain their contents, but the Pope shewed him one he had received from cardinal Faenza, the substance of which is (*cipher:*) that although the French wish to make it appear that they will preserve peace, they are nevertheless collecting all the money they can, and openly declare to those whom they can trust that next spring they will promote disturbances in Italy, calculating that about that time the Emperor will be engaged in war with the Turk. To this end the court of France was stopping at most insignificant places (*lugarejos*), because it was thought that these secret plans might better escape unobserved. Cardinal Faenza is a nephew of Alberto di Carpi and therefore his report cannot be suspected, both his uncle and he being supposed to wish for an Italian war.

The Pope also said that Tarbes had been to take leave of him, and was actually returning [to France]. The duke of Albany was coming, as he thought, in his room to treat of a marriage between his (the Pope's) niece and the king of Scotland, intending to abandon altogether the idea of the French marriage; but he (Tarbes) begged the Pope not to take any engagements until he received a letter from him immediately upon his return to France. He was sure that the King still wished his son, the duke of Orleans, to marry Madame Catarina, and therefore desired to know what were his (the Pope's) intentions. The Pope answered that if only he could be persuaded that the proposition was in earnest, nothing could be more agreeable to him; but that if the duke of Albany should again come, as he had at other times, and ask for her hand even in the King's name, he would refuse. The conversation went on for some time on this topic, until Tarbes suggested that if the Pope gave his niece the cities of Parma and Piacenza as a dower, his master, the King, giving the Pope an

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equivalent, he had not the least doubt that the affair might be easily arranged. When the Pope said this to me I could not help remarking that the French were evidently trying to get footing in Italy again, and that if I were the Pope they would not deceive me. To which the Pope resolutely replied "Nor me either; I knew them long before you did."

It appears that Tarbes and his friends think much of Malatesta, and that His Holiness is somewhat afraid of him, owing to his still keeping most of his men in the Perugino. I told His Holiness that there was no fear of that "condottiero" doing anything unpleasant, for he could not return to Perugia without our permission, as it had been so agreed with Your Majesty's generals.

I heard, some time ago, from a good source, that the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) had bought two original bulls among those issued by pope Julius before his death, prescribing how and under what conditions the elections of Popes were to be made in future: which bulls, they say, contain very binding clauses (*que es muy estrecha cosa*). Now as it is hardly to be presumed that the said Auditor had not one copy at least of the bulls in the archives of his own office, the circumstance of his buying these two just at the time that he was dispatching a courier to England, made me suspect that they had been sent thither for the purpose of seeing what harm the English can do with or without a council. I deemed it fit for the Pope to know all this, because, although, being naturally very timid, the intelligence will frighten him most tremendously, which, in my opinion, is a thing to be avoided, yet it will, at the same time, have the effect of irritating him against the English, who besides have so many means at hand to frighten him out of his wits, that in reality one more cause of fear weighs but little in the balance. The Pope thanked me for the information, and wished to know where the bulls had been bought, and for what price.

In my opinion the Pope's fears are not unfounded. Putting aside other minor considerations, he ought to be warned, as I intend discreetly to do on the first opportunity, that if one of the said bulls, which, as I said before, is very close and binding, should be presented at a general council, Your Majesty would have the greatest difficulty in helping him, even if you wished, and that even without the Council taking effect, the danger might still be very great, the matter becoming yet more important on account of the English imagining that they can make a Pope of their own.

Respecting the English business I wrote to Your Majesty that I had consented to a prorogation of the proceedings, in consequence of the audiences having been adjourned until the 15th inst., on the plea that the senior president (*decano*) of the Rota, who is also the commissary of the cause, was unwell. I have lodged a formal complaint (*quexa*) before the Pope; but it appears that the said functionary is really ill in bed. I have also been told that during these last vacations the Pope

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has caused certain doubtful points (*dudas*) on Luther's case to be studied here by the members of the Rota.

Being informed that the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), French ambassador in London, had suddenly quitted that country and returned to France without any apparent reason, my suspicions were raised, and I made inquiries. My information leads me to believe that the English king again wishes His Holiness to commit the cause of the divorce to the archbishop of Canterbury, or to the clergy of his dominions, and that for this end he has solicited the favour and influence of the most Christian King of France. It would appear, however, that the said Bishop [of Bayonne] and king Henry not agreeing exactly as to the terms of the letter to be written to the Pope, the former returned suddenly to France, where, at Court, the letter was concocted, though not so expressive (*tan grasa*) as the English ambassadors here wished it to be.

The king of France, moreover, has sent to notify to the Pope, through Mr. de Tarbes, that it was only in order to escape from the English importunities that he had consented to write such a letter, &c.

Baron del Borgo, the Papal Nuncio in England, writes to say that on his arrival at Dobla (Dover), he found an order from the King prohibiting all people from coming to, or going out of, his kingdom without his permission, which order, however was soon after revoked.

The duke of Albany, as I am told, will embark at Turi (?), and will come by water as far as Ravenna. I am sorry for this because he will have to pass by the centre of Italy, and Ravenna is very close to Venice, where the duke of Milan is already, and where the duke of Ferrara, now at Comachio, intends going also, &c. I have written to Pero Çapata, Don Lope [de Soria], and Lorenço Manuel to have an eye on the Duke and see what he is about; also to the Imperial ambassador in France, for I hear that Tarbes, who was to return by way of Florence, has suddenly changed his mind, and is going through Ferrara, where, as I am informed, they are preparing great entertainments for his reception.

The Italian universities, and their contribution to the expenses of the Turkish war, &c.

As Tarbes was going away he came to see me, and we had a long conversation together on the king of England's cause. I requested him, since he must be well aware of the general opinion here [at Rome], and what the most learned and impartial among the canonists think, to do everything in his power to promote the ends of justice. He promised to do so, but at the same time he strongly recommended a delay of a half or a whole year, or perhaps even more, because, he observed, "after all the King is principally stirred on to action by amours, which come and go, whereas the justice of the Queen's cause stands firm, and therefore there can be no harm in the delay, however long." I tried to dissuade Tarbes in fit terms, and I only transmit his very words (*cipher:*) that

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Your Majesty may know that delay is the policy of the French, for they think thereby to become in time the arbiters of a quarrel between us and England, just as the English were, or at least wished to be, at one time, between Your Majesty and them. Tarbes went still further on this subject; he said that during this delay Your Majesty might visit England, or send for the King, and then you might settle your differences together.

These overtures of Tarbes must by all means be kept secret, for they would work wonderfully against Your Majesty's interests were they to be bruited about. I must add that these people are not without certain fears of so much friendship between France and England at this time, and though Tarbes' proposal might ultimately turn out to Your Majesty's profit, it ought at any rate to be kept secret for the present.

Respecting the duke of Albany's journey he (Tarbes) assured me that my suspicions were unfounded. The Duke (he said) had come to Italy merely for his own private affairs, as I should soon discover, for in all likelihood I should be called upon to mediate between the Pope and him. Count Pontremoli, he said, was to remain as ambassador for the King's private affairs.

Since this, and in consequence of the arrival of another courier [from France], Tarbes has again delayed his departure. I hear that he has been urging Madona Felice to send one of her sons to France, assuring her that not only would an agreement be soon made [in France] respecting the abbot of Farfa, her brother, but that her son would remain in the King's service with a good command. The lady, herself, has sent us word (cardinal d'Osma and me) that she has flatly refused Tarbes' offers, and wishes for no other service for her sons but the Imperial. (*Cipher:*) This and other similar practices of the French make me suspect that some political intrigue is going on unless all these reports are mere inventions and tricks of their ambassador.

I have written enough about Bracciano, and about the Pope's shifting policy towards the abbot of Farfa. There was much swaggering at one time; His Holiness would do this, and that; he would ultimately pull down to its foundations that stronghold (of the Orsini), and yet nothing was done; indeed it seemed at one time as if the Abbot was going to be forgiven. The undertaking has now been entrusted to Giovan Paolo de Chierry (da Ceri), which in my opinion is the greatest hoax (*burla*) that could be imagined. I cannot understand the cause of so much forbearance with the Abbot, nor of the favours which the Pope now bestows on Giovan Paolo! It occurs to me that perhaps certain secrets of the duke of Ferrara, of which Giovan Paolo is said to be in possession, and the Pope wishes to get hold of, may be the cause of such extraordinary conduct on his part.

The duke of Mantua, since the death of the marchioness of Montferrato, pretends that he is not obliged to marry Doña Giulia. The other day a servant of his ambassador here

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happened to say within hearing of one of my spies that perhaps it would be better for the Duke (*cipher:*) not to be commander-in-chief of Your Majesty's armies in Italy, as he might then resume the negociations once carried on in France for his marriage to Madame de Navarre, or else to the Pope's own niece, receiving as a dower Parma and Piacenza. I repeat these reports, though mere servant-hall talking, because the reporter has the reputation of being an honourable man, and it is proper that Your Majesty should know everything that is said here.

Departure of the Pope for Ostia on the 4th.—Inundation at Rome.—The Pope and the ambassador passed 48 hours at Monte Cavallo without being able to enter Rome.—The damage done amounts to a million of ducats.

Plague at Naples.

Arrival of Andrea Doria at Genoa with his 31 galleys.

Rumours of the death of the chancellor of France (cardinal du Prat.)

The bishop of Chieti (Theatino) elected at Venice to be arbiter in the dispute between the king of Hungary and the Signory.—Rome, 10th October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

10 Oct. **453.** The Same to the High Commander.*

S. E. L. 848, f. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,581. f. 231.

Reports conversation he had with the Pope respecting the contribution to be raised among the Italian princes for the purpose of dispatching the Imperial forces to Hungary.

An ambassador from France is coming to Milan to demand from the duke Francesco payment of certain sums spent upon the marquis of Saluzzo's force, when he came to his relief [in 1527.]

Affairs of Siena, &c.

In my letter to the Emperor I state that the English are endeavouring to get the cause committed to the archbishop of Canterbury [or to the Clergy]. I have, however, learnt since, that what they are aiming at is that in case of the King's marrying again, the Pope may not proceed against him. For many reasons the Pope ought not to listen to the demands of the English, or dispute with them; but since he has, I have urged him as strongly as possible to answer them as they deserve. This he has promised to do to-day. The cause goes on. Nevertheless, I have insisted on the new inhibition, and they have promised it to me. May this be done!—Rome, 10th October 1530.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Oct. **454.** The Divorce.

S. E. L. 4, ff. 120, 121, and 122. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 236.

The points about which Miçer Mai ought to be properly instructed are as follows: 1. In the original treaty (*capitulacion*) between the king of England (Henry VII.) and the

* A note in the hand of one of the clerks of the Archives has the following: "This was enclosed in Mai's despatch of the same date at fol. 222;" but it is evidently only a corrected draft of the paper already abstracted under No. 419.

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Catholic king (Ferdinand) about the marriage of Henry [VIII.] with Katharine are two or three declaratory words (*palabras asertivas*) indicating that the marriage with prince Arthur was consummated. In the dispensation brief, however, no affirmation of the fact is made except by the word "forsan." It is, therefore, to be considered whether the exhibition of a document containing such a word is expedient or not.* A copy of the brief of pope Julius to the king of England [Henry VII.] dispensing for the Queen's second marriage will be sent by the first courier.

The documents which it is now important to produce in the Queen's behalf, and the originals of which ought to be procured and sent to Rome, are as follows:—

1st. The treaty (*capitulacion*) for the second marriage, approved and ratified, and afterwards confirmed by the Catholic sovereigns (Ferdinand and Isabella) on the 24th of September 1503, before secretary Almazan at Saragossa.

2nd. A treaty (*capitulacion*) of peace between the Catholic sovereigns and the king of England, for the first marriage in the year 1489, besides another separate instruction drawn by secretary Alvarez, at Toledo, and Mossen Coloma, at Valencia.

The deeds (*escripturas*) to be presented in virtue of the compulsory letters (*compulsoriales*) are the following:—

1stly. The second treaty (*capitulacion*) between the Catholic sovereigns (Ferdinand and Isabella) and king Henry VII. for the marriage of his son Henry [VIII].

2ndly. The power given by the Catholic sovereigns to Hernan Duque [de Estrada]† to demand the 100,000 crs. from the king of England, and let her (the Queen) return to Spain with her household. [To search for letters of that ambassador in which he wrote that the King (Henry VII.) did not wish the Princess to return, or otherwise restore her property, and also letters from the King himself upon the same subject.]

A letter signed by Henry VIII. acknowledging the receipt of 500,000 crs. for the dower of the second marriage signed and sealed.

A bond given by certain Genoese [bankers] to pay Henry VIII. 45,000 crs. as part of the said dower.

A copy of another letter, signed by a notary, of the payment of 100,000 crs. as dower of the first marriage.

An account of the expenditure of 200,000 crs. of the first marriage. [This Dr. Beltran took to be examined by experts.]

A letter of Ferdinand, the Catholic king, in the possession of the said Doctor [Beltran] ought also to be presented, as the King says in it that he will make a greater war [against the French] than against the Turk. (It is a copy.)

A letter from Henry VIII. [to king Ferdinand] after his

* "Hase de mirar esto para efecto que se pratique si convendrá presentar la dicha capitulation."

† Hernan Duque de Estrada. *Duque* is here a proper name, not a title, as Bergenroth and other editors of Calendars, have erroneously printed, making him "duke of Estrada."

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marriage, stating that he was well satisfied, and also about his coronation in 1509.

Two more letters from Henry VII. asking for respite for the payment of the dowry, and stating that he has forborne to accept some other proposal of marriage with more money, in order to retain [the dowry ?]*

Also a letter written by the said king of England [Henry VII.] to pope Alexander [the Sixth]† upon the dispensation for the second marriage, the letter being dated 28th November 1504.

Another letter ought to be presented from king Ferdinand (to pope Alexander ?); the former one is in the hands of Dr. Beltran, and was delivered to him by the archbishop of Toledo.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

10 Oct. **455.** The Divorce.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 718.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 236.

The following are the names of the lawyers and divines who gave opinions in the case of the queen of England, which opinions were duly transmitted to Miçer Mai, the Imperial ambassador at Rome:—

One from Albertino, inquisitor at Valencia.

Ditto from the university of Seville.

Ditto from Lic^te^ Pisa.

Ditto from Fray Miguel de Sant Sebastian, professor at the college of San Pablo de Valladolid.

Ditto from the college of Santa Cruz in the same town.

Another shorter one from the said Fray Miguel de Sant Sebastian.

Ditto from the guardian of Saint Francis at Valladolid.

Ditto from the archdeacon of Toledo.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

12 Oct. **456.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 243.

Affairs of Siena, and negociations with Mario Bandini, the agent of that Signory.

Miçer de Philippo de Senis, a man well qualified for the task, and who is here dean of the Chamber, called the other day to exhibit certain articles (*capitulos*) sent, as he said, by Don Hernando de Gonzaga, which he (Mai) approved, for in reality they were just and moderate. Finds, however, as Lope de Soria writes, that they have since been considerably altered.

Upon the whole these matters of the Sienese are dangerous enough, and the people until now subject to all manner of corruption (*mal infamada de sobornos y passiones*). Now that

* "En que prorroga la paga de la dote, y en que dice que dexó de tomar otro matrimonio de mas dineros por conservar [la dicha dote]."

† There must be some mistake in the copies at Simancas, of which I have seen no less than three, for in November 1504 Alexander was no longer Pope, having died on the 10th of August 1503. *See* above, p. 703, § 11.

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His Majesty has there free and impartial ministers they ought to be settled at once.—Rome, 12th October 1530.

Signed; "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph.

12 Oct. **457.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 237.

Describes the reception made in Venice to the duke of Milan. On the 5th the Duke was still at Ferrara with the intention of going on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto; he suddenly changed his mind and came here. He entered yesterday, the 11th, and was sumptuously received by the Doge and Sages of the Land, the Council of Ten, &c., who went out in the Bucentaur to a monastery two miles distant from Venice. Describes the ceremony, which he himself did not attend owing to a question of precedence.

(*Cipher:*) The duke of Ferrara arrived also last Monday, and it must be said that his appearance here at the same time as that of the duke of Milan has given rise to many a conjecture more or less plausible. Respecting the latter, the rumour is that he comes to borrow money from the Signory. If so the pledge is sure to be Cremona, which Venice has at all times coveted.

As to Alfonso d'Este, they say he has come to renew his alliance with these people, and to strengthen himself against His Holiness, the Pope, whose aggrandizement he fears, especially at this moment that his nephew, Alessandro de' Medici, has gone to Germany for the purpose, as they say, of applying for the crown of Tuscany, which, if granted, the Duke says would be his ruin.

Letters have been received here from France announcing that the King is about to hold an interview with the Emperor at Cambray, at which this Signory is by no means pleased, fearing lest a league similar to that of 1509 should there be made against them, which they think will be followed by new matrimonial alliances, &c. This being, in their opinion, the principal reason why the Sforza has come to borrow money.

Will continue his inquiries and inform the Emperor.

French ambassador gone to Milan to claim payment of certain monies spent when both the duke and king Francis were confederates, and also to ask for the restitution to the former owners of certain estates which the King granted whilst in possession of that city.

Relates a conversation he had with the duke of Ferrara, who protested as usual of his friendship and regard for the Emperor, and gave all manner of excuses more or less plausible for his stay in this city. (*Cipher:*) He (Niño) accepted his excuses, but the truth is that in these and other matters the Duke is not always to be relied upon.

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(*Common writing:*) Prothonotary Caracciolo wrote on the 25th ult° saying that he was still unwell. If he could he would come here to attend and accompany the duke Sforza.

With regard to the Council and the Turk, Your Majesty's instructions shall be punctually obeyed.

The duke of Ferrara related to me that about 10 days ago the duke of Mantua sent to the dwelling of queen Doña Isabel,* two friars and a notary, who said they wished to speak to her in the presence of Her Royal Highness the Infanta (Giulia), for the purpose of notifying to her in the Duke's name that being already married to Madame Maria Paleologo of Monferrato "per verba de presenti" at the time he contracted matrimony with her daughter [Giulia] this second marriage was not valid, and therefore he wished this declaration to be made before witnesses, that the lady might henceforward consider herself free and marry whom she pleased. The Queen informed the Duke [of Ferrara] of this, and counsel's opinion having been procured, it was decided that the two friars should not be allowed to see Isabella's daughter. They, however, called again on the mother, and notified to her as above, to which the Queen replied that the Emperor had married her daughter Giulia to the Duke, and that she herself had nothing to say to it except to obey orders.

An ambassador from Sigismond, king of Poland, has arrived here to communicate (as they say) that he has declared his son (Sigismond II Augustus) as his successor. The ambassador is going to Bari, and thence to Rome. An agent of the Vayvod, who has resided in France for the last eight months is also here, and is soon returning to his master.

The Signory has accepted none of the three judges proposed by the Emperor as arbitrators in the difference between the king of Hungary and them. They present instead the bishop of Cività de Quieta (Chieti). Has written to His Highness, the King, informing him of this, and referring him to the Emperor, who knows who the bishop is. In his (Niño's) opinion the bishop is more to be trusted in a case of this sort than the duke of Mantua, especially after the requisitions and summons this latter has caused to be made at Ferrara.—Venice, 12th October 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 6.

12 Oct. **458.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 19, f. 9.

Has received orders from the Empress to come to that town [Madrid], that he may start at once for Rome, and plead the cause of the queen of England. Was one of the doctors who at the university of Salamanca gave opinion in favour of that

* Isabella, the widow of Frederic, the last king of Naples.

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princess, whose sanctity and virtues are well known to all. Will start for Italy as soon as the papers and instructions of which he is to be the bearer are ready, and once there will work strenuously in this holy cause, which cannot fail to be victorious in the end, as all good ones are, notwithstanding the numerous train of doctors which the king of England is said to have; and whatever the arguments of the latter against the letter of Holy Scripture may be, the best part of the doctors of the Church, and the majority of the writers on scholastic Theology, hold his marriage as lawful and indissoluble.

The principal reason for his leaving the Sorbonne and coming to Spain was his wish to serve the Queen and the Emperor in this matter. Will not fail to report on the whole the moment he reaches Rome.—Madrid, 12th October 1530.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

13 Oct. **459.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 71–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 246.

Describes the inundation at Rome caused by the overflow of the Tiber. The water rose 12 feet over the usual mark, submerging many houses, and causing the death of many people. The Pope himself was in great danger for being at Hostia (Ostia) when the river began to rise, he determined to come back, and could only accomplish this after much fatigue and danger.

On his (Muxetula's) arrival at Rome his first care was to visit cardinal d'Osma and Miçer Mai, and communicate to them the instructions of which he was the bearer. Called a few days after on His Holiness, and spoke at length of the measures to be adopted for removing the Imperial forces from Italy, and sending the Spaniards to Hungary. (*Cipher:*) His Holiness at once said he was willing to contribute a sum of money towards the said object, and promote also the general crusade against the Turk. He was ready for this purpose to urge the Christian princes [of Italy] to give assistance, and hoped to be successful; but as to the others he had very little hope. The Venetians (he thought) might not be very willing, but the expedient suggested by us of two-tenths (*dos decimas*) to be levied on the revenues of their clergy, which they themselves had asked for, would, he thought, make them more tractable.

Quartering of the Imperial forces.

The money expected from Naples has not yet arrived. The Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) advises that part of it was to leave on the 8th inst. It will be welcome, for of that furnished by the Florentines none remains, the whole of it having been handed over to the Germans.

(*Cipher:*) In conversation with the Pope this very day, he told him (Muxetula) that the king of France still wished to

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have the duchy of Milan for himself, and that he (the Pope) considered that his request could not well be denied. Many other circumstances did His Holiness relate, all tending to shew that king's passionate and self-interested motives in that quarter.

Having then asked him what could be the real cause of the duke of Albany's coming to Rome, he said, without hesitation, that the Duke was attending to the business of his grand-niece,* the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, and daughter also of the Duke's brother, whose landed property, inherited from her father, is retained in France. He also said that the Duke himself wished the young lady to marry the king of Scotland, but has been directed not to speak about this to the Pope, inasmuch as Francis himself had asked for the hand of the lady for his second son, the duke of Orleans, if he (the Pope) would consent to his having the duchy of Milan. All these (the Pope observed) were intrigues of the French for the sole purpose of getting possession of Milan one way or the other. He did not believe they were in earnest, but the Venetians, from fear of the Duchy passing into the hands of the French, had lately shewn greater disposition to advance some money towards the expenses of the Turkish war.

The duke of Milan has also asked for the hand of the Pope's niece, but he has been referred to the Emperor, without whose consent the marriage could not well take place, though the Pope thinks, and we also think the same, that it might turn out very advantageously under present circumstances, as it would deter the French king from proposing first one and then the other of his sons.

Has also been told by the Pope that the king of France has written in favour and commendation of the king of England and of his divorce suit, and sent orders to Mr. de Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) to speak in his behalf; but to assure him (the Pope) at the same time in great secrecy that if he (the King) takes any steps in the affair, it is only for the purpose of obliging his brother of England, and complying with his earnest request; otherwise he would not for the world displease His Imperial Majesty, or do offence to the Queen's right.—Rome, 13th November 1530.

P.S.—After the above was written, His Holiness told him that the cardinal of France† is to leave to-morrow and go home. It appears that yesterday, whilst taking leave of the

* "Que el Duque venia por adovar sus cosas sobre lo hecho de su *nieta*, hija del magnifico Lorenço, que tambien es hija de hermana del Duque, y tienenle todos sus bienes que esta muchacha ha heredado en Francia." *Nieta* in Spanish, from the Latin *neptis*, means, properly speaking, a grand-daughter, but is here used in the sense of "grand-niece," for such was Caterina to Clement. That lady, born in 1519, and, therefore, only 11 years of age at this time, was the daughter of Lorenzo, who in his turn was Clement's nephew. Caterina's mother was Madaleine de la Tour d'Auvergne.

† "Hame dicho despues el Papa que partiendo mañana el cardinal de Francia á Francia, le ha hablado como de si, &c." The Cardinal is no other than Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes, in Gascony, whom this and other Spanish writers of this time usually designate under the appelative of *Monsieur de Tarba*.

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Pope, he (the Cardinal) suggested, as from himself, that in order to bridle the Lutherans, and hasten the departure of the Imperial forces from Italy, it would be advisable for each Christian prince to make an effort, and contribute a sum of money towards maintaining the Imperialists in Hungary. or on the furthest frontiers of Germany, and in this manner relieve Italy from their presence. That was his advice (the Cardinal remarked), and he would propose it to his master immediately upon his return to France.

Signed: "Jo. Ant°. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesareæ et Cath^{ca}. Ma^{ti}."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

15 Oct. **460.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-of-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 42.

The King, perceiving that the Pope will not accede to his wishes, as Your Majesty will have learnt from my last and preceding despatches, *called together the clergy and lawyers of this country to ascertain whether in virtue of the privileges possessed by this kingdom, Parliament could and would enact* that notwithstanding the *Pope's prohibition, this cause of the divorce be decided by the archbishop of Canterbury.* To this question the said clergy and lawyers, after having *studied and discussed the affair,* have deliberately answered that it could not be done. On hearing which answer *the King was very angry, and adopted the expedient of proroguing Parliament till the month of February, in the hope, as may be supposed, that in the meanwhile he may hit upon some means of bringing over to his opinion the said lawyers as well as some members of his Parliament,* with whose power he is continually *threatening the Pope, and see whether by compulsion or persuasion he can ultimately gain his end.* The same day that the said *clergy and lawyers* gave in their report, *the King, before publicly announcing his intention to prorogue Parliament still further,* wishing to make a virtue of necessity, and *somewhat conciliate the Pope, sent for the Nuncio* under colour of communicating to him news received from various quarters, but in reality for quite a different purpose, as Your Majesty will see from what follows.

Next *morning early, in pursuance of the King's request, the Nuncio went to Hampton Court, where the King was with a great number of the said clergy and lawyers* and several other courtiers, among them *Jehan Jockin, who has been received here and treated with much greater consideration than the Nuncio himself,* since the latter has but a small lodging assigned to him outside the Court, whereas the former has magnificent apartments within. After dinner *the King* spoke privately with the Nuncio for a long while, saying, without much circumlocution, and repeating to him two or three times that he much regretted having to declare his intentions respecting the divorce, and still more his determina-

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tion to carry the same into execution, which he certainly would if things continued as they were. He then began to complain that the *Pope would not, in observance of the privileges belonging to England, order the hearing and decision of his cause in his country;* also that he had not sent him a certain decretal* *issued at Orvieto* of the tenour and importance of which Your Majesty has no doubt been fully informed *by cardinal Campeggio.* On the subject of the "signatura" alluded to by the King, I have heard that the latter was commissioned by His Holiness to shew it *to the King* and then return it to Rome by the same messenger that had brought it to this country, and that the Cardinal (Campeggio), fearing lest so dangerous and important a document should be *seized on the way back,* after having shewn it in the proper quarter, as he was instructed to do, committed it to the flames in the presence of the very messenger who had been the bearer of it.

After greatly *reproaching the Pope for his conduct in this affair, the King proceeded to say that if His Holiness would not shew him in future more consideration than at present he (the King) should take up his pen and let the world know that he (the Pope) possessed no greater authority than that held by Moses,* which was only grounded on the declaration and interpretation of the *Holy Scripture,* everything beyond that being mere *usurpation and tyranny,* and that should he be driven to take such a step, the *damage and injury thereby inflicted on the Apostolic See would be irreparable,* far more fatal than that caused by the writings of others, for with his learning and rank, *kings, princes, and all others would side with him.*† *He, therefore, charged the Nuncio to write all this to the Pope, as otherwise* he would be responsible for the consequences, and moreover would be summoned at the right time and place to give evidence as to the warning he had received. All which the Nuncio says was spoken by the King with much shew of *regret and with tears in his eyes.* The King said further that the great concourse of people present had come solely and exclusively to request him to summon Parliament for the punishment of the clergy (*pour donner la bastonnade a ces prestres*), who were indeed so hated throughout his kingdom, both by nobles and people, that but for his protection they would be utterly destroyed, and yet that in spite of this urgent request he had determined to prorogue Parliament till the month of February next, to see whether the Pope would in the meantime adopt a different course of action towards him.

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* "Et paralliemant de ce quil ne luy avoit envoye une certainne [signature que le Pape avoit decerne estant a Orvietto] de la teneur et emportance de la quelle vostre maieste pourra entierement estre informe [du cardinal Campegio.]

† "[Quil mettroit main a la plume et feroit congnoistre au monde que le pape na autre auctorite que celle quavoit Moyse], que nestoit sinon sur la declaration et interpretation de [l'escripture], et que toute la reste nest sinon [usurpacion et tirannie], que sil est contraint a ce fere, yl fera ung domage irreparable au siege apostolique, plus que tous les autres quont [escript par cy devant], cart pour estre du sçavoer et de la qualite quil est et roys et princes et la reste adhereroint a luy."

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The King having complained that the Pope granted him so short a time, only 15 days to answer, which, he said, was hardly sufficient for the post to go and return, the Nuncio observed that the Pope had already so frequently delayed proceedings in this business, that without the consent of the other party concerned it would be unjust to do so any more, and that if the King had consented to the election of judges and arbitrators to decide on the case, some further delay might have been granted, as he (Borgo) stated at his first audience. To which the King replied that he had not paid much attention to what he (the Nuncio) had said about the judges, inasmuch as he had expressly said that he was only speaking his own mind thereupon, not in His Holiness' name and with his authority. Had that proposal, he said, come from the Pope, he might have returned a different answer. This looks as if the King would readily consent to other judges being chosen; but I am, nevertheless, quite sure that as far as the Queen herself is concerned her consent will never be obtained, *as she will fear that the King will tamper with the judges, or if he finds them disinclined to do his bidding, will challenge them, as he now does those of the Rota, and that then the suit will have to begin over again, which would be a new source of anxiety and regret to her.* Meanwhile, her enemies prosper, and are only seeking delay in the hope that the Pope or the Queen herself may die. Indeed she has already suffered so much, that she is almost on the brink of despair (*au bout de sa patience*).

The Nuncio, as it would appear, is quite ready to forward the King's proposal about the choice of new judges, principally, whatever other motive he may allege, to *relieve the Pope, whom he does not want to fall out with the King.* He rather thought at first that as the King seemed disposed to agree to this appointment of judges, it might be as well to carry out this suggestion thoroughly *before proceeding to the hearing of the case,* but on my representing to him the advantages to be derived from immediate decision and the evils of delay, he (the Nuncio) agreed with me to write to the Pope, *as he is now doing by the enclosed letters,** that whatever overtures *may be made to him by the English ambassadors are simply with the view of delaying the proceedings* and that the only way to bring *the King to the point amicably,* or otherwise, is *to have the case* proceeded with at once; for finding himself hard pressed *he will quickly agree to some reasonable compromise.* I have also suggested to him that in order not to lose time His Holiness might, *whilst the case is being heard,* ask Your Majesty's consent to the said choice of judges and arbitrators, all which the Nuncio has promised to do, counting upon Your Majesty's and the Queen's assistance. Should this plan seem advisable, Your Majesty will, perhaps, inform me and your ambassador at Rome of what had better be done.

* The letters alluded to are not in the packet, unless that of the 16th of September under No. 429 be one of them.

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The King also told the Nuncio that he strongly suspected that the nuncio, recently sent by the Pope to France, had gone thither rather to oppose his personal interests than otherwise, and he ended by informing him of the advices he had received from his ambassador at the Imperial court, such as the departure of the duke of Saxony [from Court], of the articles demanded by the Lutherans, and the breaking up of the diet of Augsburg (*et de la rotture de la journee Daix-purg*) without coming to any decision. *After which the King observed that all these doings would not greatly redound* to Your Majesty's honour, and that if you wished to mend matters in that quarter you would be obliged to grant most demands, even if they included the best part of your paternal dominions. After which, yielding to this very evident desire of casting a slur upon Your Majesty, and forgetting his previous irreverent language and contempt of Papal authority, he added: "I will soon establish a much stricter rule in this my kingdom than has been done *in Germany, touching the suppression and punishment of the* Lutheran errors,"—a boast for which there is a little more foundation now than there was eight days ago, for since that time he has had *five or six merchants imprisoned for being Lutherans.**

As the Nuncio was leaving the room the King made some slight excuse for having written to Rome without first informing him thereof; but he said the fault rested with those of his Council who had sent off the courier whilst he was out hunting. Neither has the Nuncio nor have I been able to discover the nature of that despatch, nor the reason of its being sent. It may be among others, to bring over here an old Jew, now at Rome, who says he can prove incontrovertibly that the King's marriage was unlawful.† Has advised Messire Mai of this, so that should the Jew be a man of such learning and parts as to inspire confidence, he (Mai) may prevail on the Pope to stop his coming [to England], at least until his arguments have been heard, so that the bishop of Rochester may be prepared to refute them, *a task the Bishop desires above all things.*

The Nuncio has also informed me that *the King* had said that he knew quite well that all those whom *the Pope had consulted* or *to whom he had entrusted the examination of this case were of his (the King's) opinion. I therefore begged the Nuncio to write to His Holiness to make sure of his men*, and especially to keep an eye upon a *Jacobite named de Finario*,‡ who, judging from some letters which had been

* "En apres ung peu denvie de notter aucunemant [votre maieste, luy faisant oblier la braueries quil avoit fait contre le pape, le esmeut a dire quil mestroit bien autre ordre en son royaulme touchant la prohibition et pugnicion de telles erreurs] que lon navoit point fait en [Allemaigne. Ceste vantance luy est mieulx de pardonner quelle nestoit huyt jours paravant car dempuys ce temps yl a fait mettre en] prison cinq ou six marchans de ceste ville pour Lutheriens."

† "Forsque entre autres choses que cest pour ammenner ung vieux juifz quest a Romme qua dit quil feroit apparoistre inconvinciblemant (*sic*) que le marriage avec la royne est illegitime."

‡ "Sur ung Jacopin nomme de finario."

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received in Paris, seemed greatly to incline to the other side. The Nuncio promised to write and acquaint the Pope with every particular.

Brian left yesterday to go to the king of France, to whom I believe he is to present two fine horses which this king has had spendidly caparisoned and equipped.* I have yet been unable to learn anything positive about this mission. It is said the Chancellor is still in danger of being dismissed, and this solely because he *hesitated to sign with the others the King's letters to the Pope*, of which Your Majesty has been advised.

The King has sent to the Tower a Welsh gentleman named Ris (Sir Rhese ap Thomas), who married one of the duke of Norfolk's *sisters, because* (*as report goes*) *not satisfied* with his wife having some months ago besieged the governor of Wales [in his castle] for several days, and had some of his attendants killed, he himself has threatened to finish what his wife had begun.

The duke of Norfolk has begged the Nuncio to obtain a dispensation for one of his sisters to marry the earl Dalbi (Derby), who had been formerly married to one of his daughters. The Duke does not wish to let this alliance slip, as there is no other in the kingdom through which he could more strengthen himself. Many even think that had he had no sister to offer the Earl the Duke would have proposed to him his other daughter, who has been promised to the duke of Richemont (Richmond). This is the marriage which the duchess of Norfolk most wished for her daughter, but the Lady Anne opposed it, and used such high words towards the Duchess that the latter narrowly escaped being dismissed from Court.—London, 15th October 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

15 Oct. **461.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 107–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 255.

Wrote on the 13th inst., both to the Emperor and to the High Commander (Covos), reporting upon general events up to that date. Will now relate what has happened since.

Describes his interview with the Pope, to whom he communicated His Majesty's wishes respecting the duke of Mantua's proposed marriage. Told him that whatever the decision in this case, it was the Emperor's wish that no injury should be done to Doña Giulia. The Pope referred him to the Mantuan ambassador, who called next day and said his master, the Duke, wished to know whether Doña Giulia considered herself his wife in conscience or not; if she was not free to marry she could not be his wife.† His (Mai's) answer was that

* "Que ce roy a fait triomphalemant arnesche[r]."

† "Dixome á la clara que el duque de Mantua queria saber si era su mujer por lo de la consciencia, que sino era libre no seria su mujer, y io le dixe que si entonces no lo era, que agora lo es, quanto mas que teniendo sententia contra la otra, hasta que fuese revocada, no podia hacer otra cosa."

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if Giulia was not free before she was so now, the more so that having obtained sentence against the other, she was actually free to marry as long as the sentence was not revoked. The Mantuan ambassador then observed that the Duke, his master, had been told that the lady was 32 years old. Answered, he knew nothing about that; it ought to have been ascertained before marrying her with the Emperor's intervention. Would not say any more on the subject, only observed how strange it was for the ambassador, the Duke himself, and the whole of his household to wear mourning for the lady just dead, when the report had come by way of Venice that the deceased had already been betrothed or was about to be so to another man. This was said on purpose, because these Mantuans lay much stress on this fact, as if they were in possession of that marriage in order to throw disrepute on this other one. Wishes for further instructions on this point.

Tarbes is going every day, but is not gone yet. He remains here, as it is stated, merely to promote the affairs of the king of England. The day before yesterday the Pope undeceived him concerning the three points proposed by the English ambassadors, viz., that the cause should be committed to the archbishop of Canterbury; 2, or to him and the clergy of his diocese; 3, or that, if the King should take any positive step (*de hecho*), the Pope should not fulminate censures against him. The same night cardinal Ravenna came to inform him (Mai) of it. He is a good servant of His Imperial Majesty. Tarbes made a long reply in the matter. He has since introduced another article suggesting that the cause be delayed, and that the king of France intervene (*se ponga en ello*). He (Mai) replied: "Let justice be done, and in due time the most Christian King may, if he pleases, intervene," which answer the Pope gave to Tarbes.

As the Hungarian ambassador, Muxetula, and I myself were to-day coming out of the Pope's chamber we met Tarbes, who was going in. He took me to a window, called my colleagues round, and then said that I had placed myself and the world in great danger through the course I was deliberately pursuing. He knew for certain that a great scandal was impending, and that Your Majesty would be the first to blame me for my conduct. It would be far better, he observed, to grant a delay than run the risk of the king of England acting for himself. He (Tarbes) had also been an ambassador, and when he saw that an affair was turning to his master's prejudice he cared not for the letter of his instructions. This he said as a Christian and a prelate who had no mandate whatever.

At the request of the Hungarian ambassador and Muxetula, I undertook to answer (Tarbes') objections. I said: "That both Your Majesty and the Queen had been instrumental in inducing the Pope to grant six or seven delays already, and that I could in nowise consent to a new one without consulting home." "In my opinion," I observed, "not one of the various

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delays granted had been in any way beneficial to the cause. The queen of England was not a person to be treated with such indignity and made to wait at the mercy of her opponents.* And whereas Your Majesty had previously granted such delays, I (Mai) would not consent to this new one unless I was positively ordered to do so." The conversation lasted some time, Tarbes repeating the same arguments with more or less warmth until he left us and went in to the Pope.

After Tarbes' departure Muxetula called my attention to a part of the Frenchman's speech, in which he positively promised that the king of England would not move during the suspension of the proceedings, and inquired whether the thing could not be managed in that way. Told him that the proposal had been discussed at Bologna, and that notwithstanding that my orders were positive not to consent to any further delays.

I will press for the new inhibition; but I fear that it will not be granted. If they refuse I will complain to the Pope of this notorious injustice with more reason than the English do.

Tarbes has owned to me that this English business alone detains him at Rome, and that he is going away soon. I have been told that Ascanio Colonna has presented him with horses and other pleasant gifts (*gentilezas*), which would be a fair ground for suspicion were it not that he is, as the report goes, at this present moment surrounding with walls some of the towns in his estate.†

The Vayvod had an agent in France, who is now returning to his master. Should like to know of this beforehand, to write to Esçalenga to have him arrested on his coming to Italy. Some orders have already been issued about this, but he (Mai) is afraid that they will not be in time at the frontier. The agent, it appears, has sent a secretary of his from Mantua to the Pope, announcing that he is first going to Venice and then to his master. He has told the Pope three pieces of news from the court of France: 1, that his master, the Vayvod, has made a new treaty with the Turk, still more binding than the last; 2, that the marriage of [the king of] Navarre has been broken off, and therefore that he is still free to marry Her Royal Highness [Doña Maria], to whose hand he pretends;‡ and 3, that this present peace between the Christian princes is only feigned, and will not last; he knows it well. But little attention is paid to news of this sort, as they may have been invented for the sake of bringing credit to the newsmongers.

The news of the duke of Albany coming to Ravenna by water has turned out untrue.

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* "La serenissima Reyna no era pieça para suffrirse tanto, siendo tractada como lo es, con maneras indignas."

† "Que seria harto sospechoso, pero no seria mucho segund está él, que me han dicho que cerca agora de muros no se que lugares de su estado."

‡ The widow of Ladislas, king of Hungary.

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The Duchesina, the Pope's niece, has arrived, and a house has been prepared for her reception. To-morrow Miçer Andrea del Burgo and he (Mai) will call on her.

This last inundation has caused great damages in Rome; one-third of its houses are down or tottering in their foundations. Famine and plague are also apprehended.

Captain Scrivan came yesterday from Naples with 22,000 crs. He has been dispatched to the camp.

According to Tovar, Don Ferrante Gonzaga is now attacking a town of the Sienese.

Treasurer Alonso Sanchez is daily expected here, though many think that to save time he will go [to Germany] by way of Trent.

Refers to Muxetula's despatch of the same date, where a full account of their negociations with the Pope is contained.—Rome, 15th October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

15 Oct. **462.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 70.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 253.

Has fully explained in his despatch of the 23rd inst. the state of the negociations. He and cardinal d'Osma find the Pope better disposed every day in this affair [of the Turk], which is so well calculated for the benefit of Christendom at large. To-morrow a congregation of cardinals will take place, and messengers will be sent, as we are informed, to all the Italian potentates to contribute money towards the undertaking. Should the sum thus raised be insufficient, His Holiness is fully determined to allow the Christian princes to levy a tithe (*decima*) on the clergy of their dominions; since the patrimony of the Church (*el patrimonio de Nuestro Señor Dios*) is everywhere destined for the protection of the Faith. If the Christian princes are unwilling to spend their own substance on such a holy undertaking, they cannot well refuse to apply the sums bestowed by the Church, for if they do they will be regarded as more Lutherans than Luther himself; and besides, His Holiness will be perfectly justified in employing against such defaulters his own spiritual as well as temporal arms. In this way the Imperial army will be enabled to march to Hungary and meet the Turks there or wherever they may be.

Conversing the other day with His Holiness it was agreed between him and us that in the meantime, and whilst the money for the pay of the Imperial forces is being collected, the duke of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) should divide them into small detachments so as to prevent the danger of mutiny, and of the excesses consequent thereupon, which are likely

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to occur unless the money is forthcoming for the payment of their arrears. A sum of 22,000 crs. has this very day come from Naples, which will be sent to the camp to-morrow.

Tavora* arrived here yesterday from Florence with the news that the Germans had already been licensed and left the camp. The Duke (Gonzaga) sent to request the Sienese to point out a village within their territory whereat the said licensed Germans might quarter and wait for their money from Naples. The Sienese refused, and the village offered some resistance, upon which the Duke sent thither some Spaniards with orders to enter the place.—Rome, 15th October 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

17 Oct. **463.** Dr. Garay to the Emperor.

P. Arch. de l'Emp. Neg. Pap. de Sim. 1,483, No. 58.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 259.

Considers himself in duty bound to report on the proceedings now being taken with regard to the divorce, for it may perhaps add to the information received from the ambassador in England (Chapuys) and at this court [of France], as well as at Rome. Should the information he is about to give agree with that sent by the said Imperial ambassadors, let it be settled that some steps must be taken to counteract the designs of the enemy. Should his report, on the contrary, turn out untrue, let the fault rest with the Italians and Frenchmen, from whom he derives his information.

On the 1st inst. the Council (convokation) of England, as Your Majesty has no doubt been informed, commenced its labours principally for this business of the Queen. As the king of England cannot find his way to the Pope, he thinks that having the opinion of the majority of this Faculty, and that of other universities in his favour—although such an opinion is quite worthless in consequence of the corruption used, as His Holiness has been sufficiently informed—he will, as many presume, shew all such opinions in his Council and assembly (*en su consejo y ayuntamiento*) of laymen and ecclesiastics, among whom are several prelates and nobles of his kingdom representing what he calls the Anglican Church. The King's purpose is to tell them for his own justification, as is his wont, that he has been during all these years married contrary to the law and commands of God; that during this time and with proper regard for the Queen (*hecha la salva á la Reyna*) he has, in order to quiet his conscience, applied to His Holiness (who would not consent to the divorce) in several ways, begging him to authorize the

* This name is written in such a manner that it is difficult to say whether Tovara, Tavora, or Tarva is meant, but I am inclined to think that *Tovar*, which is frequently spelt *Tobar*, is meant, the more so that it is the name of a noble family closely allied with the *Fernandez de Velasco*, constables of Castille. One *Francisco de Tobar* is spoken of in part 2, p. 415, as a captain in the Imperial army.

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said divorce. The Pope having hitherto delayed giving his sanction to it, the King, no longer able to resist the cries of his conscience, has sought for and obtained the signatures of several doctors and universities both in England and abroad, all of whom are in favour of his opinion. That the object for which he presents the said papers and opinions is that a bishop elected by the assembly may give him permission to separate from his Queen, since the Pope will not do him that justice.* With regard to the interdict, as well as the censures and excommunications with which he and his kingdom have been visited, the King says that he heeds them not, for he has appealed against them to the General Council; but as this does not meet, and indeed there is no appearance of its ever meeting, he will no longer remain in peril of his soul and in a marriage contrary to Divine Law. With this the King will no doubt consider that he has fulfilled his duty towards God and man.

These are the motives which the King has alleged and will probably allege for his conduct; whether he will or not ultimately gain his end remains to be seen. He (Garay) believes he will not; others, and among them many men of learning, morality, and wisdom, think that he will, considering his insistence upon this wretched divorce (*esta desventura*).

All the arguments and reasons hitherto adduced by the English have been so often repeated and have so little plausibility, that it is unnecessary to record them here. The Emperor must by this time have become a more subtle theologian than himself (Garay), and has plenty of eminent divines at his court capable of refuting them. One argument, however, occurs to him (Garay) at this moment, which is this:† How is it that the king of England, after living 23 years with his Queen in such union and love that she governed him and his kingdom, for when he was absent from home she gained a battle against the king of Scotland, and slew him on the field, as great a deed as that of Judith when she killed Holofernes? How is it, I say, that after so many years of virtuous life, a prince so generous, and claiming so much learning in these matters, never spoke a word of this before, but began, through passionate love of a lady-in-waiting to his own Queen, and hatred to Your Majesty, to feel scruples about

* "Que muestra todo esto para que licitamente, con autoridad da un obispo que el escoja se aparten, pues el Papa no le haze justicia."

† "Como este illustrissimo Rey en xxiii años continuos que estuvo con su mujer con tanto amor que le gobernaba no solo á su reyno pero á su persona, y estando fuera de su reyno gano la batalla contra el Rey de Escocia, su enemigo, y lo mató en el campo (que no hizo mayor hazaña Judith en matar a Holofernes), en tantos años para un principe tan generoso y que tanto presume de letras, porque jamas ablo (*sic*) palabra en este caso, començó a sentir escrupulos por passion de amores de una dama de la Reyna y odio con Vuestra Majestad, confyado secretamente con los principales prelados de su reyno, asy en letras como en vida, lançolos tan lexos que no puede verlos, solo porque le decian la verdad por asegurar su conciencia y estado."

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his marriage, and after consulting thereupon the principal prelates of his kingdom—the most learned and moral—dismissed them and sent them away far off, because they told him the simple truth in order to quiet his conscience and ensure his estate! Let them ask him why he deprived of her rights a princess so adorned with beauty, virtues, chastity, and wisdom, that she has not her equal in the world? For in thus depriving her against all Divine and human law of what was her right, he certainly committed a greater sin than if he had actually despoiled her of her worldly goods, which after all only affect the comfort of the body, whereas the others concern the soul and constitute an injury to God and a great scandal in the sight of men.* The King alleges that he is married contrary to Divine Law, but the following dilemma might be proposed to him. He is either certain or uncertain about this. If certain, why has he disturbed (*revuelto*) all men of learning in Christendom? For one, it seems to me, was enough to tell the Pope how matters stood, besides that all the doctors who from the Apostles down to our present time have treated this question, are in favour of the Queen; and even those who allegate on their own judgment and without quoting authorities are against him.† If probabilities even were strongly in his favour, but he had no absolute certainty, the Church ordains, expressly under pain of excommunication, that in such cases at least the husband should give his wife her due.‡ Quotes in corroboration the text of a decretal beginning "Inquisitioni."

What the King ought to have done was to cast away from him, and from the service of his Queen, the lady who is the cause of all this evil. She might have been disposed of in marriage, or shut up in a convent, or sent to Madame [Margaret] with a post of honour in her household. This being done, and the King fasting for several days upon bread and water, with severe penance besides for the scandal given, he should then have commended himself to God and placed the affair in the hands of His Holiness, the only authority in such matters. I would consent to lose my head on the block, if after a month of such a life the King did not become a better husband than ever he was before, and retrieve his soul, ensure his estate, and restore the Queen in all her rights so unjustly taken away from her. Should he do that he would no longer suffer from scruples, and everyone would consider him a good Christian.

But I am very much afraid that the King, blinded as he is by passion, and having already begun to lose all shame and fear of God, as well as all respect to the Pope, may one of these

* "Con cuya autoridad, contra toda ley y derecho, mucho mas que si por fuerça la despojara en camisa de todo su estado, porque lo uno son bienes corporales, lo otro el alma, la afrenta á Dios y al mundo con tan grand escandalo."

† "Y los mesmos que alegan por sy son contra él."

‡ "Que á lo menos sea obligado á dar el debito."

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days commit some scandalous act that may be difficult to redress and fatal in its consequences. That is why I beg and entreat Your Majesty to request the Pope publicly to declare in Consistory, in the presence of all the members of the Rota, and in his own words as bearing greater authority, that the King's marriage is perfectly valid according to the Faith; that the Papal dispensation was quite sufficient, and that he (the Pope) should at once annul all that may have been said or done against the said marriage, depriving of their offices and ecclesiastical benefices all who oppose this his opinion, and excommunicating whomsoever should in future oppose his decretals. This being done, the King will not dare prosecute his purpose, lest his vassals should take the law into their own hands (*no le apedreen*). Should he disregard the Papal sentence and appeal from it, Civil Law (*el Derecho*) affords sufficient means for the punishment of rebels, however exalted their rank may be; otherwise justice would be altogether banished from this world.

With regard to the Pope he must know by this time what has taken place here. I am told that he dares not expedite the brief to chastize these intrigues (*bellaquerias*) from fear of losing altogether the French king's friendship; but the truth is that if he has the will, he also has the power to do it, and should fear no one in this business except God. I am rather inclined to believe after all that the Pope is really afraid of offending the kings of England and France, that being the reason of so many delays in the proceedings. That is why I think this the fit moment to urge the Pope at once to pronounce sentence in this case, which sentence can no longer be delayed without notable danger to the Church and to the Apostolic See; and since His Holiness is so much indebted to Your Majesty, that even the blind confess that he owes to you his life and his chair and everything, he cannot but do justice at once, as I have had occasion to represent to him, or forfeit the authority which his predecessors have enjoyed for 1,030, and he himself for five years in this kingdom of France, and thus place the whole of Christendom in imminent danger.

Your Majesty will forgive me if I am too prolix, but the truth is that perceiving the king of England's obstinacy, and the Pope's coldness, seeing this king bent upon favouring the other, and the injury about to be inflicted upon so great a princess; bearing in mind the atrocious wars and dire calamities of past times, I begin to think that God is about to visit our many sins with a Turkish invasion as powerful and destructive as the past.

I can no longer be of use here. If Your Majesty wants my services in England or at Rome, I am ready to go wherever I am ordered.—Paris, 17th October 1530.

Signed: "Garay."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

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18 Oct. **464.** Martin de Salinas to Secretary Juan Vazquez.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 248 v°.

On the receipt of Your Worship's letter I called upon Alvaro de Lugo to pay me the money by weight, and in the same bags in which he had received it. This he refused to do, and gave as an excuse the reasons specified in the enclosed papers, upon which, seeing that time was passing, and that the agent of the Fuggers might perhaps be already at Fuentarrabia, though I had no notice of his arrival there, I resolved to accept the money, and give receipt for 200,000 ducats, counted one by one, discarding those that seemed to me not to be of sufficient weight.*

I returned to Tordesillas on Sunday the 16th, three hours before daybreak, and hid the money in so secret a place that the earth itself cannot say where it is (*que la tierra no sabe dello*). Yesterday, Monday, I sent a message to the man who had the 50,000, and he came immediately. To-morrow I will dispatch the bastard of Orrus (du Roeulx), and the rest of the week will be employed in preparing for Mercado's journey. This latter will be followed on Monday next by the treasurer himself.—Tordesillas, 18th October 1530.

Addressed; "To Secretary Juan Vazquez."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

19 Oct. **465.** The Same to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 249.

Wrote last by Don Enrrique de Rojas advising his arrival at the court of the Empress, and has since reported at various times on the progress of his mission. The bastard of Orrus (du Roeulx) is good witness that it is no fault of his that the money has not been sent to Fuentarrabia sooner.

Respecting the daughter of Don Pedro Lasso, whom His Highness recommended, a place has been obtained for her in the Imperial household as one of the Empress' ladies-in-waiting (*damas*). The appointment has been communicated to her father.

With regard to the specie and the suspicion that it was not of good alloy, every possible precaution has been taken. The best that could be had in the kingdom was obtained. The silver coins were scrupulously examined one by one, and when found deficient in weight put on one side, so that there ought to be no loss in the total amount.

The law-suit of Martin de Guzman, respecting which His Highness makes inquiries, though tried in Council has not yet been decided. Spoke about it to the Empress, who referred him to the President. The latter, who knows the great interest His Highness takes in this affair, as well as his

* "En cada talegon avia cinco pesos de á a xxviii. marcos, que hazen 140, ó 370 á razon de lxxi. y medio (?) por marco; los quales se contaban por mi, y entre ellos avia algunos quebrados, que les faltaban pieças, y estos quedaron con los otros que sobran por las faltas; en cada talego lo suyo."

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reason for so doing, shewed at once every disposition to exert himself to the utmost. He said that the reason why the process had not been determined at once was that the prosecuting officer had died, and also most of the councillors who had tried the suit. Another lawyer had been appointed in his room, named Alvar Perez, but he was young and had no knowledge whatever of the affair. In his opinion, Guzman's case was not a judicial but an administrative one, which ought to be decided by the Emperor himself. Offered to write to the High Commander of Leon [Covos] about it, as he has done since, &c.

Alonso de Mercado is sending a brother of his with the bastard [Du Roeulx], first, for the greater security of the trust [in money]; and secondly, because he wishes him to see the world and be two years absent from Spain. Warmly recommends him to His Highness' notice as the son of one who has served faithfully.—Tordesillas, 19th October 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

19 Oct. **466.** The Same to the High Commander of Leon.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 250 v°.

Would have written before had he had at hand a cipher to communicate with his Lordship, as the business which brought him to Spain was of so secret a nature as to require every precaution. Has, however, written to Secretary Castillejo, whose cipher he possesses, giving a full account of the transaction, and how the money was obtained at last and forwarded to Fuentarrabia. Needs scarcely point out the trouble he has taken in this affair and the precautions used not to arouse suspicion.

Begs leave to recommend Treasurer Ochoa de Landa, who, as reported in his letter to Secretary Castillejo, has sustained great losses through his honourable conduct. The Marquis is writing to his son, Don Enrrique de Rojas, about it.—Tordesillas, 19th October 1530.

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original draft. p. 1.

18 Oct. **467.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 84–7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 262.

Wrote on the 12th announcing the arrival in this city of the duke of Milan. Visited him in Your Majesty's name on the 14th, and was very honourably received by him. On the 16th the Doge (Duque) with all the Signory called at his lodgings, and were with him a good while. Next day the Duke returned the Doge's visit, and asked for a secret audience, which was granted in the Ducal Palace and in the presence of the Council of Ten, the sages, grandees, and councillors, and lasted one hour and a half.

Having obtained through the General of the Augustinians,

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of whom I have spoken in former despatches, all the information that was to be had on the subject of the Duke, and his interview with the Doge and Signory, I called upon his ambassador here, and tried to find out whether his report agreed with that which I had heard. The ambassador's answer was that the Duke, his master, had come to Venice for seven different objects. 1st. To visit the Signory and thank them for past favours. 2nd. To state the great want in which he is of money to pay Your Majesty. 3rd. The intelligence he has received from France that the King has sent to offer to Your Majesty the remainder of the 900,000 ducats owed by the Duke, on condition of the investiture of Milan being transferred to his son, the duke of Orleans, who is to be married to the daughter* of queen Eleanor. This the King suggested might be easily accomplished, inasmuch as the Duke (Sforza) had not paid the money at the stipulated dates. The Emperor, however, had, to his knowledge, rejected the overtures, and not allowed the matter to be entertained.

The 4th was to tell the Signory which were the fortified towns in his estate, and which were not. The fortified were Carmona, Lodi, and Alessandria; those that were not and required to be so, Pavia, Milan, and Como.

The 5th to inform them that the most Christian King of France had sent to ask him to restore the property confiscated from the "fuorusciti," as well as the pensions and grants which the King had made them when in possession of Milan.

The 6th to ask their advice respecting the various matrimonial alliances proposed to him, such as that of the Pope's niece and daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici (Caterina), or that of a daughter of the marquis de Montferrato.

The 7th, and last, to beg they would wait for the amount of his debt to them until he has paid Your Majesty in full.

Called again on the Duke, who confirmed the statements of his ambassador. Had a long conference with him, which was interrupted by the arrival of cardinal Pisani, and then took leave of the Duke, who promised to call at my lodgings and tell me the rest.

[*Cipher*:] In going out, the Milanese ambassador accompanied me. A person worthy of credit having told me that among the various offers of marriage made to the Duke, one was that of the daughter of the king of England, and knowing that this was the case, I said to the Milanese ambassador: "I cannot tell you how affectionately fond I am of the Duke, your master, and how delighted to see him on such good terms with the Emperor. Have you ever thought of the princess of England, for I fancy that would be a very suitable marriage?" "My master," replied the Milanese ambassador, "intends to send an ambassador to England for the purpose of asking the King for a loan, and also of treating for a marriage with his

* Princess Mary daughter of Dom Manuel, king of Portugal, who was Eleanor's first husband.

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daughter." "Has there been any talk about it?" was my next question. "No," answered the ambassador; but this was said in a manner that made me think at the time that there was some reason to doubt the ambassador's veracity. I have since remembered that in a conversation I had about 20 days ago with the English ambassador on the divorce case I asked him: "What will the king of England do if he gains his wicked purpose, and how will he dispose of his daughter?" He answered: "The King wishes to find a suitable marriage for her (*como es razon*)." I then observed, that whoever married her would expect to succeed to the throne. He replied that many means might be found to prevent this.

All this makes me suspect that there must have been some talk about this marriage, and indeed I should not be surprised if the king of England, being what he is, were to give his daughter to the duke Francesco, although he is actually without feet or hands, or has lost the use of them, which comes to the same thing. I report this to Your Majesty, because even were the King to do so it would not be nearly so bad a treatment of the daughter as of the mother.

The duke of Ferrara is also in Venice. I have not yet been able to ascertain what his object in coming here may be; but as the Papal Legate at the Imperial court has to my own knowledge set spies upon him, we shall soon know what he is about. The arrival of cardinal Salviati at this moment, and when the two Dukes [of Milan and Ferrara] are in Venice may also lead to suspicion. The latter [Alfonso d'Este] came last night from the lake of Garda.

The plague at Constantinople.—Venice, 18th October 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 15.

19 Oct. **468.** Dr. GARAY to the EMPEROR.

Arch. de l'Emp. Neg. Pap. de Sim. No. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 270.

Nearly a year ago, at the request of Monsieur de Alachaulx (La Chaulx), now deceased, and whilst the Emperor was at Bologna before his coronation, he (Garay) sent a manuscript book (*codice*), in Latin and Spanish, wherein he had written down what he knew on this matter of the divorce. Since then he has had occasion again to study the subject, adding to his manuscript work many valuable quotations, besides preparing an answer to the fallacious arguments of our adversaries, which have been of such nature that had he not feared to prejudice the affair itself and offend God, as a priest, he would willingly have used his hands rather than his tongue.

Relates what passed in the Faculty of Theology, and that having exhibited a paper signed by him and explaining some of the reasons why a conclusion could not be taken in favour of the King, even in the event of the majority of the doctors being in his favour, his motion was not taken into consideration. It was no use telling them that the Pope had advoked

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the cause to his court, and that the inhibition had been already published both in Flanders and in Savoy, they would in no wise listen to him, and even refused permission to the secretary or to the bedel of the Faculty to certify our joint protest, took from us the book in which our votes had been written, and hid it so that it might not be found.

Recapitulates every argument he (Garay) made on other occasions. Of the five councils appealed to in the King's favour not one contradicts the conclusion that the Pope could dispense, &c.—Paris, 19th October 1530.

P.S.—Humbly requests that the Imperial ambassador here [in Paris] be instructed to ask for the University register, where the opinions of this Faculty are written, or if not for an authentic copy of the said opinions, that the Pope may learn that the majority of the doctors are for the Queen.

Should this be obtained it would greatly turn to our favour and to the confusion and shame of our adversaries. If queen Eleanor, Your Majesty's sister, could be written to it would be a good help for the ambassadors to get what we want.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 10.

19 Oct. **469.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to SECRETARY CASTILLEJO.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist. c. 71, f. 251.

(*Cipher :*) Don Enrrique de Rojas, who left for Flanders on the 14th ult°, was the bearer of a letter giving an account of my journey—a long and fatiguing one—of my arrival at Court, and of the audience I had from the Empress. Spent at Madrid seven whole days exclusively occupied with the business I had in hand, and obtaining orders for the treasury, &c. Left for Medina del Campo, where I thought I might have found Alvaro de Lugo, and the money, but he was absent at Valladolid, of which town he is now "corregidor." Went thither accompanied by Ochoa de Landa, the treasurer, and after confidentially informing Lugo of the object and nature of my mission exhibited my credentials, and the warrant signed by the Empress and the president of her Council. Lugo shewed all readiness to comply with the orders, but said to me, "Your Worship must have patience and wait seven or eight days, for I have no knowledge whatever of this affair, and the accountant cashier, who has received, and is to pay, the money, is now absent on leave at his native town, ten leagues beyond Burgos." A special messenger was immediately dispatched in quest of the said clerk, and in the meantime I came here [to Tordesillas] to avoid suspicion, and select persons to accompany Mercado and the others for the better fulfilment of their duty. Two court operatives (*oficiales cortesanos*) of my acquaintance were found at Tordesillas, willing to undertake the job, and keep the secret; one of them, Machin, the High Commander's sailor, a married man, generally residing here at Valladolid; the other a hosier (*calcetero*) of the name of Muñoz, also a

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married man, residing at Medina del Campo, but they were not quite ready to depart with the bastard (of Rœulx), who was to be the first to start (*el primero de la escala*), and, therefore, Mercado and the bastard were instructed to inquire secretly at Medina [del Campo] where they then resided, whether there was any trusty individual willing to serve in this affair. As no one could be found to accept the charge, Mercado offered to send along with the bastard one of his own brothers, that he may travel and see the world, &c. The offer has been accepted, and Mercado's brother is soon to depart in company with Du Rœulx.

It is now settled that the bastard will leave in a day or two, taking with him 18,000 crs. in silver, of which he is to give full account, after deducting his own personal expenses and those of Mercado's brother, who, as mentioned above, accompanies him, as well as those of a courier, who is to guide them to Fuentarrabia, engage post horses for them and so forth. The courier to come back immediately to inform Mercado and Francisco de Salamanca of the bastard's safe arrival [at Fuentarrabia]. The bastard's first duty on his arrival at the Imperial court will be to present himself to Your Lordship and give a full account of his mission.

During my stay in this town (Tordesillas) the bishop of Astorga (Don Fray Alvaro de Osorio), now residing at Valladolid, sent me a special messenger to complain of my having been in the neighbourhood without letting him know, and gave me an appointment for Simancas, where he offered to come at any time. My answer was that I was ignorant of the fact of his being in that town. Had I known of it, I should have not failed to visit him and kiss his hands. Agreed to meet him somewhere on the road, though it seemed to me an act of very bad breeding indeed to make an appointment on the road when I was so close to Valladolid. However, this town of Tordesillas is in the keeping of the marquis de Denia,* who will not allow people to come to it, and when they do, has them expelled. I was obliged to name a place more than half-way between this town and Valladolid, for my appointment with the Bishop, and there he agreed to meet me. In consequence, however, of the "reformador" of St. Bernard —who is a great friend of his, and also of yours—happening to be at Valladolid the Bishop changed his mind, and appointed a farmhouse belonging to the monks of that order, between Simancas and Aniago. The said reformer having expressed a wish to accompany him, both met me at the farm at the appointed day and hour, where I was splendidly entertained, and earnestly requested to inform them about His Royal Highness' health, the object of my mission, the state of affairs in Germany, &c., to all which questions I answered as best I could, though absolutely concealing from them the real object of my mission, &c.

* Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, at this time keeper of Doña Juana, Charles' mother, who was still confined at Tordesillas.

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The letter for your friend Escalante I delivered to his brother, Lic^te^ Escalante, now Oidor of Valladolid, to be forwarded to him by the first opportunity. He is now absent, and as during my stay in that town I have been obliged to keep in doors from fear of exciting curiosity, I have been unable to ascertain what has happened to him and what is the cause of his absence.

From Madrid I sent a messenger express to Toledo to inquire how far the work of the steel cap (*capaçate*) had advanced. He brought me answer that Blas Caballero, the workman, was absent at Valladolid. Wrote to him by Diego de Lequeitio, giving him the news of our court, and inquiring whether the steel piece was already in his possession. His answer was as Your Worship will see by the two enclosed letters.*

On the 1st inst. Francisco de Salamanca and Juan, his secretary, arrived with Your Worship's letters to me, in answer to which I can but express my sorrow at your indifferent health. In the same packet came letters for Señor Pedro de Castro, and others for Ciudad Real, all of which were duly sent by me to secretary Juan Vazquez for him to forward to their destination. That which came for the bishop of Avila [D. Rodrigo Mercado] I intend taking myself, as there is almost a certainty of the court removing soon to that town.

The Dean (*el Señor Dean*) sent me a memorandum to procure for him certain pillow cases and hand-cloths (*fundas de almohada y paños de mano*) worked. The bastard of Orrus (Du Rœulx) is about to take them. They are the best that could be bought, and are in two bundles covered with oilcloth (*lienço encerado*).

In the letter brought by Francisco de Salamanca there was a paragraph advising that the 100,000 ducats had been negociated with the Fuggers, to be delivered at Fuentarrabia; but as their agent here has not yet made his appearance at court, and there is no intelligence of those bankers being at the frontier, I have decided that the treasurer and Diego de Lequeitio go as far as Vitoria with the money, leaving his companion behind. The former is to go as far as Fuentarrabia to see whether the agents of the Fuggers have arrived, and in case of their being there agree as to the mode and time of the delivery. Francisco de Salamanca and his secretary are also to go with him. Should the Fuggers be at Fuentarrabia they will return to Vitoria, take the money to them, and get a proper receipt with which they will proceed to Germany. But if they (the Fuggers) have not arrived, the treasurer, after waiting a couple of days, will write to Salamanca, and his secretary, and give them notice of the whole transaction. The funds will be meanwhile at Vitoria in a safe place. The reason why I have taken no personal part in this affair is that I am well known on this road, having travelled it more than once. Were my numerous friends and acquaintances to

* Not in Salinas' copy-book.

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see me again followed by a long train of pack horses (*azemilas*), heavily laden, they could not fail to suspect what I was about. Had it not been for this, I should much have preferred to saunter about Vitoria and enjoy myself than be thus exiled from court.

I do not write to the High Commander the details of this affair, because I have no cipher by me to communicate with him, and the whole affair must needs be kept secret. Your Worship no doubt will inform him of all this.—Tordesillas, 19th October 1530.

Addressed: "To Secretary Castillejo."

Spanish. Original draft deciphered. pp. 6.

20 Oct. **470.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 65–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 275.

Relates his conversations with the Pope respecting the sums to be contributed by the Italian princes. His Holiness agrees to pay 10,000 ducats monthly towards the support of the Imperial forces, whilst they remain in Italy, provided the other Italian powers contribute 20,000 between them. Should any of them refuse to pay the sum agreed, the Pope proposes that the troops be quartered on their territory; because if they are the cause of the troops not going to fight the Turk it is but just that they should suffer the penalty. Encloses the list of contributions as proposed by His Holiness.

Bad state of the finances in Naples.—Cardinal Colonna writes to say that he cannot proceed to the sale of confiscated property until an answer comes to his despatches.—The estates of the duke of Gravina, deceased, and of the prince of Melphi are in that situation, as the Cardinal says, and cannot be disposed of until the instructions he has asked for come from court. But it appears to him (Muxetula) that those charged with the sale of confiscated and Crown property ought rather to look out for buyers than purchase the estates themselves, for many considerations which he passes over in silence. He (Muxetula) says this much because he hears that the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) has himself bought for 10,000 crs. the estate of Venafro, &c.

Institution of the cingolo militare.

(*Cipher*:) The king of France, as the Pope tells him, has secret intelligences at Genoa. He has also sent an ambassador to the duke of Milan about the will of his brother [Massimiliano]. The Pope says that the Milanese ambassador has shewn him a letter written by the French king to his master, requesting him to restore the property to those to whom he himself gave it when he ruled at Milan. The Duke's answer was that he would cause an investigation to be made and would let him know.

The duke of Milan and Ferrara in Venice.

Begs to be allowed to quit Rome, as the business for which he principally came is nearly finished. If the Emperor gives

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him leave, he intends repairing to Court and verbally informing the Emperor of many things that cannot conveniently be committed to writing. It would be a great satisfaction to him if Alonso Sanchez could be present also, as he can better than anyone else inform the Emperor of these Neapolitan and Roman affairs.—Rome, 20th October 1530.

Signed: "Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

21 Oct. **471.** MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 105–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 286.

I wrote on the 15th inst. about my conversation with cardinal de Agramonte (Grammont), and the delay asked for in the matter of the king and queen of England. Since then the Pope has tried to persuade me to agree to a suspension of 20 days, but I refused. He then sent for cardinal d'Osma, and desired him to exert all his influence to make me accede to this suspension, on the plea that in the interval the king of France, who had written in favour of the king of England, might bring the latter to reason, or at least induce him to hold his tongue, and speak no longer in behalf of his friend and ally. Fifteen or 20 days' delay in an affair of this kind (the Cardinal said to me) would be nothing in comparison with the advantages to be derived from it, and, besides, His Holiness had promised to write to Your Majesty about it. Such was the Pope's message to me, as delivered by the Cardinal. Replied that Your Majesty had always urged the prosecution of the suit, as he (d'Osma) could see by his letters. I then recounted all the delays which the affair had already suffered, the Queen's troubles and anxiety, and said how important it was for Your Majesty to have the thing decided at once, and not be perpetually hampered with the arbitration of His Holiness, and thus remove all occasions for the French and Lutherans, and all others who were hostile to Your Majesty, to disturb the peace.* The King's obstinacy in this affair could only be met by vigorous action, and it would be disreputable and shameful to consent to a further prorogation of the suit.

In spite of all my reasoning the Cardinal and Muscetula, who was also present, insisted that the delay was short, and the risk insignificant, when compared with the good that might come out of it, and both said that if Your Majesty were here (at Rome), they had no doubt the delay would be granted. I yielded at last to their representations, my principal reason being, as I afterwards told them, that I had not received then, any more than I have now, the documents I am expecting both from England and from Castille, without

* "Por no estar siempre colgado del arbitrio del Papa, y ahun de la occasion que tomaran franceses y lutheranos, y los que no tenian buenos fines."

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which the proceedings cannot possibly proceed; besides which cardinal Ancona, who is a good servant of Your Majesty, had advised me in the morning to follow this course. I, therefore, with the consent of my colleagues (d'Osma and Muscetula) went to the Pope and courteously informed him that his wishes would be complied with; I would in no wise grant a formal delay (*sobreseimiento*), but I would make one first term and not make another until 20 days after, which is equivalent to losing two within that period.

Letters have since come from the king of England; I have not yet been able to learn their contents, but hope to do so soon. As far as I can judge, from information received here from Bologna, whither Casale has gone to fetch his wife, the King instructs his ambassadors to promise in his name that he will take no new step until after next January.*

Three or four days ago letters came from the Baron del Burjo (*sic*), Papal Nuncio in England, through which Your Majesty will be able to judge of the King's intentions. They are here enclosed.†

I think I have told Your Majesty that the English ambassadors, when they demanded the three points about which I wrote, would not deliver the letters they had from their master to the Pope. Tarbes presented that of the French king in favour of king Henry, but he afterwards got it back by command of his master, alleging that although king Francis had full confidence in His Holiness, yet we were all mortals, and the letter might afterwards fall into hands where he would not like it to be. I could not help telling the Pope that this was not an honourable way for kings to negociate, for they have no need of such stratagems.‡

Have incessantly solicited the two remaining points of the memorial. I forwarded these some days ago, and yesterday cardinal Ancona, to whom the affair is particularly committed, promised me that whenever the Pope ordered him he would give his vote in the presence of the English ambassadors, besides which the Pope promised also to send for the latter to-day, and give them notice.

Rodrigo Niño writes that the bishop Theatino (of Chieti) will not write in this matter without the Pope's consent. Whenever he gets it he undertakes to write to the King himself. I told the Pope this, and he was glad to hear it. It is not true, as the English pretend, and Niño writes, that the English have gained a very strong brief, besides the one about which I wrote to Your Majesty, and which, though

* "Es que el Rey comete que prometan que no innovará cosa alguna de fecho hasta por todo henero."

† "Habra tres o quatro dias que vinieron otras cartas del baron del Burjo, que es alla Nuntio en Anglaterra, el retracto (*sic*) de las cuales va en esta; en él vera V^a Mag^d los buenos fines que allá se tienen."

‡ "[No?] he dexado de decir a su Santidad que ni este es modo de negociar de reyes, ni de negociar con virtud y justicia, porque ellos no tienen necessidad de usar de estas cautelas."

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vaguer than I should have wished, was nevertheless very different from what they say.

At Ferrara the same steps have been taken by the English as at Bologna and Padua. The Duke's officers opposed them at first, and they (the English) made all manner of excuses to no purpose (*palabras excusadas*). At last they promised to get the doctors of the College to give their candid opinion of the affair. The English were not satisfied with this, and wished the Ferrarese doctors to give counsel in favour of their king. But Your Majesty may be sure that all these are vain endeavours, because it is certain, and the English themselves know it quite well, that the cause will be finally determined according to justice and Canon law; and yet these men go on troubling the world with these theologians.*

Miçer Sigismondo Lofredo has sent from Naples some judicial allegations in which, as far as I have seen, this business of the divorce is ably discussed; but, as I have written to Your Majesty more than once, right is decidedly on our side; what we want is to prove facts, and yet notwithstanding my frequent applications for more than two consecutive years for the papers and documents required, notwithstanding that when I asked Joan Aleman for them at Burgos he fully promised to procure them immediately, up to this day they have not been received.

Should the Pope, instead of wishing the French king to mediate, and persuade the king of England to submit to his judgment, which no one believes he will do, want him to interfere in the principal affair, I must at once declare to Your Majesty that whatever cardinal Osma's and all the world's opinion may be in this particular, I shall never consent to it, for it strikes me that it is a far more important concession than the one we have just made, and in which I have shewn greater docility than is my wont, because, as I say, the harm is small, and the period short, besides which the delay is granted in a form that offends no one; to which may be added that it was an urgent case, and one in which there was no time for consulting Your Majesty.

Of one thing only I am afraid, and I told cardinal D'Osma so, that this negociation once established the grant of one delay may become the pretext for another. The Cardinal's answer was that he had provided for the case and spoken to His Holiness about it, and that it had been settled between them that the prorogation would only be for 15 or 20 days at the most, and in the manner above mentioned.

In the summary of the Nuncio's letter some allusion is made to two ecclesiastics, who wish to become cardinals; they are no others than the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), and a brother of Sir Gregory Casale, a very young man indeed, who resides in Venice [for the king of England], but I have already

* "Segun la dispusition de los derechos y de los doctores canonistas, y estos andan barbullando (*sic*) el mundo con theologos."

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spoken my mind to the Pope about them.—Rome, 21st October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most August Majesty of the Emperor and King, our sovereign lord."

Indorsed: "Miçer Mai's letter of the 21st to be placed with the others about the divorce."

Spanish. Holograph almost entirely in cipher. pp. 3.

21 Oct. **472.** Micer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 105–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 289.

(*Cipher:*) Muxetula's mission is progressing fairly, as he himself will write to the Emperor. And certainly it was a very good idea to suggest that the money collected should be employed against the Lutherans alone, for, as Tarbes himself observed the other day in congregation, it is a more acceptable proposition than that of "Hungary and the Turk."

(*Common writing:*) It can easily be conceived that Andrea del Burgo, who has been trying for upwards of three months to obtain some sort of subsidy for his master, the king of Hungary, will not be very much pleased at this substitution; but he is a sensible man, and will take patience.

Treasurer Alonso Sanchez has arrived, and leaves to-day for Germany. He says that not only Naples will give not the 80,000 ducats promised, but that there is not one farthing left in the treasury to pay the army there, &c.

The Imperial troops are now within the territory of Siena; they have sacked a castle called Lucignano, and although the Sienese richly deserved all the harm they have since received, our men are still quartered in the territory of that Community, living on the inhabitants: a very bad example indeed when it falls upon people so constantly attached to the Emperor. Hopes that the Pope, to whom he (Mai) has applied, will soon determine where the men are to go for quarters.

There is still another question, which, if left unsettled, may possibly alienate the hearts of the Sienese from us, viz., the restitution of property to the "fuorusciti." Has written to Soria to send Philippo de Senis to him, that they may have a conference about it.

Cardinal de Agramonte (Gabriel de Grammont), with his habitual restlessness, went the other day and said to one of his colleagues, who repeated it to Miçer Andrea and him (Mai), that before the French would send a contribution in money for the German war (*en las cosas de Alemanya*), many things had to be done, meaning no doubt some agreement between the Emperor and them. He also said that their contribution would be in men, not in money; and upon his interlocutor objecting that perhaps Your Majesty would not place confidence in such a force (*no se fiaria de la tal gente*), he replied: "If such be the case, we shall send our money straight to the

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Germans." (*Cipher*:) The same cardinal (Grammont) said to the Pope that he knew as a fact that Your Majesty was journeying towards Flanders, and that the King, his master, wished to have an interview with you there; but he (the Cardinal) was determined to prevent, if possible, such an interview, as he knew that nothing good would result for His Holiness therefrom, but on the contrary a good deal of harm. He was (he said) sincerely attached to the Pope, and would at once go to France, and persuade the King not to see the Emperor. As the Pope knows his man well, he (Mai) had no difficulty in convincing him of what the Cardinal was aiming at.

Conjectures about the staying of the dukes of Milan and Ferrara at Venice.

French ambassador to Milan, and his demands from the Duke.

It is reported that the duke of Albany has been ill for some time, or at least has feigned to be so, and has now gone incognito either to Ferrara or to some other place; for what purpose is more than he (Mai) can say, for after all the intelligence may turn out untrue.

Cardinal Ancona gives good hopes respecting the nominations [of cardinals] and public prayers (*nominationes y preces*). Encloses the bull about Carlos Torrellas. Also a tract (*libello*) dedicated to the Emperor on the Ferrara affair and against the Duke. Has procured two copies; that of the Duke and another that came from France, in French. Is also trying to procure the Italian copy, that the Papal Nuncio sent from thence. If they do not all go by this post they will by the next.

The Pope says that he hears from his governor at Modena that the duke of Ferrara is every day making him most preposterous demands, all with a view to delay the termination of their pending affairs. He (the Pope) seemed not to be very much satisfied with Pero Çapata's doings there. Excused the latter as much as he could, and seeing the occasion at hand, suggested that the Duke might after all be wishing for a compromise. The Pope answered that if the Duke obstinately persisted in his idea of keeping that city to himself, no arrangement was possible. He promised, however, to look into the affair, and to-day the ambassador and secretary of the Duke have come and talked the matter over with him (Mai).

After writing the above, has heard from a good source that the most Christian King intends marrying the remaining daughter of Montferrato* to the marquis de Saluzzo.† Wishing to know whether the information was correct or not, sent to inquire from the Pope, and his answer has been that he

* Margaret,—the eldest, Maria, having died shortly before.

† There were at this time two marquises of Saluzzo: Giovan Luigi, who being dethroned by his brother, fled to France, and *Francesco*, who was slain at the siege of Carmagnola in 1537.

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heard it from cardinal de Agramonte (Gabriel de Grammont). Although information coming from such a source is not greatly to be relied upon, has deemed it opportune to apprize the Emperor thereof for two reasons of some weight: one is, that those two marquisates, if united under one head, would, from their geographical position and resources, constitute an important estate in Italy; and the other is, that perhaps the French, on account of the vicinity of Monferrato and Saluzzo to their own country, are better disposed to favour the said matrimonial alliance than that of any other Italian family.*—Rome, 21st October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

25 Oct. **473.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to king FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 254.

On the 19th the Bastard of Orrus (Du Rœulx) left with 18,000 crs. Alonso Mercado, bearer of this present, will leave in a day or two, taking 17,000 more, for which he will duly account.

The day after the departure of the Bastard, an agent of the Fuggers, who are to receive the 100,000 crs., came to me, and said that he had been at Fuentarrabia, and left his partner there to receive the money. When the agent came I was just making arrangements to go thither myself. The agent saw the money with his own eyes. It was then agreed that the treasurer, Alonso de Landa, should be about the 2nd of November, at his own house in Alava, where, if convenient to them, he might make delivery of the money. The village where Landa's house stands is small, off the turnpike road, and, therefore, less subject to the inquiries of the country people. It could then easily be carried to the frontier, and given to the Fuggers there. No objection was raised to this plan, which the agent approved after consulting with his partner at Fuentarrabia. Everything, however, will be done as they choose, though I must own that the original plan seems to me by far the speediest and surest. There the money might have been received with greater security and secrecy, as there was nothing else for the carriers to do than on arriving in sight of Fuentarrabia, cross the river, and get into the town, without anyone suspecting what sort of goods it was, for the money was in coffers of the size and form of those generally used for apparel. At Fuentarrabia there is a garrison and many soldiers, and however secretly the counting be made, some one would inevitably get scent of it, and when the frontier was crossed into France there might be danger for the Fuggers, besides fear of the secret getting divulged. Cannot say what plan they will fix upon, but whatever they

* "La una es que si aquellos marquesados se uniesen, por el lugar en donde estan serian gran parte en Italia, y tambien quiza ellos [los franceses] podrian inclinar mas facilmente a este casamiento por este mismo respeto y por la vicinidad que no á otros que les estuvieran mas lexos."

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do His Highness may be sure that the secret will be kept by them and by us.—Tordesillas, 25th October 1530.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

25 Oct. **474.** The Same to Secretary Castillejo.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 254.

Has received letters from the agents of the Fuggers at Fuentarrabia, saying that they are waiting for the money. To-morrow Alonso de Landa, the treasurer, will leave for that city. Mercado, the bearer of this, leaves to-day with 17,000 crs. The bastard left yesterday with 18,000.—Tordesillas, 25th October 1530.

Addressed: "To Secretary Castillejo."

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

26 Oct. **475.** Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 69.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581. f. 297.

Wrote yesterday, enclosing the draft of the Papal brief, engaging these Italian potentates to contribute. The Emperor will perceive that a clear allusion is therein made to the Lutherans, because had it been otherwise, and merely intended against the Turk, the Pope thinks that it would not have been quite so easy to make these people, and specially the Venetians, come forward with their respective contributions, for many reasons which the Emperor's ministers cannot fail to appreciate. This notwithstanding, the Pope has since determined that the briefs are not to be so clearly directed against the Lutherans, but to go in credence of the Nuncio he is about to send [to Germany], who will verbally explain his reasons for acting thus, because should these be stated in writing the Lutherans might take offence, and perhaps enter into a conspiracy with the Turks themselves, which would entail greater trouble and anxiety on the Emperor, and place Christianity in greater danger.

Affairs of Florence, and the expediency of removing the German garrison therefrom. The citizens themselves have entreated His Holiness to exert all his influence to have them replaced by 1,000 Italians under Alessandro Vitelli. The Germans cost full 8,000 crs., whereas the Italians may be had for half that sum. Marramaldo's men, to the number of 3,000, are still on Florentine territory, because the Pope has not yet paid them the whole of their arrears, but it is fully expected that before the end of this month they will be paid in full and dismissed.

Encloses a letter from cardinal Colonna, in answer to his about the money to come from Naples. Has written to Don Fernando [de Gonzaga] respecting the Sienese, and told him to avoid all occasion of annoying them about the quartering of troops in their territory.—Roma, 26th October 1530.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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28 Oct. **476.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 101.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 301.

Since his last of the 21st the Pope has changed his mind respecting the briefs to be sent to the Italian potentates as Muxetula must have reported.

(*Cipher :*) The Venetian ambassador went this very morning to the Pope and said that he had received information, not from the Signory, but from private persons, to the effect that this substitution of Lutherans for Turks, as clearly and openly expressed in the draft of the brief about to be issued, had caused considerable excitement throughout that city, because people said that after all the measure was likely to stir the Turk up against them, for that ever since the agreement made at Bologna he had looked upon them with an evil eye, and received their ambassadors badly.

(*Common writing :*) The Pope thinks that if good intelligence were to be established with the Catholic cantons of Switzerland some money might be obtained from the Venetians.

Ferrante Gonzaga and the garrison of Florence.—Thinks, as the Pope does, that the Germans under count Lodrone ought to be replaced by an equal number of Italians under Alessandro Vitelli.

Three hundred foot are to occupy Bracciano this very night, and will begin to-morrow to assault the "rocca." His Holiness thinks that it will surrender in less than 20 days, and is determined, as he says, to have it dismantled.

A lawyer has arrived here on the part of the duke of Mantua to ascertain, as he says, whether his master is bound to this marriage without giving fresh consent.* He called on me and asked me the question, but as I had already delivered Your Majesty's message on that head to the Pope, and told him what your wishes were, I have given the Duke's agent an evasive answer. The Pope tells me that when the Queen, mother of Doña Giulia, heard of this, she sent word to the Duke to say that he had better consult Your Majesty about it, that she and her daughter had nothing to do in the affair except to obey Your Majesty's commands. And upon the Pope remarking that the parties concerned intended taking the cause to the Rota, and summoning Doña Giulia to appear, I begged him to prevent it until we heard from Your Majesty, to which His Holiness fully agreed. I therefore beg for instructions how to act in this case, because on the one hand I am persuaded that the Duke does not wish to marry the lady, and that rather than give way he would proceed to any extremity, and on the other, though I have not had leisure enough to study the affair, I am inclined to think that the Duke's resistance is to a certain extent justifiable.

Advices from England state that the majority of the people and the Privy Council also are convinced that in order to

* "Si es obligado á este casamiento sin dar nuevo consentimiento."

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proceed "de facto" in the divorce affair it is indispensable to have some show of authority,* and that without it they will attempt nothing.

Negociations between the Pope and the duke of Ferrara.—Rome, 28th October 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

28 Oct. **477.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 19, f. 6.

Wrote from Madrid on the 16th, announcing his departure. Could not get there the papers he wanted, and was obliged to come to Ocaña, where he has received part of them. As soon as the remainder comes he will leave for Rome. Has written to Mr. de Grandvela (Granvelle), who will report about him.—Ocaña, 28th October 1530.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original p. 1.

30 Oct. **478.** The Emperor to Rodrigo Niño.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 313.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 324.

Has received his letter of the 14th inst.

Commends his zeal in procuring information respecting the negociations between the dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the Signory of Venice. Orders him to write as often as he can and report on the said negociations and their issue; but above all concerning the marriage of the duke of Milan to the daughter of the king of England.

The duke of Milan has told the Venetian ambassador that the king of France had applied to us for the investiture of that Duchy, and promised for it the 900,000 ducats which the Duke (Sforza) had engaged to pay. There is no truth whatin this statement.

When prothonotary Caracciolo goes to Venice he (Niño) is to ask him what information he possesses respecting the negociations of the two dukes, and at the same time inform him of the intended marriage of the duke of Milan and the princess of England. He is also to ask Caracciolo whether he has, or has not, written anything to us on the subject.—Augsburg, 30th October 1530.

Addressed: "To Rodrigo Niño, Imperial ambassador in Venice."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. pp. 2.

* "Algun hazidero (asidero ?) de autoridad."

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30 Oct. **479.** The Emperor to Pedro de la Cueva.

S. E. Pat. Re. Cap. c. Pont. L. 1, f. 84. B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 325.

The following are the instructions given by the Emperor to Don Pedro de la Cueva,* of His Council, and his chamberlain (*mayordomo*) to negociate with the Pope.

Is to ask for cardinals' hats for the archbishops of Seville and Santiago, the lord of Monaco, and the archbishop of Capua. When at Bologna [in 1529] His Holiness promised to attend to this our request.

Should the Pope answer you that as he then granted us three, the fourth might be discounted from those We now ask, you will tell him that for the fourth hat which he then granted We have already appointed a person of such quality and parts that We are sure he will be most acceptable, and that We now beg him to give us four more still.

We recommend you the utmost secrecy in this affair, both before and after your visit to Rome, so that, even in the case of His Holiness granting our request, as We hope he will do, it may remain for some time secret.—Augusta (Augsburg) 30th October 1530.

P.S.—Should His Holiness make any difficulty about this you will not fail to represent to him with what facility he gave one to Tarbes, and what people thought of his nomination at the time, and that We have never importuned him before for the sake of hats to Spaniards, although there are many who deserve that dignity well.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

— Oct. **480.** The Emperor to the Pope.*

S. E. Rom. L. 1, f. 186. B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 72.

Thanks him for the grant of the Council. Gives at full length the reasons for holding one as soon as possible. The place of meeting is indifferent to him provided it suits His Holiness. Recommends Mantua or Milan as the cities nearest to Germany, whose prince electors, whether Lutheran or Catholic, dislike going farther off.

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* Don Pedro de la Cueva was the youngest son of Don Beltran de la Cueva, by Doña Maria de Velasco, his third wife. The instructions concerning the Council and the Emperor's letter to Clement were both published in 1848 by Dr. Heine, of Berlin, in *Briefe an Kaiser Karl V.*, 1530–32, pp. 529–33.

† In Bergenroth's volume the draft of this letter of credence, which is undated, has been wrongly placed after a despatch of Mai of the 30th of Augus' (*see Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., p. 590); but as the ambassador himself did not arrive in Rome until the 15th November, and in obedience to the Emperor's commands, then at Augsburg, made all possible haste, it is not to be presumed that he was three full months on his way to Rome. For this reason I have placed it here immediately after the instructions, No. 479, which must have been signed and delivered about the same time, although the minute itself is without date. Don Pedro, as has already been stated, was the son of Don Beltran de la Cueva, count of Ledesma and first duke of Alburquerque (the celebrated favourite of Henry IV. of Castille), by his third wife Doña Maria de Velasco. Another and fuller letter to the Pope on general affairs, and principally on the convocation of a general council, which seems to have been Don Pedro's chief mission, is in Bergenroth's volume X., *Add.* 28,581, p. 311, under the date of 13th October.

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Sends Don Pedro de la Cueva, his "mayordomo," for whom he begs credence.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 5.

31 Oct. **481.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 44.

I informed Your Majesty in my letter of the 15th that Brian (Sir Francis) had left London, but it was only to take leave of his wife; he returned three days afterwards to start on his journey. The day before his departure Jehan Jocquin invited me to dinner to meet the Papal Nuncio, and I gladly accepted the invitation, hoping to find out what Brian was going to France for. Could not, however, discover anything except that he was going to that country as resident ambassador, where he is to take several pages as presents* and some horses. Thought also I might learn the reason of Jocquin's long stay at Dover, about which I wrote on the 1st inst., but could not get anything from him except that it was for the purpose of having a certain hermitage there rebuilt and especially to escape from the plague (*peste*) which generally prevails here during the month of September. Still I believe there is something else at the bottom of it.

The day before yesterday the duke of Norfolk having arrived here sent me a message about a Spanish vessel which they want to detain here, and also to apologize for not coming to see me personally, which he said was in consequence of one of my household servants having died of the plague. The Duke ordered the vessel to be released at once, and said that as to his apology for not having called upon me the truth was that since the death of his daughter he was terribly afraid of the plague, but that this excuse, though it might have served for others, he considered insufficient in my case, and therefore, though he had been ordered to return immediately to Court, he would wait for me in town till noon. At the Duke's the conversation turned among other things on the breaking up of the Diet, and the affairs of Germany, which, he said, were in the worst possible plight. There had never been a time when union among Christian princes was more needed than at present, but this dispute about the marriage was troubling all Christendom, especially this kingdom, which would be utterly ruined should the King happen to die before the case was decided. Replied that if he (the Duke) would carefully consider what had passed he would find that neither prince nor subject could have acted in this business better than Your Majesty had done at the Diet, on which point I feared the King had been much misinformed. Said this purposely in consequence of what *the King had told the Nuncio*, and since they confessed—though they seemed to think this rather a feather in their cap—that the dispute going on here was the cause of the disturbance of Christendom, I added that they should really fear to provoke God's anger. They had always wished, in order to prevent that very ruin and destruction of their country to which

* "Ou il menne plusieurs pages pour donner et quelques chevaux."

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they alluded for the prompt decision of the case. This Your Majesty had always done his best to accomplish, but they on the contrary had done all they could to delay it, for, in spite of all their seals, signatures, and consultations, the point was still undecided. The Duke said they had only sought delay in order to oppose the jurisdiction of the Pope, which they considered dangerous, and that *whatever mien His Holiness might put upon it it was evident that he did not really desire* a complete *accord among the princes of Christendom, knowing very well that a General Council* might thereby be assembled, which would *clip his wings and take away his temporal power.** Asked the Duke then whether since the King declined the Pope's jurisdiction he had thought of any other way of settling the question, to which he replied that he considered the case as settled if only the Queen would but acknowledge that she had lived with prince Arthur as his wife, which, he said, could be easily proved, and to which the king would swear. After some discussion on the statements and suggestions which the King had made and the oath which the Queen herself had once taken before the Legates (Wolsey and Campeggio), the Duke began to speak very highly of the Queen, but said that all the same her coming to this kingdom and the alliance with Spain had been the cause of nearly destroying England, and should probably have completed the ruin of the country by the unlawfulness of the marriage. This statement the Duke repeated four or five times, adding that I (Chapuys) should be of the same opinion if I knew his reasons for saying so. He was at length induced to explain these reasons, which were that the Catholic king, wishing to preserve Naples and conquer Navarre, had brought the English into war with France, which had completely exhausted their resources, and that God, desiring to manifest his displeasure at the marriage, had denied them male offspring; that the unlawfulness of the marriage was likely to renew many ancient feuds in the kingdom, and open the way for the king of Scotland to rise against the Princess should the King die without male issue, all of which he said would bring great misery on the kingdom. Refuted these arguments of the Duke easily enough, so completely indeed that he really did not know what to reply. Will not weary Your Majesty with all that was said on this occasion, only that I told the Duke that if it were but out of respect for the King's father (Henry VII.) they should not throw such blame on the alliance then made with Spain. He (Henry) knew how kingdoms were to be conquered and kept, and there being competitors for the Crown, both within and without the country, he ought to know that his greatest safety lay in his alliance with Spain. The Duke would not let me go on with my reasoning, but cut me short by saying that it was perfectly true that the King's father had come to the throne without right or proper title beyond that of having got rid of the tyrant who had murdered his own nephews, but that the present king was nevertheless the

* "Qui lui ouseroit couper les aesles (ailes ?) et luy oster la temporalite."

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rightful heir and had no competitors. Replied that I had no wish to enter on such delicate subjects, *but the Duke no doubt assuming that however little interest* I took in it I *must nevertheless know that his statement was untrue, tried to make out that the quarrel of the White Rose was now extinct, there being others whose claim to the Crown was preferable.*

Returning after this digression to the Queen's case, the Duke said that he had received in the King's favour *the seals* of the universities of Bologna and Padua, and that about a month ago, the *Pope had said to the King's ambassadors that all the doctors to whom he had spoken on this matter shared the King's views,* and tried to make him *believe that Your Majesty would be pleased rather than otherwise should the Queen's cause be condemned.* Replied "if this were so there was no excuse whatever for not admitting the Pope's jurisdiction in this case;" but the Duke would hear nothing of that.

The Duke also said that to avoid any suspicion of his wishing his own son to marry the Princess, he intended to marry him before the end of another month to a lady to whom but for this consideration he would not have married him, even had she 30,000 crowns more revenue than she actually had. He added that the King intended to make short and sharp work with the Lutherans. I have no doubt he will, *for among their books one has been found very much to the King's disadvantage, and in favour of the Queen.*

At the end of the interview I begged the Duke to consider and let me know whether there was anything I could do for the settlement of this dispute, for that I would do it with all my heart. The Duke made the same request of me, saying that he hoped in a few days both of us would be able to communicate our mutual opinions on the subject. Just as I was leaving the room the earl of Wiltshire arrived, at which the Duke said he was glad, as I had not seen the Earl since his return from Italy. The Earl having inquired after Your Majesty's health and most courteously offered his services, *began slandering the Pope and cardinals so violently that full of horror at what was being said I took leave and left the room immediately.*

I have duly informed *the Nuncio of all this, telling him that unless the Pope has this question settled at once, and should the Earl and his daughter remain in power, they will entirely alienate this kingdom from its allegiance to the Pope. The Nuncio quite* agrees *with my views, and promised to write to His Holiness expressly about it.*

I hear from pretty good authority *that Monsgr. de Bayonne came over here at this king's request,* to treat, among *other things, of a private league with France, but that* Monsgr. de Bayonne, by his master's commands, asked so many and such exorbitant conditions to conclude the said league that the King was exceedingly angry, that and no other being the real cause of the quarrel to which I have alluded in one of my

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former despatches. Now I hear that they are trying *to make matters straight again, and have the conditions demanded by the French modified.*—London, 31st October 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 4.

1 Nov. **482.** The Emperor to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 134. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 1.

We have communicated with the Papal Legate here concerning the bulls We want His Holiness to issue [for the election of the king of the Romans]. The Legate thinks there will be some difficulty in obtaining the dispensation. At all events you must try to get the one excluding the elector of Saxony from the election; but you must also ask for the other, that We may be at liberty to act according to circumstances.

No time must be lost, and, if obtained, the bulls must be dispatched to us by special courier.—Augsburg, 1st November, 1530.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of Alfonso de Valdés.

3 Nov. **483.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 111. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 2.

Has importuned the Pope a thousand times for a brief on the two remaining points of our memorial, touching the separation of the king of England from his paramour,* and also for a further inhibition against the King should he proceed to marry "*de facto.*" The Pope had hitherto excused himself on the plea of Ancona's illness, but to-day in his (Mai's) very presence he sent for that cardinal, and gave also orders for the English ambassadors to appear at the Palace. Owing, however, to the arrival and entry of the duke of Albany into Rome this morning the interview could not take place. The orders shall be repeated as soon as possible.

As to the minute of the brief ordering the universities to assemble formally and give their opinions, and the reasons of the conclusion at which they may arrive, it has already been drawn. This is being done for Padua and Bologna, and even for Paris, which will meet, as Your Majesty may have understood, after the expiration of the period during which His Holiness wished the proceedings to be suspended. That term once over, he (Mai) intends to prosecute the case, although, as he has informed the Emperor, he has not yet received from Spain or England the papers required.—Rome, 3rd November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Indorsed: "Parrafo de carta original de Miçer May."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

4 Nov. **484.** Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 74. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 3.

Reports his negociations with the Pope respecting the money to be contributed by the Italian princes. Fears that the Signory of Venice will not furnish any, on the plea that they

* "La separacion de aquel Serenissimo Rey y su amiga."

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are afraid of the Turk. The Pope, however, promises to get his own contribution ready, viz., 10,000 crs. for himself, and 2,000 more for Florence, as he says that will encourage the others to come down with their cash.

Cardinal Colonna has only remitted 22,000 ducats of the 80,000 which he was bound to send us. When reproached about it, he answers that he cannot do more, and that those who drew out the capitulation of Florence (and he, Muxetula, was one of them), are responsible for not having exacted a larger sum from the Florentines. The fact is that Pompeo's hatred of the Pope is so intense that nothing will satisfy him, short of the total destruction and sack of Florence.

Marramaldo with his Italians is still in the territory of Florence, but will soon be paid and his men disbanded. As to Malatesta, the Pope shewed me two of his letters to the king of France, which were intercepted some days ago. Every effort should be made to detach him from the French alliance.

The duke of Albany arrived yesterday. He has not yet seen the Pope; when he does shall not fail to inform the Emperor of it.—Rome, 7th November 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula." *pp.* 3.

5 Nov. **485.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 75–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 8.

Yesterday the duke of Albany kissed His Holiness' foot; he was not so pompous in his bearing as was reported, and had only but a small retinue of servants and pages.

At his first audience, which took place last night, very little was said, except that he came to treat about the marriage of the Pope's grand niece (*nieta*) and the duke of Orleans, and for other matters, of which he would speak at his next visit. The Pope, however, told me smiling that the Duke in course of conversation had said: "Holy Father, many and great are the troubles and anxieties through which Your Holiness must have passed ever since I quitted Rome [in 1525]. The King, my master, has had also much to suffer. Thank God the experience of the past cannot be lost upon such wise princes as you both are." The Pope thinks that this is only a preliminary for certain overtures about Milan.

To-day, having met the Duke returning from the Pope, I went immediately to the Quirinale, and asked him about the Duke. He had been with him for a long while, and had spoken principally on two points, namely: first that the King wished very much to marry his second son, the duke of Orleans, to Madame Catarina, and offered to settle for their maintenance an annual sum of 50,000 crs., and secondly about his contribution to the Turkish war. With regard to this latter, the King was ready to help with men and some money also, on condition that the money be spent solely for the benefit of Christendom and in war with the Infidel, not for any other purpose, for although his master had great confidence in the virtues and past behaviour of the king of Hungary, he wished to avoid any chance of the money being misappropriated.

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The Duke then proceeded to say that he had been expressly sent to Rome to cement and increase the friendship already existing between him, His Holiness, and the Emperor. That friendship and close alliance once firmly established, nobody could doubt for a moment but that they might together bring the troublesome English affair to a satisfactory conclusion, for the King, his master, would no longer comply with the requests of his brother of England, and might then find plenty of means to moderate his ardour and deter him from his unreasonable purpose, &c.

In all this there was no direct allusion to Milan, but at last he added: "And since the King, my master, is well disposed to help Your Holiness and the Emperor in these mighty affairs of the Turk and of the Lutherans, which concern you most; what do you propose doing for him?"—"I do not understand what you mean," replied the Pope. "I have no doubt that the Emperor, and I can answer for myself, will do anything to please the king of France, provided it be not for the purpose of disturbing the union now existing between the Christian princes."

The Pope has no doubt that the Duke will explain his wants more clearly next time.—Rome, 5th November 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

5 Nov. **486.** The Papal Nuncio in France* to Clement VII.

S. E L. 851, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 13.

The king of France is not disposed to pay a subsidy towards the Hungarian war.

I think that any delay (*intertenimenti*) in the matrimonial cause is quite allowable, provided no injustice be done, and the Emperor be not offended, of which His Holiness will take good care. I say this deliberately, for I do not doubt that if this demand [of the English king] is granted, it is for some purpose which God will direct for the best. I hear that the King is making every possible effort to have his cause decided in England in his favour, and as he sees that those who are to take part in this Diet do not suit his purpose, and perhaps also suspecting that sentence will be given earlier in Rome than in England, he makes this demand for delay. I hear from a person lately come from that country that the man (*questo homo*) is at present more obstinate than ever, and that all that is being done here is insufficient to change his mind. I think, however, that a letter ought to be written to His Holiness, asking him to delay the affair in Rome.—Blais (Blois), 5th November 1530.

Indorsed: "Summary of news from France sent by Muxetula."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

* Cesare de Triulciis, bishop of Como.

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8 Nov. **487.** News from France sent by the Papal Nuncio.

S. E. L. 851, f. 134. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 13.

The king of France says he cannot contribute money to the succour of Hungary, for all that he has he needs to pay the Emperor, to whom he owes still 500,000 ducats. For the payment of this sum the King has pledged several of his territorial dominions, and he owes the king of England 300,000 ducats besides.

Letters lately received from Rome seem to have produced an unfavourable opinion on this king, for he openly accuses the Pope of too great partiality for the Emperor.

The king of England presses for the amount of the debt due to him by this king and 80,000 ducats more.

Indorsed: "Summary of news from France sent by Muscetula."

Italian. Copy in the hand of Muxetula.

11 Nov. **488.** The Emperor to Muscetula.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 135. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 15.

Is greatly satisfied with the manner in which he has conducted negociations. Approves entirely of the reasons given by the Pope, and thanks him for the pains he has taken in persuading the Italian princes to contribute towards the support and dispatch of his army to Hungary. Is ready on his part to furnish his quota from Naples.—Augsburg, 11th November 1530.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of Alfonso de Valdés.

— **489.** The Same to cardinal Colonna.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 133. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 16.

Hears from his commissaries in Tuscany that he (Colonna) has not yet provided the infantry with the 22,000 ducats, and that in consequence they are committing ravages in Siena. Wishes to know how much Naples, which is now entirely free from soldiers can contribute towards sending our army to Hungary and keeping it there.

It is necessary to know this as (*cipher*) the Pope is now negociating with the Italian princes for this purpose.—Augusta (Augsburg), 11th November 1530.

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés.

— **490.** The advice given by the duke of Albany to the Pope respecting the war against the Turk.

S. E. L. 867, f. 193. B. M. *Add.* 28,577, f. 319.

To resist successfully the attacks of the Infidel the following means are proposed:—

1st. To send to the Emperor and king of France a person of rank, who may inquire from them both whether the means mentioned hereafter meet with their approval or not.

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2nd. To raise at once two powerful armies, not only for the defence of the territories invaded by the Turk, but also for the attack and invasion of his own.

3rd. As the various kingdoms possessed by the Emperor and by his brother the king of Hungary are more threatened than those of any other prince in Christendom, it would be advisable to raise a large army in Germany, which, joined to the forces of Spain, Naples, Sicily, Portugal, Bohemia, Hungary, and Denmark, may successfully check the progress of the Turkish arms.

4th. A fleet must also be fitted out from all the Italian ports, including those of the Emperor, besides all those belonging to the kings of France and England. The Emperor to contribute galleys and ships (*navilii*), the best he has, to the amount of 40; the Pope to furnish his own as well as those of the Order [of Rhodes], Genoa and Monaco. As the duke of Savoy [Charles III.] has no ports in his dominions, he cannot well be called upon to furnish his contingent in ships, but can easily defray the cost of ten "carrache o carraconi" hired from Genoa. The king of France to contribute likewise 40 galleys and ships.

5th. A circular letter (*getto*) to be immediately drawn in the presence of the Pope, and copies to be forwarded to the ambassadors of the foreign powers, and principally to the Emperor, to the kings of England and France, and the rest of the princes, in order to ascertain how much each is willing to contribute towards the said armament, that the agreement, if made, may be immediately ratified and carried into execution.

6th. As some of the princes and potentates favouring the Lutheran sect might think that these armaments are directed against them, it might be stipulated that an armistice of two or three years should be concluded all over Christendom, during which, or rather during the time of the said Turkish war, all should live in peace and in the practice of their own religion (*si stesse en la sua legge*) without molestation of any sort. Should any one of them be attacked by his neighbour, then, in that case, all the princes who had signed the agreement should fall upon the aggressor, and oblige him to keep the peace. The Pope, the Emperor, and the king of France to constitute of themselves a tribunal for the preservation of the said peace, for the settlement of any differences likely to arise among the princes and potentates.

7th. The better* to provide for the affairs of Christianity during the above-named period, and the better to answer the

* "Et per poter meglio subvenire et maturamente provedere al detto bene et affare universale della Christianita durante il detto tempo et per meglio satisfare alle domanda et errori Lutheriani, et pensare del modo et luogo conveniente et buone conditioni per convocar il concilio se ne sera bisogno (et che altrimenti non si posse far meglio et accordarci, et remittere la Christianita in buono stato et servitio di Dio), si risolva il tempo prontamente al qual senza alcuna sumptuosita o spesa se habbino a trovar a Turino o in altro luogo piu commodo et conveniente."

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claims of the Lutherans and convince them of their errors, and also to decide which will be the best time and place for the convocation, it will be necessary, if no better plan can be suggested for the conclusion of such an agreement as the one proposed, and the restoration of Christianity to its former state, for the Pope, the Emperor, and the most Christian King of France to meet and have the whole matter discussed and settled between them as soon as possible, and in the most secret manner, without, however, neglecting to settle the amount of troops and money which each prince is to provide. They might also treat at the same time of the said abstinence from war, and discuss the expediency of convoking a council to please the Lutherans and others. At this meeting the said princes might discuss and settle between themselves many other things for the good of Christendom at large, and if any prince offered opposition, compel him by force of arms to follow the will of the majority. Every conquest [made over the Turk] might be divided among the contracting parties, and other measures proposed equally advantageous for the Holy Apostolic See, the Emperor, and the king of France.

By this means His Holiness' wishes might be realized not only respecting the marriage* of the duke Alessandro to the Emperor's natural daughter (Margaret), but also with regard to his relationship to the most Christian King. This would not interfere with the conditions of the said truce, because the term of two years, at which the marriage has been fixed, will be very convenient for the said princes by means of letters, messengers, and other expedients to accomplish their wishes. It will be resolved at the time what sum of money each prince is to contribute monthly, and for how long. His Holiness might also promise the Emperor and King to grant them each a crusade to defray the expenses of the armaments by sea and land. The sum thus raised to be placed in the hands of good and honest commissioners deputed for the purpose by the said princes.

No potentate, however, during the term of this truce can fail to keep it, especially as they will be ignorant of the agreement made between the contracting parties, which is to be kept as secret as possible. They will consider themselves secure in the hope of being soon called to a General Council.

Indorsed: "The plan (*lo horden*), which the duke of Albany proposed to the Pope for the enterprize against the Turk."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 6.

7 Nov. **491.** The Emperor to Margaret of Austria.

B. Arch. d. Roy. d. Belg. Ref. rel. Supl., f. 40.

Respecting the redemption and payment of pensions to his cousin, the Elector Palatine, and to the cardinal of Mayence (Maintz), it has been agreed that the Cardinal is to be paid

* "Tanto del mariaggio cominciato de la figlia naturale dello Imperator como del parentado col Christianissimo, et non se impediriano."

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10,000 gold florins due to him on his last year's pension. To receive the said sum the Cardinal has named and appointed Sebastian Neidthardt, a citizen of this place, and heir of Christofle Herwrardt. Prays that she will give the necessary orders to have the said sum paid to the Cardinal.—Dauspourg (Augsburg), 7th November 1530.

French. Original minute.

13 Nov. **492.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 45.

Last Thursday Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd ult°, brought by my own secretary, was duly received. I should immediately have gone to the King—who had just arrived in London—had I not heard from the Papal Nuncio (Borgo) that he himself was about to have an audience. I, therefore, delayed going to Court, that I might first communicate with the Nuncio, and learn from him what had been the result of his conference, and how the matters entrusted to his care had been received by the King.*

On the ensuing Friday the Nuncio came to see me, and confirmed his previous statement. He had gone to Court and presented the [Pope's] answer to the petition,† which this king had caused to be signed by some noblemen (*aucungs grans*) of this kingdom, *which answer, as the report goes, was anything but agreeable to the King, who used very threatening language on the occasion*, as I have already informed Your Majesty, telling the Nuncio, among other things, that *God* had lately testified his displeasure *at the Pope's conduct by the sudden overflowing of the Tiber*, and subsequent inundation of Rome, through which the city and the Pope himself had well nigh perished. Many other similar things did the King say of the Pope, at which the Nuncio was so shocked that he assured me he would on no account go to Court again without an express mandate from the Pope, and that should he have any communication to make in virtue of his charge, he should limit himself to making extracts from the Pope's letters and forwarding them to Court. It was mere folly, he said, to try and negociate personally with the King; at no interview had he been able to obtain from him any definite and reasonable proposal. The Nuncio further said that the King had greatly complained *of his having acquainted the French ambassador* (*Jehan Jocquin*) *with what had passed between them touching the choice* of judges as co-arbitrators (*juges co-arbitres*), and also that he strongly suspected that he (the Nuncio) had communicated *with me, at which he seemed to be somewhat angry.*

I have told the Nuncio that I had been informed—not

* "A ceste cause ausy pour premierement communiquer avec luy de son besongnier en cort, et de la matiere dont yl avoit pleu a vostre maieste commander ainsy fere, differe[r]ay ma dite allee."

† "Il me confirme ce quil mavoit dit au paravant que la cause de son allee en court avoit este pour presenter la reponse a la lettre, &c."

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indeed by Your Majesty's letters, but by private correspondence —of what has been decided concerning the Council, and that perhaps, *when speaking to the King on German affairs in general, he might suggest, as he had done many a time before,* the convocation of a general one. I further told him that as there could be no doubt that the Pope, in view of the good that was to result therefrom, and the great necessity there was of it, would willingly agree to the measure, *I might, if he approved of it, urge the affair with the King when I next saw him.* If he (the Nuncio) did not consider this step advisable under present circumstances, I was ready *not to mention the subject until compelled to do so.* For it might well be that these people (*ceulx çy*), in order to sew discord (*semer sizanie*) between the Pope and Your Majesty, would not speak of the Council but at their own pleasure (*a leur playsir.*)

The Nuncio replied that he did not deem it advisable, *unless he received from Rome a special mandate to that effect,* to take that step openly; but if I (Chapuys) could in my future conferences with the King introduce the subject, and speak of it incidentally, *he would be well pleased to be excused doing so himself, and would attach as much faith to my report as if the King himself had told him his mind thereupon*

Yesterday morning, Saturday, I went to Court, and met there the lords Norfolk and Wiltshire,* who repeated to me the same news with which they had greeted me on All Saint's Day, namely, that the Vayvod had overrun Hungary, taken some towns and done much mischief. Told them *that if it had been the Cardinal who had given me such news* I should have thought *it was done for his own gratification, both on account of the ill-will he bore* Your Majesty and also because he wished it to be understood *that the money he had sent to the said Vayvod* had borne fruit. Further, that people could no longer nowadays be lulled with the idea that it was the Vayvod who was making these inroads on his own account; they must now be awake to the fact that it is the Turk who is plotting not only against Hungary but against the rest of Christendom, and that they must therefore rouse themselves to efficient resistance. Spoke afterwards of the reformation of the Church, which has led to this proposal of a council, a matter which is certainly being discussed now in the King's Council, for the earl of Wiltshire made some remarks thereupon which were afterwards repeated to me by the King, among others, that the convocation of councils, excepting on matters of Faith, was the province of secular princes, not of the Pope, *and that in neither case ought the Pope to be the head of them.* After much had been said on this topic, and many questions asked and answered, I replied that I knew on sufficient authority, from the opinion of doctors, that for

* "Iallay en court ou eu pour rencontre les seigneurs de Norphoc et de Vulchier que me refreschirent les nouvelles dont yl mavoint envoye entrenner le bon jour de tous sainctz questoent, &c."

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the due convocation of a General Council it sufficed that Your Majesty should propose and the Pope sanction it, at which they were much surprised and silenced for the time.

I then went to the King, who, among many other familiar topics (*familliers propos*), inquired after my servant who had died of the plague, and told me that he heard from Spain that the plague was raging there so terribly that the Empress could hardly find a safe place of residence: also that from other letters he had seen, he learnt that 30,000 men had been assembled to march upon Bayonne. Was much amazed to hear such monstrous pieces of intelligence, and told the King that some one must have invented them for his gratification.

Then followed a discussion on German affairs, the King telling me that Your Majesty, in his opinion, had not paid them that attention which the immeasurable importance of the case required. That considering that the points to be decided were now reduced to four, viz., communion in two kinds; marriage of the Clergy; the removal of the communion reed during mass, and the depriving ecclesiastics of their temporalities, Your Majesty might well have granted the Lutherans* such just requests as these; the last-named article being one that would especially commend itself to many besides the Lutherans, as it did indeed to himself; *but* Your Majesty, he said, had in this point shewn more regard for private interest than for *the public weal and the repose of Christendom.*

Seeing how very ill-informed the King was of what had lately passed [in Germany] I shewed him the report of the acts of the Diet, telling him of the great pains Your Majesty had taken for the redress of the said evils, and also how very inexpedient it would have been for yourself to sanction the said articles, which could not have been done without previous deliberation in a General Council. Indeed should such a council be convoked, the King would see that no personal motive would influence you. He (the King) was wrong in supposing that on account of the Queen's cause and for fear of its issue—in which Your Majesty sued simply for justice—you had been induced to delay attending to this important work for which you had purposely left Spain and encountered so much trouble and expense. The King did not reply to my observation respecting the fears he said you entertained of the issue of the cause, but somewhat excused himself for what he had at first said by throwing all the blame on the ecclesiastics who, he said, surround you, and who, not caring for any but their own personal interest, had advised Your Majesty in a way that might lead to more mischief than

* "Cart puysque les choses estoint reduytes jusque a quattre articles a sçavoir: de la communication soub deux especes, du marriage du prestres, de hoster le cane (?) de la messe et priuer les gens desglize de biens temporelz, vostre maieste pour le bien de paix et union pouroit bien condescendre a cella et en ce gratiffier aux Lutheriens, vehu que nestoint choses que ne se puyssent raysonnablemant octroyer, speciallemant la derniere questoit celle dont plus se fussent contentes les ditz Lutheriens."

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had ever been done before. He then began to argue with me and say that it would really be doing God's service to take away the temporalities from the Clergy, which opinion I did not oppose in the least, but said that supposing his statements to be substantially true, in any case the question was one to be determined by a General Council, the only authority to which the Pope, to whose prejudice the measure would work, was amenable.* The King replied that there was no need of any fresh council to reform the German Church, and deprive the Clergy of their temporalities; this concerned Your Majesty alone; other princes had no power in Germany, and it would have answered all the purposes of a council if you yourself had initiated these reforms there; other princes would then have followed your example in their own territory. For his own part he said he could redress the evils in his own country without the intervention of any council whatever, for that his kingdom lay in a corner of the world separated by its natural position from contact with other countries, in whose affairs he did not much care to meddle.

The conversation on these matters lasted a long while; did not try to draw the King away from them, as they were closely connected with that of the Council, which I wished to explode. At last having clearly gathered from the King's words what his intentions and views were, I resolutely asked him what reason he thought there was for Your Majesty thus to yield to the obstinate persistence of four Lutheran princes, at the same time offending and scandalizing so many other princes, and the whole of the Christian community. The King could only answer that there were more than four princes for that, besides those I had alluded to as being present at the Augsburg diet, the duke of Cleves and several others had offered the same opposition, and that among those on the other side he knew many who would not regret seeing the wings of the Clergy clipped. *This allusion was evidently directed against the Pope,* although when I mentioned his name the King suddenly interrupted me by saying: "*I am not speaking of the Pope" and I saw plainly that his object was to arouse jealousy and suspicion on my part.*†

I have mentioned this *to the Nuncio,* who takes the same view that I take, and says that the thing has occurred to him more than once in his interviews with the King, whenever there was a question of specially naming Your Majesty.

I subsequeutly asked the King whether he could, in order to assist Your Majesty in the redress of German affairs, suggest any measure other than the first-mentioned one, which I could neither advise nor communicate. Any such suggestion from him, I said, would be welcomed by Your Majesty, bound as you

* "Cart autre superieur na le pape du prejudice du quel yl se agisoit."

† "[Et ouvertemant le tout sadressoit contre le pape] toutesfoys quant je le nommez ung coup il me dit tout soudain quil [ne parloit point du pape, [ce] que ue fut synon pour me engendrer quelque jalousie et suspicion]."

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were to the King both by blood and friendship, and respecting as you did, the King's great learning (on which last subject I dwelt amply), and that especially on these matters relating to Faith, on which he had written books, Your Majesty would be glad of his guidance and advice. The King took this very well, modestly excusing his ignorance and incompetence, yet saying that Your Majesty had formerly been none the worse for his advice, *but that since your affairs had been more prosperous you had ceased to have any regard for him.* That there were other princes *who applied to him for advice and derived benefit from it.* I then reminded him that from the first time that I had spoken to him on Your Majesty's part I had explained how you were about to visit Italy and Germany, in the hope of being able, with his aid and counsel, to redress all the evils existing in those countries; that when his (the King's) ambassadors went to Bologna on the latter as well as former occasions, I had distinctly begged and requested him to give them instructions for such redress as well as powers for treating upon it; that I had also on that occasion and continually afterwards communicated what news I had from Germany, and sought his advice. The King *seemed caught in his own net*, and soon after said, "Had the Emperor entrusted the arbitration of those German affairs to the king of France and to myself, I take it that all would have been set to rights by this time." I said in reply that Your Majesty in proposing to the Lutherans the convocation of a General Council had virtually made the most Christian King and himself arbiters, as they would naturally be among the chief personages in the Council; that he (the King) would see by the report I had put into his hands that the rashness and obstinacy of the Lutherans had reached such a degree that their proposals were inadmissible; that indeed this Council was needed not only for the suppression of heresy (which attacks other princes even more directly than Your Majesty, whose authority and rank are founded upon the Gospel), but also for obtaining united action against the Turk, whom it would take the combined effort of all Christendom to resist effectually; and that however thoroughly he (the King) might hope to suppress Lutheranism in his own dominions, he would find it no easy matter to control his people, naturally prone to revolution, when they saw every other country infected by heresy, even Lower Germany, which is so near to them, and Denmark also. The King acknowledged that England had already been somewhat contaminated by the neighbourhood of Lower Germany, for that the Osterlings (*Austrelins*) residing here had received many Lutheran books, and that the Dansich (Dantzig) in the said country was Lutheran, notwithstanding all the efforts the king of Poland (Sigismond) had made to prevent it. As to resisting the Turk, the King said that everyone must try to defend his own, and God would be the protector of all. Replied that it was not right to tempt God; everyone should do their part in the work, and then look for God's help; upon which the King acknowledged that it would

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be quite impossible for one or even two Christian princes alone to resist the Turkish power, and that besides the general iniquity was so evident, and our sins were so great, that there was little hope that God would materially help till some amendment took place. Notwithstanding the above and other considerations, the King *maintained his coldness and want of cordiality, clearly intimating (common writing) that the whole was caused by this cursed divorce;* I was, therefore, moved to repeat to the King the very same arguments I had once made use of to the duke of Norfolk both at Windsor and here, as Your Majesty has been already informed.

I have endeavoured to ascertain, in many private ways, what the King's real feeling is about this Council, and have at last come to the conclusion that he will oppose it with all his power, *for two principal reasons:* one, and the first, because Your Majesty *desires it*, and he thinks it will be more beneficial to you than to anyone else; *and the second, because he fears that the Council once assembled, one of the first things brought under discussion* will be his own divorce suit, for in order *that this united assembly* should bear good fruit it would first be necessary to remove every cause of *discord and rancour. Indeed this business once decided upon in the Council* the King would have to submit and *take patience, for there would be no further appeal possible. No Council being held, his hope is that there will be a thousand delays and appeals, and that meanwhile either the Pope or the Queen may die. I think, moreover, that he (the King) is fully convinced that he would be at once condemned by the Council, for besides the fact that the Queen has truth and justice on her side, there would be besides the support of the Emperor and of the king of Hungary, and also of all the Lutherans, who would certainly oppose him.* There is, therefore, no chance of inducing him to consent *unless it be through the king of France*, with whom on this and other matters he seems to have *a good understanding*, in proof of which he told me the other day that *Monsgr. de Noircames** *had been in France*, and that he (the King) was much surprised to hear that in the credentials of that ambassador no mention whatever was made of his having to negociate about this Council, as he perceived must have been the case† from the tenor of his proposals. My reply was that I believed no instructions had been given on this particular; but that I had been told *the king of France, as a very Christian and very wise prince, had spoken strongly of the necessity of this Council to Monsgr. de Noircames*, and that the Queen Regent (Louisa) had done the same. The King, however, affected not to believe this statement of mine, either because *he wished to persuade me that he had been deceived on this point, or else to make it appear as if nothing was done in France without his cogni-*

* Written Norcarives.

† "En tegmonniage quil me dit que [monseigneur de norcariues avoit este en france, et quil estoit esbey que en sa credence il navoit eu aucune charge dentrer en propoz de ce concille, commil avoit veu par la teneur de tout ce quil avoit propose.]"

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*zance.** While on this topic the King also said that there could be no *hope of carrying out any ecclesiastical reforms in a General Council, as so many of the Clergy would be present, who would never consent to giving up their temporalities, and that the* [*present*] *Pope claims to have authority over the Council*† *in virtue of a decretal of Pius, his predecessor, excommunicating all those who should appeal to the Council;* which decretal I have no doubt the King has studied and examined carefully *for his own guidance in case he should be condemned by the Pope.*‡

Whilst speaking on the above matters *the King* at every possible opportunity *introduced the subject of his divorce, on which he spoke with much eagerness* (*avec grosse affection*), and this not without good cause, for *at a small window in the King's chamber, commanding the gallery where the King and I were speaking, was the Lady overlooking and overhearing all that passed.* Begged the King from the very first *not to enter upon so delicate a subject,* for I had resolved not to say anything more upon it without express command from Your Majesty. And this I said because I was convinced *the King would not listen to reason; but the more I tried to avoid the subject the more did the King insist on bringing it forward.* He began as usual by complaining that *Your Majesty thwarted him in every possible way, expecting from him what was dishonest and unreasonable*; upon which I reminded the King how many *things* you might have done in this cause which you had refrained from doing; and that as to the *dishonest demands to which he referred there was no one in the world to whom this could apply so little as to Your Majesty, who had always acted as an honourable and virtuous prince.*

The King perceiving the warmth with which I uttered these last words, and that I was ever *ready* with my arguments, fearing, moreover, lest the *Lady might overhear something that would offend her, moved away from the* window and *taking me to the middle of the room,* said that if he had spoken so unceremoniously about Your Majesty it was for the purpose of inducing you to reprimand your ambassadors in Rome and in France, who were inventing a thousand falsehoods about him, and ended by saying that in spite of them all he would carry his purpose through. The King added that I myself had frequently sent advices from this country to Rome which had greatly contributed to embitter his case, for the Pope himself had mentioned the fact to his ambassadors. To this new attack I answered for myself, a task easy enough to accomplish, considering that I had right on my side and

* "La quelle chose ne croyoit pour autant que [les françois lont ausi abbuse, ou quil le se donne [a] entendre que rien se passe en france dont il ne soit aduerty]."

† "Et que la pape pretendoit estre sur ce concille par une constitution du pape pie que excommunie ceulx qui appellent au concille."

‡ "La quelle constitution ainsy que croys yl a apprins [en se conseillant commil le pourroit fere quant il seroit condempne du pape.]"

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that my accusers were far off. The King, however, spoke with regret of the late dealings in France.*

After this the King observed in general terms that all the *princes with whom he had anything to do had broken faith with him.* Replied that if among these he included Your Majesty, *he was decidedly in the wrong,* for I had hitherto refrained from *forwarding unpleasant news,* as he might perceive from *Your Majesty's manner of writing, but that henceforth,* whenever he (the King) made observations of this nature to me, I should make a point of replying without reserve, and of at once advising you thereof. Upon which the King somewhat modified his first statement by saying he did not mean to say *that Your Majesty had broken faith with him as to words and promises, but only as to friendship.*

Seeing that in spite of all my endeavours *at conciliation the King remained still obdurate,* and also that he seemed still to adhere to his former proposition, and to maintain that Your Majesty, *unable to bring your affairs to a good issue* unsupported, was ready to fall back upon those whom you had lightly treated in the days of your prosperity, I determined not to let him have this *glorification*; and therefore said† that I could not think what led him (the King) to make such an assertion, for that in all that had just passed I had not said one single thing or made any request *that concerned Your Majesty* more than himself; *all I had said was on my own responsibility without any especial charge from Your Majesty.*

The King kept me from nine o'clock in the morning till the afternoon, and but that he had not yet heard mass, I really think he would have kept me still longer. During this time he told me many things which I omit for brevity's sake and not to annoy Your Majesty with too much prolixity.

Yesterday evening, after my return from Court, the duke of Norfolk sent word to the Nuncio begging him to call at his house this very morning as secretly as possible, which he has accordingly done. *All the Duke said to him was not to take any notice (se ranger) of the King's violent words but to try and induce the Pope to grant the King's wishes, for that he (the Duke) would take good care that none of the King's threats should be carried into execution.* The Nuncio then asked the Duke for what purpose I had been to Court, but the Duke only said that nothing fresh had occurred concerning this new marriage, and that I had made no allusion whatever to it.

Eight days ago the Cardinal (Wolsey), by the King's command, was removed from the keeping of Northumberland, and placed again in the charge of Tallebot (Talbot), his ancient

* "Sur tout se douloit yl du porchas que dernierement a este fait en france."

† "Voyant que le roy non obstant toutes remonstrances et gracieusetez demouroit en son obstination, ausy quil mavoit dit que vostre maieste ne pouvant [venir a chief de ses afferes recoroit voulentiers a ceulx dont en sa prosperite faisoit peu dextime, je ne le vouluz laysser en telle [gloire], et luy dis, &c."

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enemy;* the Cardinal's physician, moreover, has been sent to the Tower as a traitor (*en forme de malfaytteur*). At the same time two Genoese, great friends of Jehan Jocquin, were arrested and their papers seized. They were at once set at liberty on Jocquin offering to be security for them; but their papers are still retained to see if there be among them letters from the Cardinal or from his people. Monsgr. de Norfolk says that he cannot yet tell me the cause of the Cardinal's arrest, only that he was beginning to do worse than ever, and that Your Majesty ought to be very glad that he has been imprisoned. Shortly before his arrest the Cardinal had changed his place of residence, taking no less than 600 horsemen in his train, which has by no means improved his case. At that time he used *to keep me well informed of all his movements, begging me to find out whether the Nuncio had not instructions* [*from Rome*] *concerning him,* and assuring me that he was again on the road to *his former position.*† *The Nuncio,* upon inquiry, *says that his instructions were to be guided in this affair by the advice of Jehan Jocquin,* but that as *Jocquin* was not on good terms with the other (the Cardinal) he had not been able to speak [to him] about this business.‡ I have found *the Nuncio hitherto very energetic in his work. It would be a still further encouragement to him* if Your Majesty would write him a letter in acknowledgment of his services.

The Queen has heard lately of the fresh suspension of the proceedings at Rome. This she much regretted at first, but having since heard of Your Majesty's ever-increasing care for her interests, and of the efforts made in all directions for her sake, she has laid aside her regret, and trusts that the delay will prove rather useful than otherwise. She is now engaged in procuring *witnesses to attest that she did not live with prince Arthur as his wife.* If that only could be proved the whole case would be at an end at once. I *fear,* however, that such a proof will be a very difficult one to establish. Many able books are being written here in her favour, which will be sent at once to Messire Mai. As to the information, and documents which that ambassador mentions in his letters all that could be obtained has already been sent to him.

I venture again to bring my own private affairs before Your Majesty. The great expenses and considerable losses which I once had to sustain whilst in the service of Monseigneur de Bourbon (whom may God forgive), the unsettled

* "Fut prins de northamberlan et remys entre les mains de tallebot, son ancien malveuilliant."

† "Peu de temps avant quil fust prins yl se deslougea de la ou yl estoit pour aller allieurs, et eust bien vi. c. chevaux de compagnie, que ne luy a pas esmende son cas. De ce temps la il madvertit de ses nouvelles, me priant que voulsisse entendre du nonce sil [n] auoit point charge de parler de son affere et quil estoit en chemin et espoir de revenir au dessus."

‡ "Le dit Nonce me declaire auoir eu charge du dit affere et en icelle se conduire et guider par laduis et volente du dit Jehan Jocquin, et que le dit Jocquin nestoit pas bien avec lautre pour ainsy quil navoit riens [peu] parler sur le dit affere."

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state of affairs at Geneva, whence I can draw no resources, embolden me again to beg Your Imperial Majesty to remember the promises made respecting my pension and salary. Indeed if the dearth of provisions in this country, which has increased to double the amount during the last two years, and the smallness of my salary, inferior to that of most other Imperial ambassadors, be taken into account it will be found that I have great difficulty in maintaining the reputation and honour of the post to which I have been appointed. I, therefore, humbly beseech Your Majesty to grant me some ecclesiastical benefice or pension with which I may provide for the duties and expenses of this my office, if not as a reward for my services and good-will, at least for the sake of the memory of the above-named Prince (Monsieur de Bourbon), that the world at large may know in various ways that Your Imperial Majesty has not forgotten the good services and commendable memory of the said Prince.—London, 13th November 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received at Spiers (Spires) on the 4th of December."

French. Holograph. pp. 11.

13 Nov. **493.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 116–7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 17.

Wrote on the 3rd, but as Miçer Andrea del Burgo is dispatching a courier, will again profit by the opportunity. On Sunday, eight days ago, the said Burgo, Muxetula, and he (Mai) called on the duke of Albany [John Stuart], with whom they had a long talk on the affairs which, he says, have brought him here. Two days after the Duke returned his (Mai's) call, and the question of the marriage alliance and succour to the king of Hungary was again discussed. Relates at length the conversations he had with the Duke, and afterwards with the Pope. Tried to persuade the latter that the demand of his niece's hand was only a stratagem of the French to draw him into something else. It could not be seriously entertained, inasmuch as it was evident that those who asked for it had been, and were actually, trying for that of the princess Mary of Portugal, daughter of queen Eleanor and of the king of that country,* deceased. As to their offers of succour, no categorical answer had been received from them since the first meeting at Bologna; what the Duke now proposed was evidently intended only to gain time. The Pope was entirely of his (Mai's) opinion, &c.

The night before last cardinal Ravenna called and brought news that Giovan Paolo de Chierre (Ceri) had said to the Duke [of Albany] that he was on the eve, now that there was

* Dom Manuel, who died in 1521, and was succeeded by his son João III. He had been married first to Doña Isabel, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

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no war,* of going into business of some sort or other, and that the Duke begged him not to do anything of the kind, as the king of France would soon have occasion to employ him, and all other "condottieri" of his class.

At the Duke's request the Pope has had all operations against Bracciano suspended for one month.

Cardinal Cornaro told him some days ago the suspicions which this coming of the duke of Albany's [to Rome] had aroused at Venice. "For God's sake (said he) let us have no more of these French intrigues in Italy, for if this man (meaning the duke of Albany) can in any way influence the Pope we shall have another war as disastrous as the past."

(*Cipher :*) Notwithstanding Gonzaga's and Soria's strenuous efforts at Siena, the affairs of that Republic are far from being settled. Don Fernando [Ferrante Gonzaga] has lately been of opinion that the four orders that hold the government of the Republic should be formed into one, but this is a sort of thing which the Sienese dislike most; besides which, if they could not manage their affairs, divided as they were, in four "monti," it stands to reason that there is less chance now that it is proposed to make them into one.

Fancies that the number of those excepted from the general amnesty there ought to be increased. It would appear after all that only four of the "fuorusciti" are to be punished, whereas the number of those who took up arms and made themselves very obnoxious at the time of the duke of Albany's inroad was very considerable.† He (Mai) would not for the world oppose His Majesty's clemency, but he really believes it would be advisable to exclude a few more from the general pardon, that it may henceforward act as a salutary example to others, and at any rate if they are to be pardoned, let them know that they owe their lives to the Emperor.

(*Cipher :*) Has nothing particular to advise respecting the cause of England, except that he has often written thither and to Spain for the papers that are wanted. From the former country he expects none, for they tell him there are none. Those from Spain Don Pedro de la Cueva might bring with him if he had not left on the receipt of this. Should he bring the brief [of Julius], proceedings might now be resumed at once, for the Pope assures him (Mai) he will no longer hear of suspensions or prorogations.—Rome, 13th November 1530.

Signed : "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

13 Nov. **494.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 113–4. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 22.

The enclosed despatch for the Emperor will acquaint His Lordship with the progress of the various negociations entrusted to Muxetula and to him.

* "Que ahora que no habia guerra queria entrar en negocios."

† In 1525, previous to the battle of Pavia.

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Commander Urries has come, and says that he does not consider the Cardinal's judgment in the affair as certain, but that in the end he will follow our advice.*

Those papers from Spain, let them come as soon as possible. —Rome, 13th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To Francisco de los Cobos, (*sic*) High Commander of Leon, first secretary of the Council of the Emperor, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½

13 Nov. **495.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 24.

Arrived at Siena on the 11th. Has sent to the High Commander an account of what was done there. If he meets with no accident in crossing the forest of Vacano,† expects to be at Rome on Monday.—Piença,‡ 13th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Emperor, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

14 Nov. **496.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 850, f. 115.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 25.

Wrote yesterday by estafette. The bearer of this will be Sancho de Alarcon, who will take his departure this evening.

Letters came yesterday from the camp, announcing the arrival of Don Pedro de la Cueva there on the 12th. He was to start next day, so that he may be expected here in Rome to-morrow. Is anxious for his arrival, for he has had no news from Court for several days.

The duke of Albany dined yesterday with His Holiness. He (Mai) has tried to learn what was the subject of their conversation, and has been told that the Duke said to the Pope that the object of Francesco Sforza in going to Venice was to raise money in order to redeem the fortresses of the Duchy that were pledged to the Emperor, and that the Venetians were inclined to grant his request lest the most Christian King should come to terms with the Emperor respecting the said duchy. He said besides, that in case of the money being given, he (the Pope) ought to do his utmost to delay the restitution of the said fortresses. As the Pope made no reply to this, the Duke did not further explain his idea.

The same duke gave the Pope a treatise on the manner of waging war on the Turk, of which a copy is here enclosed.§

* "Que no tiene por seguro el juicio del Cardenal, pero que hará lo que yo querré del concierto, y assi entienden en ello." The cardinal here alluded to is evidently Garcia de Loaysa, bishop of Osma.

† "Ni de aquello ni de otra cosa no digo mas sino que si el vosque de Vacano (?) me dexa en paz, mañana lunes con el ayuda de Dios seré en Roma."

‡ Thus in the original; Pienza, in Tuscany?

§ Probably the same printed at page 794.

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Letters from France state that between that country and England, symptoms of not very good friendship are apparent just now, and that king Henry complains that the most Christian King does not do in his favour what his people (the English) expected he would do. Also, that all the Italians at the French court had been ordered away from Orleans, and appointed to meet him at Paris, no doubt, for the purpose of gaining time, and perhaps also to avoid their importunities, for it is said that the sum of their various claims amounts to 280,000 crs.

Your Lordship must already be aware of the taking of Geneva by the Lutheran Swiss, and that the people of the Cantons were arming on both sides. Should the former come victorious out of the contest, fears may be entertained about Milan, if, as vaguely reported, it is true that there are sinister projects against it.

The duke of Albany has positively assured the Pope that the Emperor intends going back to Spain by way of Italy, but there is no truth in the report; indeed that personage seems to have come to Italy for no other purpose than to embroil matters, and to be always routing up the stones to find some treasures underneath. Yet notwithstanding his repeated importunities, the undertaking against Bracciano has not been suspended, as he (Mai) announced in his despatch to the Emperor, and the Pope seems in earnest this time.—Rome. 14th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander, &c."

Spanish Holograph. pp. 2.

17 Nov. **497.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 6. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 44.

Arrived here Tuesday the 15th, and alighted at cardinal Osma's, who was as glad at my coming as if I had been the count of Siruela himself. On the ensuing day, after due notice being given to the Cardinal, to the ambassador (Mai), and to Andrea del Burgo, we all four went to the Papal Palace, followed by such masses of people that I should have liked Guillemin* to have seen me in such a situation. Found the Pope standing by a window as he used to do at Bologna; gave him the letter about the Council, which he read through. Just about the middle of it he stopped and sighed, and at the end sighed again. Told him that I had another letter to give him from Your Majesty in answer to his, as well as a memorandum of certain points about Florence. This last he took and read at once, and it seemed to me as if he were glad of what he saw in it, for the Cardinal had warned me to give it him as a sweetener after the other. The Pope then inquired about the Duke [of Saxony]. Related to him the many favours Your Majesty had

* A diminutive from Guillelmo, or Guillermo, that is Guillaume or William; probably a young relative of the count of Siruela, whose family name was Velasco.

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bestowed upon him, and how very pleased you were with his behaviour. Told him also that I had another letter from Your Majesty on the provision soon to be made for the election of a king of the Romans, which letter I took to him next morning, when the Pope having sent for Sancti Quatuor and Ancona, the matter was discussed in our presence, and the petition, just as it was, immediately granted.

Most of these cardinals have come to visit me. Medici, Mantua, and Cesarino sent as far as Viterbo to meet me on the road.

Though we were most of the time along with His Holiness, Sancti Quatuor and Ancona came in for the king of Hungary's business, when much was said about the heretics (*erejes*), &c. His Holiness said not a word about the Council, save to shrug his shoulders and shew pity for the Germans (*tudescos*), whose souls (he said) would be irretrievably damned. The Cardinal [of Osma] is of opinion that I ought, after two days, to speak to the Pope again, and so I intend to do.—Rome, 17th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Emperor, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

17 Nov. **498.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 29.

Reached Rome on Tuesday the 15th inst. later than he expected, having been detained at the camp by Don Fernando [Gonzaga], and Don Lope [de Soria]. Was met at 8, 12, and 20 miles [from Roma] by cardinals and other great people, who came riding post to offer him their houses, &c. Did not accept their offers, as the first thing to be done was to obey the Emperor's commands. Entered Rome with a suite of 17 horsemen, some of his friends at the camp having offered to escort him. Great excitement was caused by his arrival, and as Italians in general are much given to astrology, many prognostics were drawn from his coming. Alighted at the house of cardinal d'Osma, by whom he was received, and has since been entertained, in a manner that baffles all description. Was visited by Miçer Mai, whom he recognizes for his master (*patron*), and who complained that he (Don Pedro) had not chosen his own house for a residence; also by Muxetula and Andrea del Burgo. The Pope received him next day much better than people thought he would, for all here except Muxetula firmly believe that he will never allow a General Council to be convoked, an opinion which all those of the long robe whom he has met here also share. As he writes by this post to His Majesty what the Pope told him, and how far he (Cueva) has advanced in his negociation, he need not trouble His Lordship with further details.

It appears that between Monsignor d'Osma and our ambassador [Miçer Mai] here there is not that harmony that ought

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to prevail, the reason being, as far as he (Don Pedro) can judge, that one of the two (Miçer Mai) is too impetuous (*ardiente*), and the other (the Cardinal) too yielding "floxo."

Wishes to know how soon the Emperor purposes leaving Germany, that he may so shape his journey as to meet him there before coming down to Flanders.—Rome, 17th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious High Commander of Leon, of the Emperor's Privy Council, and his principal secretary."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

17 Nov. **499.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 77.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 32.

Not only do the Venetians refuse to contribute with money towards the Turkish war, but they go on publicly stating that no help is required because the affairs of the Turk are not as represented, nor are those of the Lutherans* either, and that besides to attack the Turk at the present moment would be most inopportune, and might lead to an alliance between the heretics and the Infidel.

From Lucca they write coldly about such contribution, and besides Joan de Marcilla, who resides there for Your Majesty, says he has no orders on this point. The duke of Milan has not answered yet, nor has he of Ferrara. The Pope, however, says that his 10,000 crs. and the 2,000 from Florence shall be ready from December next, and that he will take care that the dukes of Camerino and Urbino supply the remainder. The duke of Mantua has not sent an answer to the application, but his ambassador here assures me that he will not be at fault. Of the duke of Savoy and marquises of Saluzzo and Monferrado there is no news yet.

Relates at length the conversation which the Pope had with the duke of Albany respecting the plans of the French king. —Rome, 17th November 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacr. Ces. et Cath. Ma^{ti}."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

17 Nov. **500.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

[S. E. L. 850, f. 118.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 43.

Sends the treatise (*discurso*) which the duke of Albany [John Stuart] gave the Pope. Instead of copying it in French as in the original, an Italian translation which he encloses† has been made.

The Sienese difficulty has at last been settled, as Don Pedro de la Cueva assures us.

The mission of that ambassador has hitherto been kept secret. As far as he (Mai) can judge the Pope is much pre-occupied

* "Que para los Lutheranos tampoco es menester, y que ellos no pueden contribuir por no juntar al Turco con los infieles."

† See above, No. 490, p. 794.

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with (*esta mucho sobre si*) the consideration of the proposed council, but says he is afraid of its turning out very differently from what His Majesty thinks, thereby meaning that although the Emperor's purpose be good he himself fears that the result will be unfortunate. In this respect he trusts implicitly in His Imperial Majesty; does not much mistrust France, but is terribly afraid of the king of England and of the Venetians.—Rome, 17th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

18 Nov. **501.** MUXÉTULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 44.

The Emperor's letters of the 20th and 30th ult° have been duly received. His orders about the quartering of the troops had already been fulfilled in part when the letters came; the remainder will be attended to. Excuses Marramaldo: does not think him capable of uttering the threats which have been reported to the Emperor. He has always been faithful and done much service as captain of Italian infantry. He it was who gained the victory at Gavignana, without which the siege of Florence would have been raised, for the prince of Orange was slain on that field of battle, and the men-at-arms fled before the enemy.

Don Pedro saw the Pope yesterday and spoke to him about the Council; he has not answered yet.—Rome, 17th November 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muxetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

18 Nov. **502.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat Re. Conc. y Disc. Eccl. L. 2, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 50.

Has duly received his letter brought by Don Pedro de la Cueva, and heard besides what the ambassador had to say verbally. Is fully persuaded of the sincerity of his wishes for the exaltation of the Church of Christ and the glory of the Apostolic See.

Respecting the remedy which he (the Emperor) proposes to apply to the Lutheran errors in matters of Faith, if he alone were consulted he (the Pope) should not hesitate to adhere at once to his plans and follow his advice, such is his confidence in the Emperor's affection and wisdom; but this being a thing in which the whole of Christendom and the Church of God are so deeply concerned, he deems it advisable before returning a categorical answer upon that subject to consult the cardinals thereupon, &c.

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

19 Nov. **503.** DON PEDRO DE LA CUEVA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 349, f. 127.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 51.

On the 15th prothonotary Gambaro arrived. When I heard of it I went up to the Pope and told him of it. He answered that his business should be attended to, so that he

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might take his departure to-day, Monday. Up to this hour, however, Gambaro is not gone, and I hear the cardinals are still in Consistory. I have spoken to him, and he assures me that on the day of the Epiphany (*dia de Reyes*), he will be with Your Majesty. He must make a great effort for this unless he means riding post, as he did when the king of France dispatched him to this present Pope, then in prison.

Went on Saturday the 17th to speak to the Pope about the cardinals' hats, when d'Osma and I had occasion to allude to the Council, and remark how much Your Majesty would wonder at the prothonotary Gambaro not going immediately. The Pope said: "The Emperor need not be anxious about that; he knows that the Council will be convoked and assembled exactly as he wishes it, but it will be necessary first to remove certain scruples of the cardinals and others; for my part I am quite at ease (*conortado*) having placed myself entirely in his hands."

As Monsignor d'Osma cannot fail to give a full account of what passed on this occasion, I will say no more about it, except entreat Your Majesty that if the Council is to take place, a courier should be immediately dispatched with the news, on the arrival of the Prothonotary, that I may have the bulls for the convocation prepared, and myself take my departure.

With regard to the cardinals' hats for the Spanish bishops we spoke to the Pope, who made various difficulties. Wish to to know whether Your Majesty wants me to insist equally on the appointment of all four, or merely of those for whom less resistance is offered. Spoke first about the archbishop of Toledo, because of the other three the Pope would not hear at first, and he then told me that an ecclesiastic of that archbishopric had spoken to him on the subject, and delivered certain letters of favour from the Empress, and I must say seemed inclined to yield; perhaps the said letters may have contained some good offer (*profecta*) of the kind most esteemed here. I must not forget to mention that when the Pope first spoke to us on this subject he very deliberately said: "Of course I need not tell you that the College will not sanction the election of that cardinal."

Last week His Holiness caused us all a great alarm by proposing in Consistory two cardinals for whom the king of England asks hats. The proposition was made so warmly (*caldamente*) that we all thought it would be granted. We spoke to His Holiness on the subject, and he answered that he had done it out of compliment to the king of England, but that we might be sure it would never take effect. Nevertheless, cardinal d'Osma was of opinion that some of his colleagues should be spoken to. Another consistory was held and no mention of the English made in it, the Pope having told the English ambassadors that he feared very much the King's candidates would not obtain a sufficient number of votes. Such is the state of the affair at the present hour, though I

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am told that that scoundrel (*bellaco*) Ghinucci had already made great preparations for the banquet he intended giving on the occasion. What may be the upshot of it I cannot guess, for I have little faith in Roman truth.

The ambassador (Mai) had spoken to the Pope in favour of a Spaniard for the vacant seat in the Rota, but the Pope said that the person recommended did not meet the requirements of that office. His Holiness had no objection to appoint another canonist of our nation, provided he was competent, &c. The president of the Council [of Castille] ought to be written to and send us from Spain some ecclesiastic fit for this post, as it is always very desirable to have one more vote in that tribunal.

As soon as the death of the archbishop was known here, the Pope, I am told, said to his nephew, cardinal Medici: "Now the Emperor might give you something good." The nephew's answer was: "I have not served the Emperor long enough for that, I have no doubt that when I have I shall not be forgotten. Your Holiness, who made a cardinal of me, should now provide for my maintenance (*me devria dar de comer*)." Uncle and nephew have frequent skirmishes together, for he (the Cardinal) would have much preferred to have Florence, and for his brother (Alessandro) to have been made cardinal.

Yesterday the news came that Buda had been taken, and the Vayvod and Gritti made prisoners. I hope it will turn out true.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

— **504.** Cardinal Santa Croce's instructions to his agent* at the Imperial court.

S. E. L. 851, f. 24.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 187.

After kissing the Emperor's hands in my name, you will inform him that His Holiness, the Pope, has lately commissioned me, along with other members of the Sacred College of Cardinals, to report on all affairs proceeding from the Imperial court. That a letter from the Papal Legate (Campeggio?) was lately read in Consistory relating to a conversation he (the Legate) had had at Court, and how he had heard the Emperor himself say that a General Council was very much needed, not only *prò rebus fidei*, but likewise *pro aliis*; and you may add that, as far as I can judge, my colleagues were more displeased at the letter than at the former motive.†

* Who the agent was is not stated. Indeed the paper has no date nor signature. In Bergenroth's volume, the 11th of the collection, it occupies the folios 187 and 188 at the end of 1530, where all letters and documents without a date, have, in most cases, been placed by those who had the care of arranging his papers. I need scarcely add that some of them have been misplaced in the volumes, as will be seen in vol. ii. of the *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum, pp.* 576–603.

† "Y piadosamente creo que no faltó quien sentiese mas el *pro aliis* que el *pro fide*."

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The truth of the matter is that all Lutheran endeavours here as well as there to prevent the celebration of the Council must be considered as the work of men who look more to expediency than honesty, and that any structure raised upon such frail foundations, however they may colour and gild it over on the outside, cannot endure.*

You may further tell His Majesty that the two points with which the Lutherans seem to be satisfied, might, in my opinion, be granted not "concessivè," but "permissivè," should they ask for them. By granting them until the celebration of the Council two principal advantages might be gained: in the first place, the difficulties and dangers whereof people here are afraid could be avoided; and secondly, a sort of obligation would be contracted towards the celebration of the Council sooner or later, which would become, as at other times, a sort of medicine to all parties.

20 Nov. **505.** KING FRANCIS I. to CLEMENT VII.

S. E. L. 850, f. 140.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 58.

The duke of Albany must already have informed him what his views are concerning the General Council. Approves entirely of its convocation. The place of meeting must be one free from suspicion, and as convenient and accessible as possible, so that people from all nations may attend it. This, in his opinion, is the only way of meeting the ever-increasing heresy of the Lutherans and others, as his ambassador, the duke of Albany, will fully explain.—Bloys, 20th November 1530.

French. Contempory copy. pp. 2.

22 Nov. **506.** The ABBOT of LLOR to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 850, f. 145.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 61.

Has spoken on the affair of England with the Cardinal named in the enclosed paper, who has shewn him a letter from the King of that country promising a bishopric of 6,000 ducats if he would work in his favour. The Cardinal shewed him also three opinions in writing (*tres conseios en escrito*), all of which conclude, or at least purpose doing so, in favour of the king of England. Had a conversation with the Cardinal, who, confiding in him, had no difficulty in stating how the case was. In short, what the Cardinal considers as a doubtful point is not so in the least. [Gives at length his own opinion of the case, quotes passages from the Scriptures and then adds:]

After hearing all he had to say on this subject, the Cardinal seemed convinced to a certain extent, and said in confidence (*intimamente*): "I thank you for your clear exposition of the case; yet all I can do is not to vote against the Emperor.

* "En las cosas de Luthero la verdad es que todas las que se encaminaren acá y allá á escusar concilio, las tengo por cosas ordenadas de hombres, que tienen mas respecto á lo util que á lo honesto, y sobre este fundamento no durará el edificio, que va sobre falso por mas que lo coloren y doren."

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Should I continue to hold my present opinion I promise not to vote in favour of the King and against the Emperor."

Thinks that if His Majesty wrote him a letter the Cardinal would change his opinion. He is young, not more than 34 years of age, has a good reputation for learning and virtue, lives a very moral and exemplary life, &c.

Three are the doubts respecting the English case which in his (the Abbot's) opinion are raised in the three papers which the Cardinal gave him to read: 1st. Quod est contra preceptum morale; 2nd. Quod rex tempore quo contraxit cum regina erat minor; 3rd. Quod tempore quo contraxit protestatus est de obicibus sibi licitis protestari. The two first are easily removed, "per supervenientem maturam ætatem continuatam cum perseverantia veri consensus."—Rome, 22nd November 1530.

Signed: "Llavatt (*sic*) Llor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 Nov. **507.** KING FRANCIS [to the DUKE of ALBANY].

S. E. L. 850, f. 139.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 64.

The Imperial ambassador residing at this our court has fully explained to us the many remonstrances, prayers and persuasions which the Emperor, his master, has from time to time addressed to the German princes who follow the sect of Luther. All these means having proved ineffectual he now recommends the convocation of a General Council, wherein these disputes, which threaten the peace of Christendom, may be satisfactorily settled. We have written to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals the letters herein enclosed which you will present to them.—Bloys, 23rd November 1530.

French. Contemporary copy pp. 2.

26 Nov. **508.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 80–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 66.

The Emperor's letter of the 12th arrived, when he (Muxetula) had just sent off his despatch of the 22nd inst. Communicated His Majesty's wishes to the Pope respecting the contribution of the princes. Everything will be ready for a given time, and the Pope, it must be said, is making incredible efforts. Yet there is no answer at all from Naples and Cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna shews no inclination to obey the Emperor's commands. Hears that he complains bitterly saying that he (Muxetula), is the cause of all this; that he is the Pope's friend, and consequently prevented the sack of Florence by the Imperial troops, and lastly that the Pope out of gratitude for his services has rewarded him with several rich benefices, all of which, as His Majesty well knows, is utterly false.

[Justifies himself as to these attacks and then adds]: Has agreed with the Pope that until the money to be contributed comes in, the Imperial forces will quarter in the territory of the Church, in the duchy of Urbino, in Romagna, and so

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forth. Ferrante Gonzaga has been sent for and is expected every day.

His Holiness has again spoken to him about the designs of the king of France, which were, as mentioned elsewhere, to hold an interview with the Emperor in Flanders, and persuade him to give up Milan to him. He (the King) was also intriguing at Genoa, and had secret intelligences with Doria's enemies.

The Pope also told him (Muxetula) that the king of England has promised Francis, if he would make a defensive and offensive league with him (*en todo y por todo*), to help him to recover dominion (*la superioridad*) in Flanders, and other things besides; but that the two kings had decided not to conclude the said league for the present, trusting to draw the Emperor to this matter of Milan. Yet they do not altogether despair to remove this at another time, as the Milan affair appears more profitable [to the French king] than the other negociations.

These considerations moved His Holiness to say the other day to him (Muxetula) that the world being in such a disturbed state, and the ambition of the French so great, he did not advise Your Majesty to disarm, and that whether the Spaniards went to Hungary or not you ought to keep up a certain force in Italy.

The Pope has at last agreed to the convocation of the General Council, not without difficulty, for those who surround him have put a number of things into his head. He said to me: "I place my head and my dignity under the protection of the Emperor;" he is now preparing a memorandum of the difficulties he sees in that affair.

Fabricio Marramaldo has disbanded his men. He (Muxetula) has written with all moderation to cardinal Colonna, without taking any notice of the accusations proffered against him. Also to the cardinal of Burgos [D. Iñigo de Mendoza], who will, no doubt, help in this affair.—Rome, 26th November 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant°. Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 Nov. **509.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 46.

The continuation of the rumour, now prevailing for some time, that in the ensuing Parliament, which is to resume its labours at the feast of the Purification of our Lady, this king intends proposing some measure respecting his divorce, and also the great annoyance the Queen experiences at her cause being so long delayed, have induced her to write to Your Majesty, and to pray that you will be pleased to intercede in her favour with the Pope, and incline His Holiness to move in her case, as he promised on the reception of Miçer Mai's memorandum, at which my own secretary was present.

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The Queen further prays that her suit be proceeded with at once, without further delay, as otherwise no good can result to her, but on the contrary, as Your Majesty may judge by the duplicate of the Queen's letter to the Pope [here enclosed]. On the subject of this letter I have dwelt more fully in one of my former despatches, as have also Miçer Mai and the Nuncio, the latter of whom has now confirmed all statements in his letter to the Pope, of which a copy is also enclosed.

It is said that every exertion is being made here to prepare all matters against the meeting of this Parliament, and there was also a talk of having some book in favour of the King written and printed, that people might examine the matter for themselves.*

Eight days ago the dean of the chapel (Richard Sampson) as king's proctor (*procureur*) in this cause, appeared officially before the archbishop of Canterbury's chancellor, and presented eight different documents, which he required should be copied, and put into an authentic, judicial, and probative form. These were the opinions of as many universities in this matter of the divorce, namely, two from Paris—one from the Faculty of Theology, and the other from the Canonists—the remaining six being from the universities of Thoulouse, Orleans, Burges (Bourges), Bolongne (Bologna), Padua, and Pavia. I should rather think that instead of the book which they intend printing, it would be better for them to publish the opinions of those universities, for after all they cannot be so easily refuted, and the people will rely on their authority with more confidence.

Should they do so, the best plan, in my opinion, would be to get the attestation of the votes in favour of the Queen at Paris, and the opinions of such universities as have decided against the King, published likewise. Also to print and circulate the best books written on the subject, as has already been done in Spain with that of the bishop of Rochester (Fisher). Some people thought that the good bishop, for fear of the King's displeasure, would have been annoyed at this, but as the work has been printed without his knowledge, he does not seem to mind it much, from which I conclude that he will not dislike to see in print the other two treatises he has since written on the subject. I have accordingly written to Miçer Mai to have them printed as soon as possible, and send me several copies to distribute among the people here, with due solemnity and as the case may require, before the re-opening of Parliament.

A few days ago the duchess of Norfolk sent the Queen a present of poultry (*volaille*), and with it an orange, inside of which was a letter from Gregory Casale, a copy of which I deem proper to send to Your Majesty†. The Queen imagines

* "Et se parloit [il] de faire ecrire et imprimer quelque livre en faveur du Roy affin que le peuple en fust abbeurre (abbreué?")

† Not in the bundle.

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that the Duchess has sent her this present and letter of her own accord, and out of the love and affection she bears her, but I am afraid that all has been done with the Duke's knowledge; at all events this seems to open a way for the Queen to communicate more freely [with her friends] and disclose her plans to the Duchess, for which purpose it has been deemed expedient to dissemble better in future.

Eight days ago the King ordered the Cardinal to be brought here [to London], on hearing which, he abstained from food for several days, much preferring (as it is said) to die in this manner than of a more ignominious and dishonourable death, of which he has some fears. In consequence of which abstinence from food he has been taken ill on the road, and is not yet arrived. There is a report that a chamber has been already prepared for him in the Tower, the same one that the duke of Buckingham once occupied.

Many reasons are assigned for the Cardinal's arrest, but all are mere conjectures. I was told by a gentleman that a short time ago the King was complaining to his Council of something which had not been done according to his wish, and that he exclaimed in great wrath that the Cardinal was a very different man from any of them (*tres tous*) for conducting State matters, and that after repeating the same words twice over he left the Council room in disgust. Since then the Duke, the Lady [Anne], and her father (Sir Thomas Boleyn), have never ceased plotting against the Cardinal, especially the Lady, who has wept and wailed, regretting her lost time and honour, and threatening the King that she would go away and leave him, so much so that the King had enough to do to quiet her, and though he begged and intreated her most affectionately, and even with tears in his eyes, not to forsake him, nothing would satisfy the Lady short of the Cardinal's arrest. The pretext for the arrest is said to be that he had written to Rome asking to be reinstated in his ecclesiastical possessions, and to France also for support and credit, and that he was actually beginning to resume his former habits of pomp and splendour, and trying to corrupt the people. This last accusation they may perhaps prove, since they have got his physician into their hands, for I hear that the day after he came here he was taken to the house of the duke of Norfolk, and there treated and entertained like a prince, which clearly shews that he (Agostini) has been singing to the right tune, as the Cardinal's enemies wished.

Jehan Jocquin (Giovanni Gioachino da Passano) would not say a word about this when closely interrogated by the Papal Nuncio; but he told the Venetian ambassador (Venier) that by the physician's own confession the Cardinal had solicited the Pope at Rome to excommunicate the King, and lay an interdict on his kingdom, unless he immediately dismissed the Lady [Anne] from Court, and treated the Queen with

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proper respect. By which means he (the Cardinal) hoped to cause a rising throughout the country, and in the midst of the confusion seize again the reins of government. The said Jocquin, in his conversation with the Venetian ambassador, did certainly find great fault with the Cardinal for his malignity and bad conduct in this case; but it is to be doubted whether this was not done to hide his own disappointment and annoyance at the arrest, or out of real spite against him for his opposition to this second marriage, on which alone depend the credit and favour the French now enjoy at this court.

It would seem, however, that the physician, when interrogated, denied having any understanding or acquaintance with me; for otherwise the Duke, who is a bad dissembler, would have spoken out. He might also have summoned the man, who was the means of communication [between us], to whom the physician wrote, and through whom he received [my] answers; but up to this time the man has not been called upon to make any statement. Even if the physician should relate what passed between him and myself he could say nothing which could lay me open to accusation or even calumny.

Ample information has been received from France touching what passed about the convocation of the General Council. Jehan Jocquin, I am told, said to one of his intimate friends, who repeated it to the Papal Nuncio, that the king of France would certainly raise difficulties about it, especially with regard to the places named for its assembling; but I made no further inquiries about it, sure as I am that Your Majesty will receive better and more detailed information from that country.

On his passage through Milan, on his return from Bologna, the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) must have given the Duke (Francesco Maria Sforza) some hope of being able to raise here (in England) a loan of 50,000 crs.; for it appears that eight days ago the Earl informed the Milanese ambassador here (Scarpinello ?) that he could not fulfil his promise, for the King himself was in want of money for the pay of the men he keeps in Ireland, and who, as I wrote to Your Majesty, do not exceed 500 in number.

A deputation from Scotland has also arrived within the last few days; but I have not yet been able to ascertain their object in coming. Some suspect that a promise has been made, or some hope held out, of a marriage of the young King (James) with the Princess (Mary), as it may divert the Scotch from any project of alliance with Your Majesty or any other power. I hope, however, to be able to give Your Majesty more certain information in my next despatch.

The Lutheran merchants here arrested, as I wrote in my last, have undergone no further punishment than to be led

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through some of the streets of this city in their mitred caps, and with placards* on [their breasts and shoulders], carrying certain books [in their hands] which they themselves were to burn publicly. I cannot see what good is to result from all this, since it now appears that for one who spoke about these matters before there are now a hundred who discourse of them freely and without fear.

A Spaniard has lately been here, sent, as he says, by the Council of Castille. That the people may not suppose that he comes for Your Majesty's affairs, he gives out that he is sent by the "Order of Mercy" and is to apply for licence to preach in this country the bulls of the said Order for the redemption of captives, and to appoint this king commissioner thereof at his pleasure with one-third of the produce throughout this kingdom.

Whilst I was writing this a good and trusty man called and said to me that he had been informed by the prothonotary of the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) that the King not only wished to have a copy of the documents above referred to, but also to have them translated into the English language and attested, and that the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) had requested him in the King's name to make the said translation, and so shape the text by enlarging it wherever it might seem desirable, that the conclusions and papers [of the universities] should turn entirely to the King's advantage. This and other circumstances, which I omit, will give Your Majesty an idea of their way of proceeding in this matter.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

27 Nov. **510.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Chancellor.

S.-E. L. 849, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 97.

Encloses the bulls, &c. for the king of Hungary, which were issued at last, notwithstanding the objections of Sancti Quatuor and others. The provision made for the cardinals was very opportune. Those who did get it thanked the Emperor immensely; those who did not were equally grateful, thinking their turn will come sooner or later.

Two congregations have already been held about this matter of the General Council, and to-morrow, Monday, there is to be Consistory. Cardinal d'Osma thinks that the resolution will be favourable. Muxetula, who seems to know more about the Pope's secret thoughts than anyone else here—a thing which Miçer Mai and Andrea do not particularly like—is of the same opinion. Cardinal Santa Croce also believes it, though not so firmly as the two above named.

Has not gone to the Chapel, because if no ambassador's place is to be given to him so as to precede the duke of Albany, as he is entitled to do, he had better remain at home.

* "Avec leur mitres et escripteaux" says the original, which I take to be the *sambenito* or garment usually worn in Spain by those condemned by the Inquisition on their being marched to the stake.

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Has written twice to the marquis del Gasto (Vasto) about the army, and to Colonna about the money. The former has not come to Rome yet; the latter has answered: "Let Muxetula, who has received from the Pope a benefice yielding 4,000 ducats every year, and Ferrante Gonzaga, who has Venavente (Benevento), a very fine city, provide the money," but nevertheless he ends his letter by saying that in a few days he will remit 30,000 ducats.—Rome, 27th November 1530.

P.S.—Don Sancho de la Cavalleria has arrived.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

28 Nov. **511.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 12.
B M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 77.

Though I am not a good player at cards,* I am ready to stand by Your Lordship and serve you as long as I remain at the Emperor's court, for which I intend starting as soon as you will give me leave, as there is nothing more for me to do here. The little that remains will soon be done, or else I myself shall be done for.† When I say *serve you,* I mean with the sword, for with the pen I can do nothing, being neither scholar nor statesman. Pray let me be recalled as soon as possible, for Rome indeed is so ruined that it is like being in the middle of a desert, surrounded by clergy, the greatest knaves in the whole world.‡—Rome, 28th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

28 Nov. **512.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 121–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 78.

Encloses briefs for the high commandership of Alcantara, and everything needed besides for the election of the king of the Romans. Could not send at the same time the confirmation and amplification of the bull of pope Adrian, as demanded.

(*Cipher:*) The cardinals are divided in opinion as to the General Council proposed. Some are decidedly against it, because they are afraid of the reformation beginning with them and their lives, especially those who obtained their hats through money. They excuse themselves in general terms by saying that they do not consider the Council to be beneficial to Your Majesty's interests. Others are less unfavourable to it, but would delay it as much as possible, partly for a bad end and partly on the plea that a measure of this kind ought to be duly announced to all the princes of Christendom. Others again are of opinion that there should be no Council, but merely an ecclesiastical assembly (*dieta*) like that of pope Pius at

* "Aunque no soy muy buen jugador de la runfla ni de la gana pierde."

† The passage stands thus: "Espero en Dios que á lo que vine se despachara bien, y sino llevaré yo un riñon despachado por que por ruynmente que corri echo mas arenas que g.ª (Garcia). Does he mean Fr. Garcia de Loaysa?

‡ "Pero está Roma tan ruynada ques estar en un yermo entre los mas vellacos clerigos del mundo."

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Mantua. I myself spoke about this at Bologna, and wrote to Your Majesty afterwards, but the answer was that the Germans would not be satisfied with it. A few have the same pious intention as Your Majesty, and are for its immediate convocation and assembly.

A few days ago His Holiness said to cardinal Santa Croce, to whom he unbosomed himself with signs of deep sorrow: "It is very hard that I should be called upon at my advanced age to hold (*ygualar*) the blood of Christ, and that of the martyrs and glorious saints of the Church, to be of no greater value than the blood of ten drunken Germans, or perhaps only four, who are quite enough of themselves to destroy a whole world, and with much greater reason a Council! They may do what they please; I shall fly to the mountains and let them choose another pope, or a dozen popes, for I am sure that when they set about it they will elect as many as there are nations represented in the Council."

Such words is the Pope reported to have said to cardinal Santa Croce; he must have said a good deal more to other cardinals whom he trusts more, and the proof is that Sancti Quatuor said the day before yesterday to Andrea del Burgo that he was tempted not to accept the proofs just received of Your Majesty's munificence in order that he might be at liberty to vote as he pleased in this matter of the Council, when put under deliberation on the 26th November. Yesterday the 25th, however, a congregation was held; the majority of the cardinals voting for the Council.

The duke of Albany at present thinks of nothing but pleasure. My spies tells me that he goes now and then to see the Pope at night.

Gonzaga and Soria have promised to withdraw the Imperial forces from the Sienese territory within ten days, a thing which in my opinion will be impossible, for in the first place we do not know where they are to be quartered, and secondly, the money from Naples to pay them is not forthcoming.

Delivered the letter of cardinal Maintz. — Fabricio Marramaldo. — Archbishop of Siena and his memorial. — Luigi Gonzaga and Isabella Colonna.— Duke of Mantua.

There is a report that the duke of Savoy (Carlo), since the loss of Geneva, has been trying to make league with the Lutherans; his ambassador is expected here to night.

The letter of the cardinal of Maguncia (Maintz) was delivered to His Holiness, who, after perusing it, said there was in it "multa boba," but promised to do what he could in the affair, and that at any rate he would give out such hopes to the Cardinal's agent that they would almost be equivalent to a grant. Shortly after I took occasion to recommend to him the affair Brandenburgh, the prepositure of Traietto, and other matters.*

* "Lo mismo hago yo con el agente de Brandemburgo por la cassa de la Ordèn, y con el de la prepositura de Traiecto y con todos [en general.]

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The memorial presented by the archbishop of Siena before Your Majesty's Privy Council is full of misrepresentations and very much exaggerated. In what he says of me he is entirely wrong, for I have never said or done anything in that affair without first consulting Ferrante Gonzaga.

Letters [from France] have been received announcing that the King had sent 100,000 crs. to Switzerland to recruit men, but the Papal Nuncio in France writes that only a portion of that sum has been actually sent from Paris.

As to the Italian emigrants (*fuorusciti*) it is reported that they had intensely resented the order recently given for their leaving the country immediately, and that cardinal Tribulcio, the most influential amongst them, having asked for three days' respite in consequence of his being unwell, had met with a refusal.

According to information brought to His Holiness by a secretary of the marquis of Mus, upwards of 12,000 Grisons had died of pestilence in the Swiss cantons.

Don Lorenço Manuel writes that Bourbon's heirs have been deprived of the property restored to them in virtue of the treaty of Cambray, and the news has since been confirmed as far as la Roca Gorion.*

The bishop of Faença, a nephew of Alberto del Carpi, who went this last summer to France on a mission from the Pope, has returned. He says that he has heard different opinions expressed in France by people supposed to be wise and shrewd politicians. Some said that the King was to have the duchy of Milan with Your Majesty's approbation; others maintained that with or without your consent he was sure to get it, for he had already clearly justified his claim to it. The same was said about Genoa and no mystery was made about it, for the thing was commonly talked of in market places and inns in France. The said Bishop also relates that this idea of a General Council is by no means popular there, and that the King will do everything he can to put it off, which intelligence agrees with what Tarbes has been heard to say here. — Rome, 28th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

28 Nov. **513.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 83.

Is thankful at hearing that his conduct has been approved and that the Emperor was satisfied with the delay agreed to, at the Pope's request in the cause of England. Will now follow the terms of the suit without further interruption, especially as the Pope has promised never again to grant a suspension.

Though His Holiness has letters from his Nuncio in England, shewing that the King is very much dissatisfied with him,

* La Roche Guyon, in the Vexin (Normandy), one of the fiefs of the Constable Bourbon.

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and that he complains and threatens saying among other things that he intends taking pen in hand, to write against him, shew him up, and rouse other princes, who ignorant of his tricks have not yet taken steps against him.

Advices from that country state that Parliament has been prorogued, but, as far as we can judge here, this has only been done to intimidate the poor Queen and keep the matter in suspense.

Among those who have given their opinions here in favour of the King is a converted Jew, who now goes by the name of Marco Gabriello*, to whom the king of England has offered as much money as he may ask, having instructed his ambassadors to treat with him and have him sent to England. As this man's journey cannot be for a good purpose, we are afraid that with the votes the King has got already, and with Gabriello's presence in England, Parliament may be persuaded to grant that which he (the King) has so long threatened, namely, his marriage "de facto."

Considering it to be for Your Majesty's interest to prevent this man's journey to England, I have taken the precaution of writing to Scalenga at Asti, giving his *signallement* that he may be arrested if passing through that country. I have since communicated with cardinal d'Osma and Don Pedro [de la Cueva], and both are of opinion that Antonio de Leyva might also do the same, if the Jew should happen to pass through Milan. Andrea del Burgo has likewise written to Trent, and as I have since heard that he has gone to Venice on certain private business of his own, Rodrigo Niño has been instructed to set spies upon him and have him followed to Trent, Milan, or Asti, whichever route he may take.

I have received from Spain certain papers and deeds to present in the cause, and I am informed that Dr. Ortiz will soon be here [with the rest].

The Nuncio in England writes to His Holiness tha tin talking with him about the defection of the Landgrave [of Hesse], and after him of the duke of Saxony (George), the King observed that no one in his dominions would be bold enough to do the same, because he is in the habit of punishing such misdemeanours. "Neither would they in Spain," I replied, "nor in other ot the Emperor's kingdoms, whose inhabitants, not from fear, but out of pure loyalty to their master, whom they idolize, will remain faithful; but in Germany the desertion of such high vassals is not to be wondered at, for the very act of flying is significant of their reverence and dread of the Emperor. It is not so in England, as we learn from their ancient history, for there they mutiny for a trifle and frequently lay hands on their kings, and in fact king Henry is perhaps in greater danger [of being thus treated] than any of his pre-

* "Entre los otros que aqui han aconsejado por el Rey es uno que fué judio, llamado agora Marco Gabriello."

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decessors."* I told His Holiness this much that he might not regard the King's threats.—Rome, 28th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Indorsed: "Things of England."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 Nov. **514.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 123–4. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 85.

Relates a conversation between the Capuan (Schomberg), Don Pedro de la Cueva, and himself respecting the Council. Among other things, the former said that it was better to dissemble with the Lutherans and grant them their late demands of liberty to marry, and communion in both kinds —to which all in the Council agree: that Your Majesty would not do your duty in the Council, and for this reason it ought not to be convoked, or if you did it, all (meaning the Pope and the cardinals) would only reluctantly attend it. The Pope, it is said, will send nuncios to all the courts, and intends sending some one to represent again all the disadvantages (*inconvenientes*) of the measure. It is reported that Muxetula will be the man, but cannot say for certain.

Micer Scaramuza Vizconde, who had been reconciled to the duke of Milan, and was married and settled, has suddenly departed for France, on the plea that the Duchy is about to change hands soon.

Hears from Sanga that the duke of Albany is pressing the Pope for an answer to his memorandum.

Salviati and Cibo have come to Rome to assist the Pope, whose friends and relations (*deudos*) they are, in these discussions about the expediency of a General Council, but the truth is that before the arrival of Don Pedro de la Cueva both were already on their road here.

Order of Premoste or Regular Canons.—Archbishop of Toledo and his agent Ortiz de Velasco.

Ascanio Colonna.

A nephew of Alarcon, now bishop of Veste (Viesti), told him yesterday that a district of Naples, called Hardo (?), had revolted and proclaimed the king of France. As there are letters of the Cardinal [Pompeo Colonna] of a very late date and nothing is said about this, fancies the news is not true. The affairs of Naples, however, seem to be in a very queer state, for no money comes from thence. Colonna and Muxetula have quarrelled, and they abuse each other immensely.

Recommends the Abbot [of Llor ?] and the "Mastro di Casa of cardinal Santa Croce, called Conchano," as well as Cuevas, and a son of the widow Gualbes, now chaplain to the Em-

* "Sino que se les amotinan por cada nonadas, y muchas vezes ponen las manos en los Reyes, y que [el] era al mas peligrosso señor de todos."

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peror. This last he (Mai) received at his house at the solicitation of Philippe [Cervellon], his brother-in-law. Lastly, one of his two secretaries, named Pedro de la Plaza, a native of Pedraza de Campos, having died, he (Mai) begs to have him replaced by one Archangel Mercader, of Perpignan.*—Rome, 29th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious and Magnificent Lord, Don Francisco de los Covos, High Commander of Leon, First Secretary, and of the Grand Council of His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

29 Nov. **515.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 850, f. 129. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 89.

My other letter was closed and ready to be sent when it occurred to me to add the information obtained the same day respecting a certain Frangapani.†

This Frangapani belongs to a good Italian family established here and in Croatia; when in Italy he says that he is from Croatia, and when there calls himself an Italian, just as best suits him. He has been all his life a great maker and unmaker of kings.‡ When the most Christian King was besieging Pavia he went thither and offered to raise 600 horsemen of his nation for him, and took I do not know how much money from him.

He then came to Rome, saw the Pope, and negociated with him, and clever as the Pope may be, would have got all he wanted from him had it not been for Joanin de Medicis, who happened to be in the room at the time, and said to the Pope first, and to the man himself afterwards, that he was a rogue, and knew him to be a cheat and an impostor, upon which the Frangapani went away and no more was heard of him.

After the liberation of the most Christian King this man went to France, where he remained for some time, and excused himself for not having brought the cavalry, as he had heard of the King having been defeated and taken prisoner. He then went to Turkey with forged credentials from the king of France, as it is presumed, and contrived there to make a league between the Turk and the most Christian King, which negociation, true or not, was favoured by a son of Andrea Gritti, the doge of Venice, then residing at Constantinople.

Having been asked by the Turk how the King promised to help, he answered that he would help in two ways. First of all by not sanctioning or joining any enterprize of the Christian princes against him; and then by making war on Your Majesty, he and his allies, until he recovered his sons, and so harassing you that the two brothers united would not be able to defend Hungary successfully.

* "Que en su lugar mande poner el otro que me queda, y sirve y ha servido tambien, llamado Arcangel Mercader (?) de Perpiñan."

† "Por el munda va un afrontador que se llama franga pani (*sic*) y quando es en Italia," &c.

‡ "Que era un barro y un afrontador, porque él le conocia de antes un gran afrontador; su vida deste es afrontar á reyes."

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Now they say that this Frangapani has gone to the Vayvod in Hungary, but has not been well received (*no ha podido venderse*), because there happen to be at the court of that prince people who know the family both here and in Croatia. His Holiness assures me that this intelligence is true, and that he knows it by way of Venice and Turkey.

Has mentioned these facts, because it would be advisable to ascertain in Constantinople and elsewhere whether the offers said to have been made to the Turk are true or not, and whether Frangapani was really accredited to him.—Rome, 29th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious and most Magnificent Lord, Don Francisco de los Covos, High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 Nov. **516.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 849, f. 10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 98.

The news of the death of the archbishop of Saragossa turns out to be true. I need scarcely say that our good cardinal d'Osma would like very much to be promoted to that see. He is a faithful servant of the Emperor, and does his part here well. He is very hospitable, and spends a good deal of money, but wishes, as I do, to keep out of sight of the Roman court.

Your Lordship may believe me when I say that to mention the Council here is equal to mentioning the Devil.* I believe, therefore, that they will tell a thousand lies, and invent a thousand excuses, for the chance of some hindrance arising out of the delay.

Compliments to Messieurs Granvela and Praët, whom I wish to serve above all things.—Rome, 29th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

2) Nov. **517.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the Emperor.

S. E. L 849, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 95.

The papers for the coronation are here enclosed.

Your Majesty's letters to the cardinals were, with the Pope's permission, delivered, and the Cardinal (Muxetula), Miçer Mai, and myself have gone our rounds and spoken to each of them. There are various opinions about the expediency of this General Council, but all the cardinals agree upon one point, that they are terribly afraid of it. Nor is His Holiness the Pope, to whom the ambassadors have often spoken on this subject, more tranquil about it. I have been unable to calm his fears (*su paura*); he answers nothing, and sighs most piteously when we mention the subject before him.

* "Que mentar conzilio aqui es mentar al Diablo, y asy creo que an de dezir mil mentiras por que de la dilacion salga algun inconveniente."

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The Capuan (Schomberg) seems to be the one designated to go to Your Majesty; others say Muxetula and a nephew of cardinal Monte, the governor of this city. It strikes me that neither of them will go, and that some other, not a cardinal, will be sent; for upon the whole I fancy that if these people could send me and the Council also to the Devil they would, and as they cannot achieve that they will invent and create all manner of obstacles to prevent its assembling.*—Rome, 29th November 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 Nov. **518.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 850, f. 126.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 92.

With the estafette dispatched by the Papal Legate came Your Lordship's letter of the 17th inst., which I hasten to answer.

The Papal briefs for the election of a king of the Romans are sealed and addressed to each of the electors; but here goes a copy of them. Some say *cum*, others *sine*; you may use them as you please.

Captain Rodrigo de Ripalda has come from the camp on a mission from Don Ferrante Gonzaga to procure money for the troops. We are collecting together all we have, and he will go with it.

Yesterday, at the Consistory, it was agreed that the Council should be held, but on condition of the Emperor being present, and of the Pope sending a man to the Emperor representing the inconveniences that may arise, &c. All the Christian princes to be informed thereof through nuncios dispatched to the different countries. The one to go to the Emperor to be Il Capuano.

Not only has Tassis not provided us with money, but he has written to say that he will accept no bills drawn upon him. In this emergency I have been obliged to take 1,500 crs. here, to be paid in Naples by my brother, abbot Mai.—Rome, 29th November 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

30 Nov. **519.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 118–22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 102.

Sends summary of advices from Alessandria and the Turk.

Effect produced by the news of the taking of Strigonia (Gran). The castle of Buda is closely invested by the troops of king Ferdinand, so that neither the Vayvod nor Andrea Gritti, who are known to be inside, can possibly escape. This piece of intelligence has been received at Rome with great joy, as it is considered that if the two above-named individuals fall into the hands of the king of Hungary, all cause of alarm will disappear for ever. Here, at Rome, they would much

* "A mi, señor, parezeme que si luego que lleguen con su onor pudieran estos con el conzilio y comigo dar en casa de los diablos que lo hyzieran, y que ya que esto no puedan que asyran de quanta dilacion podran por los inconvenientes que en este medio podrian suzeder."

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prefer the capture of Luigi Gritti to that of the Vayvod, for they say the former is much more dangerous, owing to his influence over Abrayn Bassa, and if taken he ought to be drawn and quartered. When his father, Andrea the doge of Venice, heard the news, he gave no signs of sorrow, but said "Let the will of God be done."

Duke of Albany and his intrigues.

Conversation with the Doge respecting the duchy of Milan and the plans of the French.

Gaspar Sorma*, and his journey to Ferrara.

Since I wrote on the 20th I have endeavoured to learn who it was who went to England about the marriage of the Princess [Mary] to the duke of Milan. I find it is that same prothonotary Casale, who was once ambassador here for that king, to whom and to his brother (Sir Gregory) it is reported that the Duke has promised estates with considerable revenue in Milan if the matter take effect. I am assured, therefore, that the Prothonotary is gone to be employed in this matter, and the negociation is actually going on (*se menea*) by letting the King know what I have written to Your Majesty. The pretence for his journey is that he is going thither for the purpose of taking to England the report of all that he has been able to do against the Queen, and shewing the King that it is he (Casale) who has done everything, not the bishop of London (Stokesley) nor this other Ricaldo,† who still remains here intriguing as much as he can.

The prior of St. John and St. Paul‡ has delivered to me the opinion he had drawn up against the Queen, and has promised not to give it to the English, but do what he can to satisfy himself, and then retract; also to endeavour to get the others who have written against her to do the like. As I promised to send Your Majesty this Prior's opinion, I now enclose it, folded up and sealed, just as he gave it to me. He tells me that there is inside a letter for Your Majesty, and also the copy of the brief given by the Pope, in which, he says, he has written to Your Majesty not to send Miçer Mai to him, but some one who can examine the case theologically, and see that the substance of the whole is rightly stated here, because the Prior is the person with whom the bishop of London negociated most.§ I recommend the Emperor to write a letter to the Prior, accepting his services, and charging him henceforth to obey my instructions without naming the king or queen of England. I hope to send soon another opinion made by our opponents, but I have great fear the king of England, with the authority of the bishops of his kingdom,

* Thus in the original, but most likely an error for Sormano.

† "No este, otro Ricaldo que ahun está por estos estudios haciendo quantas maldades puede." Ricaldo is Richard Croke, the excusator.

‡ "El prior de San Juan y Polo."

§ "Dentro del qual dize que escribe á su Mag^{d} una letra y embia el traslado del breve quel Papa dio, por el qual dize que ha escrito no se embie á Miçer Mai. Vuestra Magistad se la mande embiar de allá para que sepa lo que se ha escrito en este negocio en theologia, que la substancia de todo ello es lo que aqui va escrito."

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will obtain the divorce "de facto," and no longer trouble himself about litigating the case in the Rota; at least, that is what his agents here say. This notwithstanding, I have written to Miçer Mai to inform him of the particulars I gave in my despatch of the 20th.

(*Cipher:*) Four days ago count Guido received his congé from the king of France, who, they say, was very much hurt at the Count asking for it. The latter has said nothing to me about this, but I understand that he is acting by the advice of a Jewish astrologer attached to his household, who has told him that he will ultimately make an agreement (*concertarse*) with this Signory.

News from Genoa. There have been riots in that city, and some of the family of Spinola are said to be recruiting forces in the duchy of Milan. The origin of it all seems to be that the faction of Adorni complain that Andrea Doria, under the cloak of the liberty proclaimed, is becoming absolute master of that Republic; the councils are held at his own house, and the relatives and friends of that captain had become so insolent that one of them in the very piazza of San Sixto cut off the nose of a gentleman of the family of Montaldi, &c.

Begs for orders to treasurer Alonzo Sanchez, at Naples, to pay him the arrears of his salary through his cousin Pedro Ram [on ?].—Venice, 30th November 1530.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

1 Dec. **520.** Cardinal Santa Croce to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 164.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 112.

Wrote a few days ago to the High Commander of Leon what was then known of Don Pedro de la Cueva's embassy, and what in all probability would be the Pope's answer. Having guessed right thus far, will now venture to prognosticate that *the Council will not take place.* Such is his firm belief; therefore he entreats the Emperor to consider well before a reply is made, whether now that the Pope's memorandum is forwarded, it is better to have regard to the inconveniences and dangers pointed out in that paper, and let the blame of the non-assembling of the Council fall on those who suggest them, or to insist on the demand without any certainty of success: his own impression is that unless the king of France for his own particular views consents to it, the Council will not assemble, &c.,—Rome, 1st December 1530.

Signed: "F. Cardinal S. +."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ, Catholicæ Maiestati."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

1 Dec. **521.** Clement VII. to the Signory of Venice.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 122.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 110.

Copy of the brief about the Council.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

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4 Dec. **522.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226, No. 47.

The bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has lately written a book in favour of the Queen, which is here enclosed.* The Queen prays Your Majesty to forward it immediately to the Pope, and at the same time remind His Holiness of the promises mentioned in my last despatch.†

On Tuesday, the eve of St. Andrew, the duke of Norfolk invited the Papal Nuncio to come and see him at his house, and on his arrival there told him that the King had desired him to request that he would write to His Holiness about the Cardinal's hat for the Auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci). Having said this, the Duke took the Nuncio apart, and told him that the King felt great surprise at his not having been informed of the letters received from Rome, and was still more surprised and annoyed at what His Holiness had said to his ambassadors on the subject of a last monition of excommunication (*reaggravatoyre*) and the dismissal of the Lady from Court. This (the Duke added) was a most outrageous measure on the part of His Holiness, and such as he (the King) had not deserved on any grounds, since he had always shewn himself a dutiful son of the Church, and had never offended him intentionally in any respect. The Duke went on for some time in the same strain, praising the King's conduct in the affair, and so forth, &c.

The Nuncio apologised, and said that respecting the first point, whereof the King complained, his reason for not informing him immediately of the contents of the letters received from Rome was to avoid as much as possible the violent and threatening language with which the King was in the habit of loading him, and also that the Pope, hearing of the King's manner of proceeding [towards his Nuncio], had expressly instructed him not to give himself further trouble about vindicating his conduct. The Pope felt that he had more than sufficiently acquitted himself of his obligations to the king of England, and had only to consider now his duty to God, and his own conscience, and how best to ensure justice to the parties concerned. With regard to the other point, the Nuncio said the Pope had lately written that he could not possibly allow any further delay in the affair, he was so pressed to see justice done that he must not only attend to the two points above mentioned, but also prepare a definitive sentence in the Queen's case.

The Duke thanked the Nuncio very much for thus acquainting him with the Pope's views and intentions, a summary of which, written in cipher, he said, the King had already received [from his ambassadors at Rome], and after many

* See No. 509, p. 818.

† "Levesque de Rochester a dernierement accheve ung livre, &c." Different from the one printed at Alcalá, in the month of August 1530. The title of it is *Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ illustrissimarum totius Italiæ ac Galliæ Academiarum censuræ efficacissimis etiam quorundam doctissimorum virorum argumentationibus explicatæ*, &c., London, Mense Aprili, An. Dñi. MDXXX.

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courteous words, begged him to act on this occasion the part of a good ambassador, and avoid sending unpleasant reports. Also to write that very same day by the courier, whom the King was sending to France, and thence to Rome.

The Nuncio tells me that on this occasion the Duke did not scruple to affirm, and actually to take his oath, that the King had only learnt four days before that cardinal Therbes* had been pushing his affairs at Rome, or that a brief had been issued against himself at Bologna, and yet it is now more than six weeks ago that the King himself knew of the brief, and complained of it to the Nuncio.

The latter is well aware, and agrees with me, that what I have written to Your Majesty is a positive fact, namely, that mild treatment only hardens these people, but severity softens them. As long as His Holiness acted graciously towards them they kept abusing and threatening him in the most outrageous manner; now that he has begun to tighten the reins they are as mild and humble as possible. The Nuncio, therefore, has written to His Holiness more forcibly than he ventured to do before, that for the maintenance of his authority in this kingdom, as well as for other sufficient reasons the Queen's case ought at once to be brought to a final conclusion. His letter [to the Pope] accompanies the present one; I pray Your Majesty to have it forwarded [to Rome] together with the book [of bishop Fisher] above mentioned, and if Your Majesty would be pleased again to remind him of this business, I have no doubt that the recommendation in the present state of things would be much more efficacious than it has been hitherto, now that the trial is in a more advanced stage.

The cardinal of York died on St. Andrew's Day about 40 miles from here, at a place where the last king Richard was defeated and killed. Both lie buried in the same church, which the people begin already to call "the Tyrants' grave."†

Many are the reports current as to the cause of his death. Some say that for several days after his arrest he would take no nourishment whatever, and that after that he either took, or was given, something to hasten his end. On Monday the captain of the guard arrived to conduct him to London, and both supped together cheerfully enough. Soon after, however, the Cardinal was taken violently ill, so much so that it was thought he could not live through the night; yet he lingered till Wednesday, and died like a good Christian, protesting, at the time of receiving the Holy Sacrament, that he had never undertaken anything against his master, the King. There has been a great deal going on at Court since his death; but his

* Written Therbes in the original, and Scherbes in Bradford, p. 334, but there can be no doubt that "Tarbes" is here meant, for Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of that see in the south of France, and who had been some time ambassador of Francis in England, was created cardinal in 1529.

† "Et gissent tous deux en une mesme eglize, la quelle l'on commence desja [a] appeller la sepulture des tyrans."

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ecclesiastical benefices have not yet been disposed of. It is believed the King will retain them for some time, and pocket the revenues.

The King has recently granted permission to the Rodians (knights of St. John of Rhodes) to settle at Martha (Malta), as I hear from the knight who came over on this business.*

With regard to the translation into English of the papers of the Universities, which the King, as already stated, ordered to be made, I am told that the idea has now been abandoned, owing to their containing expressions and propositions open to criticism. They have had instead an attestation printed in English, and widely circulated to the effect that the eight† universities named in a former despatch have voted in favour of the King. A Spanish translation of it is here enclosed. I should like to have got hold of the book itself, which I hear was also in print, but the King has ordered every copy of it to be burnt.‡ I beg leave to be excused if the fear of omitting facts, which may hereafter be of some importance, makes me report on superfluous things.§—London, 4th December 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "Received at Cologne on the 18th."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

4 Dec. **523.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, ff. 127–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 113.

(*Cipher:*) After my despatch of the 28th ult°, we heard that the Pope—who was very much concerned at the mention of the Council—had said to some of his most intimate friends: "It is very hard that after making enemies of the kings of France and England the Emperor should have me dragged before a Council." On another occasion he is reported to have said: "After the many tribulations and penalties as I have had to undergo for the Emperor's sake, nothing is left for me but to go through this Council and hell." As this poor man is disliked by his own people (who consider the Council to be their ruin) we thought at first that these words were

* "Le Roy a ces jours ottroye aux Rodiens son placet sur leur residence de Marthe (*sic*) ainsi que le m'a dit le chevalier que l'estoit (*sic*) venu poursuyvre."

† Seven?

‡ "Voyant ceux-cy que en la translation de la determination des universites l' on eut peu trouver plusieurs choses pour contrerouler (*sic*), yl ce (se) sont desporte de ce faire, faysant imprimer en angloys une attestation qu'il [s] ont semé partout, de la quelle envoye un double a votre majesté translaté en Castillian. J'eusse bien voulu recouvrer le livre, qu' est en icelle mentionné, mays le Roy a fait commander qu'il fussent trestous brulés."

§ The translation here mentioned is not appended to Chapuys' despatch; but I find instead one in Italian, described as the "Edict published by Henry VIII. in London when he broke with the court of Rome; Westminster, 12th September 1530," with the following note: "A remmettre dans la lettre du Sieur Chapuys du 1er Decembre 1530. No. 47." As there is no despatch under this date (No. 46 being of the 27th November) there is sufficient reason to think that this document is the one alluded to, and that instead of 1er Decembre, the clerk who docketted the document ought to have written "the 4th," which is the date of this one.

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put into this Pope's mouth intentionally; but we have since learnt that some of the cardinals have actually sneered at the proposal of a General Council, and offered to bet ten to one that it will never take place.*

Relates another long conversation which he, Don Pedro [de la Cueva] and Andrew del Burgo had with the Pope on this very subject.

(*Common writing:*) Instead of Capua, who is ill with the gout, the governor of Bologna (Gambaro) seems to be the person now designated to go to Your Majesty.

Affairs at Geneva. The Swiss Lutherans are decidedly the allies of the king of France, as if a most Christian king could make alliance with heretics, who have desecrated churches and monasteries, pulled down crucifixes, and the images of Our Lady and the Saints!

In consequence of the Lutherans having taken possession of that town an ambassador from the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) has come to implore the help of the Pope against the people who have seized his towns and overrun his dominions. He brought a letter of introduction for me, and said he had seen Antonio de Leyva at Piacenza, and that he had offered to march immediately against the Lutherans of Geneva if Your Majesty and His Holiness would give him some infantry as he had none under his immediate command.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope told me in secret that Fernando Gonzaga is much afraid that the marquis del Guasto (Vasto), wants the charge he holds. Replied to him that he might reassure that captain; the Marquis had come from Naples to Rome on a complimentary visit to Don Pedro de La Cueva, and for nothing else.

(*Common writing:*) The cause of England is proceeding, and the English ambassador has been to complain to the Pope of his having been summoned to appear. No doubt he thought that the suspension of 20 days was to be perpetual. I said to His Holiness that the ambassador was as unreasonable in this as in the principal cause. Still they go on threatening and saying that what we (the Imperialists) consider to be for the best solution of the case is decidedly for the worst.† I will go on prosecuting the cause according to Your Majesty's orders.

From Spain they have sent the marriage treaty between prince Arthur [and queen Katharine], which comes very opportunely, and contains all that is wanted. They have not sent me that of her marriage with the other brother (Henry), which is also much wanted, nor the bull of dispensation [for

* "Y que otra vez en esta misma sentencia dijo que solo le quedaba a pasar por Vuestra Majestad, el Concilio y el Infierno, y como este pobre señor es malquisto, etiam de los suyos que todo lo tienen por uno, no dimos luego credito á esto hasta que supimos que algunos de los cardenales hacian burla deste concilio y apostaban diez por ciento que no seria (se haria?)"

† "Todavia van amenazando que esto que pensamos que es bien, es peor."

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this second marriage]. I have written again to the president [of the Council of Castille] who, however, sends word that Dr. Ortiz is coming soon. I pray Your Majesty to hasten the dispatch of the remaining papers.

I have mentioned in another despatch that the duke of Ferrara had prevented the English ambassadors from procuring seals in his dominions,* and now I am told that the duke of Mantua (Federico Gonzaga) has done the same.

Rodrigo Niño writes to me that he does not think it advisable to take out the brief which had been agreed upon to allow the universities of Bologna and Padua to give opinion in the case, for he fears they will give it against us. I am of the same mind, for certainly there is more to lose than to gain by the attempt, especially as it is well known how the opinions they already have were obtained. Their activity and the money they spend procure them as many opinions in their favour as they want. I hear that the English ambassador, searching in the Papal library, has found some authority which is antagonistic to his plea, and that he is very much crestfallen (*cabezcaido*) in consequence. I shall find out what it is.

(*Cipher :*) Miçer Visconti has been at Loretto and at Venice, and taken his departure for France. Cannot learn what he did in Venice, but his journey under present circumstances gives matter for reflection. That it is more or less connected with Francis' plans about Milan I have not the least doubt.

The Pope said the other day that he had letters from his Nuncio in France announcing that the King agreed to the Council, but objected to the place of its meeting, viz., Mantua or Milan, and proposed Turin instead. He had, moreover, complained to the Papal Nuncio of the Pope wishing him to contribute money in order to take the Imperial army out of Italy. It was no business of his, he said; let the Pope who sent for the Imperialists provide money to send them away.

(*Common writing :*) With regard to the latter subject, the contribution, I can only say that the Cardinal (Pompeo Colonna) has promised to send us 30,000 ducats almost immediately, and the remaining 20,000 before Christmas.

(*Cipher :*) Burgo called the other day on the duke of Albany, and had a conversation with him respecting this same contribution. Next day the Duke came to me, accompanied by the Escuyer François, called count de Pontremoli,† and as Don Pedro [de la Cueva] and Burgo were with me at the time, we discussed general politics. The Duke shewed us the letters he had received from his master, the King, and gave me the enclosed copy of them.‡ Beyond this he said very little indeed on the subject, so little that we all wondered when he

* "Desvió los sellos que en sus tierras eran idolos (ido) á buscar los embajadores de Inglaterra."

† See above, pp. 635, 653, and 664.

‡ No doubt those under Nos. 505 and 507.

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was gone what he could have come about; for on his first arrival at Rome he had told us distinctly that his instructions were to promote the general enterprize against the Turk, but that he knew nothing of the particular defensive alliance, though he expected an answer from France soon, &c.

(*Common writing:*) The ambassador of the duke of Ferrara called also on me, and said that his master had offered to contribute, but had not yet specified the sum; that (he said) would very much depend on the Pope's decision respecting the agreement (*concordia*) that had been proposed.

Marriage of the duke of Mantua. Waits for the arrival of count Nicola (*sic*) who is to bring Your Majesty's commands; meanwhile the proceedings have been stopped.

Malatesta is gradually disarming, he has only 200 men at Perugia.

Spoke to His Holiness concerning prothonotary Gattinara;* he promised that his opponent should be compelled to make terms (*concordia*) as he (the Pope) would not allow of any suit against him.

Gave the Pope the other message about the marriage of Monferrato and he promised to attend to it, but said that up to this hour nobody had said a word to him about it. He knows, however, that the Dowager Marchioness had stated that she did not choose to marry her daughter in France, not even to the duke of Orleans, and they say that when this answer was reported to the King he was exceedingly angry.

Sancti Quatuor hesitated about accepting the present of 2,000 ducats which Your Majesty has sent him; the Pope, however, will persuade him to take them, for he has been heard to say that if a suitable estate is for sale in Naples he will buy it immediately in order that he and his family may become at once your vassals,† and lest people should think that he refuses the gift to escape serving Your Majesty.—Rome, 4th December 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

5 Dec. **524.** The Same to the High Commander.‡

S. E. L. 850, f. 129.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 128.

The Council will be convoked if nothing occurs in the meantime to prevent it. It is not to be concluded therefrom that these people like and approve of it; on the contrary here, and everywhere else, as I presume, the great argument is that it is only intended for the pacification of Germany, to reconstitute the strength of the Empire, and make Your Majesty greater than he is, &c.

Relates his conversation with the Milanese ambassador.—Bishop of Faença, &c.

* Bartholómeo? See vol. iii., part 2, pp. 201, 213, 225, 231, &c.

† "Dixo Santiquatro que no crea nadi (*sic*) que lo dexa por no ser servidor de V^a. M^t. antes quiere si le ofrescen mercar un stado en Napoles para ser el y toda su generation vasallos de V. M^t. y que no quiere mas Florencia."

‡ An abridged copy of this despatch is in the same volume, fol. 124.

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L'Elu Baiart (the Pope says) has left France for Flanders on a mission, as it is presumed, to Madame Margaret. For God's sake, if there is to be a conference or interview between the Emperor and the king of France let us know beforehand, that we may take due measures for informing the Pope. Let it not be like the last time, when for want of proper notice on our part the Pope heard first from the French what was going on at Cambray.

A courier has this moment arrived from Ocaña with the news that the archbishop of Saragossa had died, or was on the point of dying.—Rome, 5th December 1530.

P.S.—Has this very evening solicited the briefs for England, but His Holiness as well as the rest of the world seem to be bewildered at the idea of the Council. He has, however, promised that to-morrow, without fault, the business shall be attended to.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. p. 2.

6 Dec. **525.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat. Re. L. 2, f. 2. Conc. y Disc. Eccles. f. 131.

Will write more fully by the messenger he proposes to send shortly. This is only to say that he has written to the Christian princes, as he (the Emperor) will hear from his Legate, and that trusting to his prudence and kindness, he has decided to follow his advice implicitly in this matter of the Council.*—Rome, 6th December 1530.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo, Romanorum Imperatori semper augusto."

Indorsed: "To his Majesty. From the Pope in his own hand. On the matter of the Council."

Latin. Holograph. p. 1.

6 Dec. **526.** KING HENRY to the POPE.†

S. E. L. 2,016, f. 192, v. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 132.

Published in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. vi., p. 41, as well as in Brewer, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, vol. iv., part 3, p. 3055.

6 Dec. **527.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 496, f. 75. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 137.

Wrote many days ago, and had the enclosed despatches made out, but waiting until something definitive could be said respecting the various affairs We have in hand, the sending off of this present messenger has been naturally delayed.

* A duplicate copy, fol. 131.

† A transcript of this document from the Papal Archives at Rome, made by order of Philip II., is in the Berzosa Collection at Simancas, and the English abstract in Bergenroth's volume as above. See also Brewer, vol. iv., part 3, pp. 3055–6.

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Respecting matters of Faith, all our labours and fatigues, which I can assure you were considerable, have been in vain. Not only do the Lutherans persist in their errors, but they are so obstinately bound to them, that although the better to persuade them the convocation of a General Council and other measures was offered to them, they have refused to live in the meantime as Catholics, and the negociations are accordingly broken off. The duke of Jassa (Saxony) and the rest of the Lutheran princes went away without taking any resolution, and I remained in order to close the Diet, and see what could be done to help and assist those who have remained true to their Faith, and to endeavour to bring the others to a knowledge of the erroneous nature of their doctrines. The Diet was closed on the 22nd ult°, and all that has been done comes to this, that the Catholic princes and electors there assembled have resolved that a General Council shall, with the Pope's permission, be assembled as soon as possible, &c. It was also agreed there that should the Turk invade Germany, they will furnish 40,000 infantry and 8,000 horse, paid for six months; and should the war last longer or become offensive against the said Turk, 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse for three years.

After settling other affairs relating to the administration of Germany, and arranging with the electors for the election of my brother, Ferdinand, as king of the Romans, I left Augsburg on the 23rd. (*Cipher:*) It has been agreed that instead of the election taking place, as before, in Francfort, which is now afflicted by the plague, and especially full of Lutherans, it should be held at Cologne, where I purpose being before Christmas, the day fixed for the election. From thence I shall go to Aquisgran (Ayx la Chapelle), two days' journey beyond where the coronation will take place, the King returning to Germany, whilst I go to my estates of Flanders to wait for the Pope's answer to my request about the Council. According as this may be, I will decide what is best for the convocation of the said Council, and get through other business, so as to be quite free towards summer, and return to Spain as soon as possible. My journey must be by sea, and from these parts of Flanders, which is not an easy matter, since besides the perils of the navigation, the king of England is ill-disposed towards me, and I am not over sure of France either. Even if I should prepare a large fleet, I might be obliged, by stress of weather, to touch at the one coast or the other.

Italy, thank God, is peaceful just now. True, we are occasionally troubled by the Spanish infantry, 5,000 or 6,000 in all, who are so undisciplined that they are continually mutinying and creating disturbance;* but we are now in treaty with the Pope as to how and where they are to be quartered,

* "Estan tan mal dotrinados que hacen cosas muy feas y recias."

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and as soon as the money to pay their arrears shall be collected, they are to march to the frontiers of Hungary.

The better to promote the election of my brother, I have been obliged to spend various sums, which expense, added to a personal debt of mine to the Belzares (Welzers), compels me, much against my will, to dispose of part of the money received for the ransom of the sons of Francis. You will give orders that out of the 1,200,000 paid for that object, 200,000 should be laid aside for this purpose.—Spira (Spires), 6th December 1530.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Addressed: "To the most Serene, most High, and most mighty Lady, Empress and Queen, my dearest and most beloved wife."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

6 Dec. (?) **528.** The SAME to the ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO.*

S. E. c. d. c. L. 21, f. 301.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 141.

Thanks him for his letter of the 15th of August.

Affairs of Spain.

Is glad to hear that he takes so much interest in the cause of the queen of England.

Indorsed: "Despatch for Castille.—Spira, 6th December."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. pp. 3.

7 Dec. **529.** DON PEDRO DE LA CUEVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 850, f. 168.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 142.

At this very moment, whilst with the Cardinal in his room, secretary Sanga called, bearing himself very scornfully and saying that His Holiness has letters from the Vasionensis* to the effect that Your Imperial Majesty would not give sentence in the affair of Modena. Such, at least, was his belief. The Pope (he said) would be extremely sorry if Your Majesty refused to arbitrate in this affair, and Sanga begged us to write, &c.—Rome, 7th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Emperor, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1¼.

7 Dec. **530.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 143.

Relates various conversations he has had lately with the Pope concerning the Council. Most of the cardinals, as the Pope assured him, were against the Council, and hated the very name of it. Some of them even had tried to dissuade him from it; others wished to know how they were to vote. Not

* Don Alonso Fonseca.

† The bishop of Vaison, Girolamo Selade. See above, pp. 17–25.

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one of them approved of it, and yet he (Mai) talked them over in such a way that all voted for it, &c.—Rome, 7th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Invincible Emperor, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

7 Dec. **531.** Jo. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 849, f. 85.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 146.

Gonzaga is pleased to hear the agreement lately made with His Holiness respecting the quartering of the Imperial army. He cannot, however, withdraw his troops from the Sienese territory unless he gets money to pay their arrears.

The Pope has written to him (Gonzaga) announcing his determination to convoke a General Council, according to His Majesty's wishes.—Rome, 7th December 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muxetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

7 Dec. **532.** Divorce.

S. Pat. Re. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 128.

Opinion of the college of St. Bartholomew, in the university of Salamanca, respecting the matrimonial cause, or an answer to the 14 doubts (*dubia*) springing therefrom. Signed at Salamanca on the 7th of December 1530, before Antonio de Valencia, bachelor in decretals, and by Apostolical authority public notary, and the following witnesses, expressly called for the purpose: Diego Velez, layman of the diocese of Burgos; Fernando Miguel, and Matheo Perez, all natives of this city.

Follow the signatures: Francisco Tello de Sandoval, Rector. —Doctor Collado.—Jhoannes de San Millan, magister.—Lic^{tus} Sotomayor; Lic^{tus} Pobladura; Lic^{ti} Pedrus de Salazar, Ludovicus Briceño, Franciscus de Montalvo, Beltrandus de Galarza; Petrus Guerrero, magister.*

Latin. Original. pp. 30.

13 Dec. **533.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 848, f. 21.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 277.

With the news of the Turk forwarded by cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna, he (Mai) went to His Holiness, accompanied by Cardinal [d'Osma], [Don Garcia de Loaysa], Don Pedro [de la Cueva], and Muxetula. Went thither thus attended in consequence of the duke of Albany and the Venetian ambassador having said in public—and also repeated it to His Holiness—that the Turk was no longer to be feared, and that they both wished to know what the Imperial ambassadors thought about

* On the margin of this despatch, and against each of its paragraphs, are notes in the handwriting of secretary Eraso being no doubt intended as answers to each of them. This first has the following: "With regard to this point it will be required, &c."

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it. According to their informant, the Pope on hearing this had observed that this Turkish affair was one to be taken in hand radically (*de raiz*), and that it was necessary to deliberate first whether war was to be openly declared against him, or whether an agreement (*concordia*) of some sort should not be entered into. To the latter opinion the Pope himself seems to adhere, for in the audience which he gave us (the Imperial ambassadors), he expressed himself in nearly the same terms.

Preparations to attack Bracciano. This time most in earnest.

The Mantuan ambassador, &c.

There is a report that the duke of Milan [Francesco Sforza] is about to enter into an agreement with the Switzers. His ambassador (Morone) confirms the fact, and says that he intends sending some one to the Emperor to ask for his advice and permission on this head, and has already consulted His Holiness, who not only approves of the measure, but encourages him to it.*

Has heard of the riot (*sedition*) at Genoa, and of Bartholomeo Spinola making levies on the frontiers of the Duchy [of Milan]. All this is owing, they say, to the tyranny of Andrea Doria, who is very much hated in that city. The other day one of his relatives publicly insulted and wounded a citizen, and yet the would-be assassin escaped without punishment.

Leyva and Scalenga have written to say that they will take good care that the Jew† does not pass through their territory without being arrested and searched. From Rodrigo Niño, who was told to have him closely watched in Venice, we have no answer yet, neither has Andrea del Burgo heard from Trent, whither similar warnings have been sent.

Fernando Gonzaga has come to Rome about the reform and quartering of the Imperial forces, a thing which is very much wanted just now. He complains that Alarcon will not lend a hand in it, on the plea that he has no direct orders from Your Majesty.—Rome, 13th December 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

13 Dec. **534.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 132–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 148.

Prothonotary Gambara,‡ who is the Nuncio designated to go to Your Majesty, is expected here to-morrow, and they say that immediately after he will set out [for Flanders].

(*Cipher:*) Hears from the Pope that the duke of Albany has taken off the mask. He openly told him last night that

* The Emperor has never said a word to the King on this subject, on the contrary, whenever an opportunity has occurred, he has destroyed all hopes he might have of becoming the master of Milan.

† Marco Gabriello. See No. 513, p. 825.

‡ The governor of Bologna, elsewhere called "Gambaro;" more correctly "Umberto di Gambara."

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his master wishes ardently for the duchy of Milan, urging that the peace of Christendom will be ensured and firmly established thereby, and that then will be the time to treat about the Turk, &c. The Pope observed that such was Francis' immoderate passion in these matters, and so great his ambition, that he ought to be undeceived at once as to this, and recommended to study more the interests of Christianity.

It seems to me that these cardinals, though they have all voted for the Council, are nevertheless adverse to it, for they keep saying that it is a great mistake, and that no good will come out of it; that the Lutherans will no more submit to the determinations of this Council than they have to others; that instead of Lutheranism being put down other and greater heresies will spring up, &c.—Rome, 13th December 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muxetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

14 Dec. **535.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 126.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 150.

Encloses letters from cardinal Colonna received on the 4th. The news from Naples is far from good. Suspects that the Cardinal and Alarcon are not on good terms. Reports conversation with the duke of Albany, and afterwards with His Holiness, respecting the Turkish war. Among other things the latter said that it was important to consider whether peace or war was to be fixed upon. He (the Pope) thought, all things considered, that if peace could be obtained on honourable terms it was preferable to war. If we, the Imperial ambassadors, believed that the king of France would help, we were very much mistaken, because all he wants is to profit by time and circumstances so as to get anyhow the duchy of Milan. Hitherto His Holiness had amused him with fair words, now it was time to undeceive him.

Three hundred of the Pope's troops are still inside Bracciano laying siege to the castle. Two hundred more are to be sent thither, as the Pope says that it will not do to have such a nuisance close to Rome.

Four days ago the Mantuan ambassador called, and said to me that Your Lordship would be glad to hear the news brought by count Niccolo, who had just returned from Germany; that the justice of his master's (the Duke) cause was acknowledged; and yet I have heard from the Queen (Isabella) that she and Doña Giulia had been summoned to appear before a magistrate, &c.

The Milanese ambsasador (Morone) tells me that the Duke is about to make a defensive alliance with the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. His son, the Bishop, will remain

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here as ambassador of Francesco Sforza, for his father is old and infirm and wishes to retire.

Disturbances in Genoa principally brought on by the two Spinolas (Agostino and Bartholomeo).

The marquis Alarcon has arrived in Naples.

The cause of England is being prosecuted, and not one term is lost. The principal papers are still wanted. I write to-night by a courier to the Empress and to the president [of the Council of Castille]. I asked the Pope for the briefs of the new inhibitions and that of the separation [from the Lady]. He promised to give them provided the reporter (*relator*) of the cause would speak about it in Consistory. I spoke to the reporter (*relator*) and he appeared in Consistory, but as cardinals d'Osma and Ancona did not attend, it was put off to another day. I mention these details that Your Lordship may be informed from hour to hour of what is being done in this affair.

Antonio de Leyva and Scalenga answered my letters. Neither had yet heard of Gabriello, the converted Jew, but were on their guard. I have not yet had letters from Niño, or Burgo from Trent.

I heard the day before yesterday that letters had really been received from the king of England asking for cardinals' hats for the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) and for Casale, and that the proposition had been brought forward in Consistory and the discussion left for the next day. Called on the Pope and told him my mind about it. He promised me that he would not do it, but as a certain cardinal afterwards gave me a different account of what had passed in Consistory, I went about all night visiting those of our party (for this I dared not do in the day time from fear of the matter being divulged), and inducing them to dissuade (*desviar*) the electors from giving favourable votes, which most of them promised to do, although few dare to take charge of the affair from fear of making an enemy of him (the Auditor.) I have, moreover, caused Miçer Andrea to speak to His Holiness, and so has Muxetula also, so that we have good hopes of succeeding. I will go on with the affair as secretly as possible, although secrecy is almost out of the question when a matter has to be treated with so many people and in Rome —Rome, 14th December 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

14 Dec. **536.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 156.

Notwithstanding our constant applications, the despatches and instructions for the person who is to go to His Majesty from Rome, have not yet been made out; and yet it is now 17 days ago that the measure was agreed to in Consistory, and the man himself appointed.

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The Pope proposed yesterday with very good-will, as we are assured, two cardinals, hats for two ecclesiastics recommended by the king of England. Although His Holiness told me distinctly that the proposition was shaped in such a way that the measure would not be carried,* yet we have all of us been obliged to speak to the cardinals of our party to oppose the election.

Malatesta wishes to be friendly, and has made certain overtures. Whether this is caused by the fear of our army, now approaching the Perugino, or from some other cause it is difficult to say.—Rome, 14th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious Lord the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

— **537.** MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 849, f. 138.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 108.

Explains some of his expressions in the despatch of the 7th.

Advices from France say that the secretary of the Vayvod had returned thither from England owing to the king of the latter country having referred him to king Francis about his affairs. However it is pretty sure that neither the one nor the other will give more than words.

The king of England in answer to the Emperor's request has answered that he will gladly help in this enterprize of the Turk if the divorce trial is remitted to England, or at least to France, whose king they allege is in nowise open to suspicion. They complain, however, of the Pope and say that they are not bound to help him as if the cause were his.

Encloses letters from Sancho Bravo.

At the Pope's request writes in commendation of cardinal Medici, who, it is thought, will settle down the moment he becomes rich through Church preferment. The Pope would like something for him in the archbishopric of Seville, and should the cardinal of Aux have died, as reported,† he would certainly make him (Medici) his legate at Avignon.

Encloses a memorial about the Turk which secretary Sanga has just sent in.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

14 Dec. **538.** GARCIA DE LOAYSA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 124.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 158.

What has occurred since his last is not of great importance, and yet is worth knowing. The king of England has pressingly begged the Pope to confer cardinals' hats on the Auditor of

* "Y aunque su Beatitud me dixo despues que no era dalle [al Rey] ninguno."

† If by cardinal of Aux François Guillaume de Castelnau, cardinal of Narbonne, and Papal Legate at Avignon in 1514 be meant, his death did not take place until 1540. See *Gallia Christiana*, vol. i., p. 1001.

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his Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), and a brother of Casale, once his ambassador at Rome. He wrote in their favour not only to the Pope but also to all the members of this Sacred College, asking them to grant his wishes and have them elected. His Holiness actually proposed and warmly recommended them on Friday last, and seemed desirous that his Auditor, at least, should be made a cardinal. He (Loaysa) was not present on the occasion, but was much scandalized at hearing of it. Believes the Auditor to be a very wicked man, and to have behaved iniquitously to the Emperor in this attempted divorce of the Queen, his aunt. Begged Cueva, Muxetula, and Miçer Mai to speak to the Pope conjointly or separately, and tell him that should a man of this sort be promoted to such dignity in the Church his election would undoubtedly reflect dishonour on the cause of God and the Apostolic See, and that the Emperor would have good reason to wonder and complain thereof. Had the king of England solicited a cardinal's hat for one of his own subjects, a man of good conduct and learning, His Holiness would be quite right in granting his request, but as the application is made on behalf of an Italian, the king of England has no cause to be offended if it is refused.

He himself made the same remarks to secretary Sanga, and begged him to repeat them to the Pope. The latter's answer to Muxetula and to Miçer Mai was that they were in the right, and that he (the Pope) had not proposed the two candidates of the king of England with the intention of really making them cardinals. Such intention, he protested, he had never had, nor would he ever have.

Begged the ambassadors to speak to some of the elder cardinals and request them to vote against the English candidature in the Consistory which was to assemble next day. All these manœuvres are necessary to prevent the creation of these cardinals, for the Pope is in small matters the most reserved man he has ever seen; his thoughts as difficult to read as if they were couched in cipher. Has often been on the point of asking for his recall and to be sent to Naples, because it pains him to see the reserve, the malice, and the cowardice of this Pope. Has, however, refrained from doing so, because he thinks after all that in great affairs of State he may be relied upon as the friend and father of the Emperor. This in a certain measure reconciles him to his position.

Suspects that the Pope has been pleased with the application of the king of England, because should it be rejected he has good reason to refuse similar demands from the Emperor. The Pope's excuse for not doing what the king of England wants him to do is that the General Council being so near at hand, it would be inopportune now to create new cardinals; which excuse holds equally good against the Emperor as against the king of England. Other reasons, however,

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will be found to keep off the king of England and the Auditor.

This very day the English ambassadors came to visit him (Loaysa), and told him that their king had the creation of the Auditor much at heart, but would waive his claim for the other, Casale.*—Rome, 14th December 1530.

Spanish. Holograph.

17 Dec. **539.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.Staats-Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226. No. 50.

I have recently sent Your Majesty a book by the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), who has since finished another,† replying to all the fresh arguments of the opposite party. There is nothing the Bishop would like so much as to be able to get copies of all the tracts written in favour of the King, that he might reply to them. I have, therefore, at the Bishop's suggestion and request, written more than once to Messire Mai [at Rome], to try by every possible means to get copies of the writings presented by the other side to the Pope. I have no doubt that Messire Mai will do all he can in this matter; but it would considerably quicken his zeal and better countenance this request to His Holiness if Your Majesty would write to him about it. I have been told that the King, hearing that the placarded proclamation (*escripteau*), of which I lately sent Your Majesty a translation, has led to the people now discussing freely this matter of his divorce,‡ on which they had hitherto kept perfect silence, and that this very proclamation has considerably increased their desire to see the book mentioned§ in it, and that it has also led to a defamatory libel against the chancellor of Canterbury, being posted on to the door of the cathedral and elsewhere; or fearing, perhaps, lest the author of the pamphlet might in reply to the said placard publish to his prejudice many of the practices and schemings (*plusieurs practiques et autres choses*) that have been afloat here, he (the King) has issued an order that all similar placards shall be burnt. This I know for certain, and therefore in my opinion no time should be lost in taking the necessary steps which I recently pointed out to Your Majesty, the Queen herself renewing her petition on this head.

The book mentioned in the placard is said to be the work of an English priest (*prestre*) residing abroad (*della la mer*),

* Printed in Heine, *Briefe an Kaiser Karl V. gestchrieben von seinen Beichtvater*, Berlin, 1848.

† See Chapuys' despatch of the 4th, No. 522, and note at the foot of p. 831.

‡ "Lon ma dit que le Roy entendant que lescripteau dont dernierement en envoye la copie translatee a vostre maieste avoit ouverte la porte de parler tres habandonnemant sur ceste matiere du divorce au peuple, que par avant nen ousoit sonner mot." By *escripteau* or placard the royal edict or proclamation is meant. See above, p. 834.

§ "Et que cella augmenteroit lenvie du dit peuple de veoir le livre mentionne au dit escripteau sachant ausy que a cause du dit escripteau lon avoit mis quelque libelle diffamatoyre contre le chancellier de Canturbery aux portes de la grande esglize et allieurs."

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and addressed to the King himself touching the divorce affair, and other matters connected with him and his kingdom, the whole question being treated in a masterly and most complete manner. But for this book, which tells the truth too plainly to please the King—*the assembly of doctors convened here this last summer, as I informed Your Majesty, for the suppression of certain books would never have been held, for the King, the Lady (Anne), and her father would only have been too glad, in order to spite the Pope, that any Lutheran books, specially directed against him, should have been published here.** It was also principally on account of this book that the merchants mentioned in my last despatch, and among them a brother of its author, were condemned publicly to throw them into the flames.

I hear on most reliable authority that the King, *being afraid that the said priest (presbytre) will write still more boldy against him, and hoping to make him retract what he has already said in this matter, has offered him several good appointments and a seat in his Council, if he will come over.*

The Queen has been told that in spite of the bold front which the King puts on he is in reality very much afraid that judgment will be given against him "a contumace," and has therefore appointed proctors (procureurs) to appear for him at the trial [in Rome]. I hardly know, however, whether to believe this or not, my information on this last subject not being quite so authentic.

On the arrival of the news *of Your Majesty's journey to Flanders the King at once gave orders for the frontiers to be placed in a state of defence,* and sent the master of the artillery to Calais immediately.

The news of the taking of Strigonie (Gran) has not been at all welcome to the King, who has accordingly caused a report to be circulated through Court that the Turks had actually succeeded in relieving Buda.

The herald (Guyenne) has been here for five or six days, accompanied by a trumpeter (*ung trompette*). He has come to announce the rejoicings and tournaments to take place at Paris on the coronation of the Queen, and to invite thither those who would like to try their skill. Thinks the herald will find the King *better disposed to bring forward a new queen here than do honour to the queen of France.*—London, 17th December 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2½.

* "Sans le quel livre, que pour lui fere cleremant ses verites, picquoit tropt le Roy, la congregation des docteurs que se fut icy cest esté sur la prohibition d'aucungs livres dont ay pieça adverty vostre maieste, neust jamays este faytte, car le Roy, la dame et le pere estoint par tropt contents par depit du pape que les livres des lutheriens, speciallement parlant contre sa sainctete, fussent icy publies."

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19 Dec. **540.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 14. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 161.

The negociation about the cardinals' hats goes on well, at least as far as the archbishops of Santiago (Tavera) and Seville are concerned, for I do not believe that Toledo (Fonseca) will get his.

Gambara will be ready to start between this and to-morrow.

Most of the cardinals have been exceedingly amiable with me, and done all they could to forward the negociations. I should think that letters of thanks to Monte, Cesarini, Exidio,* and Medici would not be amiss, as well as to Ancona and Sancti Quatuor, the latter of whom has not yet accepted the 2,000 ducats presented to him.—Rome, 19th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious, &c."

19 Dec. **541.** Clement VII. to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. Conc. y Disc. Ecl. L. 2, f. 4. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 163.

His two previous letters since the arrival of Don Pedro de la Cueva must have informed him (the Emperor) that notwithstanding the many difficulties standing in the way of the Council, he has resolved to do his will in that respect and omit nothing likely to result for the good of the Faith or the welfare of Christendom. Has accordingly addressed himself to all the Christian princes explaining the reason for the convocation of the said Council, and exhorting them "advoler concorrere nella opinione della M^ta^. V. et mia."

The bearer of this will be prothonotary Gambara, his governor of Bologna, for whom he asks credence.—Rome, 19th December 1530.

Indorsed: "To His Majesty; from the Pope and in his own hand, 19th December. With prothonotary Gambara about the Council."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

20 Dec. **542.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 850, f. 167. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 165.

Thank God the Prothonotary (Gambara) leaves to-night. May he reach the Imperial court without accident, though he seems to take with him a good chapter of them, besides books to found his arguments upon, and a few more treacherous doings (*ruindades*) whereof Your Lordship shall hear when we next meet. Begs that the very moment the Council is decided upon an express courier be dispatched with the news that he himself may leave Rome, for he would rather pay down a good round sum to be with the Emperor than lead the luxurious life of these *clerigos bellacos.*—Rome, 20th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most Illustrious His Lordship the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

* Thus written with Don Pedro's graphy which is *caco* not *ortho*; Egidio or Ægidio is no doubt meant.

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20 Dec. **543.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. Pat. Re. Conc. y Disc. Ecl. 2, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 168.

Makes his excuses for not granting all the cardinals' hats he promised to the Emperor. He cannot create fresh ones now without displeasing in some manner the Sacred College. Yet if the Emperor will choose one of the four he once recommended besides the one whom he (the Pope) has "in petto" he will, at his recommendatoin, do his best to have them accepted. It will then be necessary to consider what plausible excuse can be given to the importunities of the king of England, or how, after opening the gate to new elections, he can possibly shut it again against the rest of the Christian princes. —Rome, 20th December 1530.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Chro filio nostro Carolo, &c."

Indorsed by secretary Idiaquez: "To His Majesty." From the Pope, XX December 1530. On the cardinals' hats.

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

20 Dec. **544.** CARDINAL D'OSMA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. R. L. 849, f. 123. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 170.

Relates how the bull of pope Adrian was confirmed, and adds that in the last Consistory much was said in praise of the Emperor.

A proposal was also made in the name of the Queen of England that an injunction be sent to the King, her husband, not to marry any other woman whilst the divorce case is pending before the Rota, and not to cause scandal by his too intimate intercourse with his mistress (*su amiga*). It was further proposed that the Pope should forbid all judges dependent on his (the King's) favour from taking any part in the suit. The decision was postponed until the next Consistory, in order to give time for the cardinals well to consider their votes.

The English ambassadors on the other hand took great pains to persuade the Pope and the cardinals to create the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Ghinucci) cardinal at that same Consistory, and it seemed at first that the application could not be denied. However, the Imperial ambassadors opposed the measure so dexterously that the Auditor was not elected. Hopes they will in future be equally successful in preventing the creation of that bad man who is trying for the divorce of the Queen.

The governor of Bologna (Gambara) started yesterday.—Rome, 20th December 1530.

Spanish. Holograph. pp.* 4.

20 Dec. **545.** JO. ANT. MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 134. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 172.

Prothonotary de Gambari (*sic*) left to-day posting. As I am informed, the object of his mission is only to represent to Your Majesty the inconveniences that may arise from the

* English abstract by Bergenroth.

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celebration of the Council, which His Holiness all the same agrees to convoke, determined as he is to fulfil Your Majesty's wishes in this respect.

Explains at full the Pope's fears that the Council may do more harm than good, and then adds:

Genoa and Lucca have not yet sent in their contributions; they make all manner of difficulties, and when pressed by me and other Imperial agents, they answer that they have no money. I have written to Andrea Doria and to ambassador Figueroa about it. On the other hand, Rodrigo Nigno, to whom I wrote, that he might push on the affair in Venice, answers that he has no instructions from Your Majesty to that effect.

Thirty thousand ducats that came from Naples have been sent to the camp, and thus the infantry now quartered at Siena will be able to enter the lands of the Church.—Rome, 20th December 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ, Cesareæ et Catholicæ Maiestati."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

21 Dec. **546.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 135.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 175.

The enclosed from Don Fernando [Gonzaga] will sufficiently explain the state of the army. Notwithstanding the agreement made with the captains of the [Spanish] infantry that on the receipt of two months' pay the men should evacuate the territory of Siena, and that at the end of this month of December they should receive another, according to the general practice observed with the Germans (*Tudescos*), they have yet refused to obey orders, claiming a right to remain where they are (living at the expense of the inhabitants), unless they receive another month in advance, which is a thing that has never been done in time of peace. I am persuaded that this is no fault of Don Fernando, who is certainly a gallant soldier, yet I cannot help thinking that being, as he is, fond of popularity, he does not choose to re-establish discipline in all its rigour except with the consent of the captains, among whom there are some who always stand by their men against Your Majesty's interests, &c.

As I know the condition of Florence, and what the Pope's wishes are, I have been designated by His Holiness to go thither and report. As soon, therefore, as my business here is at an end, I intend to go thither, and will not fail to inform Your Majesty of the result of my inquiries. As far as I can see, His Holiness does not care to have supreme authority in that city, nor to assume the title which his agents proposed to give him, not even that of vicar, &c.—Rome, 21st December 1530.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacra C. C. Mt."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

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21 Dec. **547.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 51.

By my despatch of last Saturday, Your Majesty was duly advised of current events up to that date. That same evening *more defamatory libels were stuck at the door of the cathedral (la grande eglize), not only against the archbishop of Canterbury and his chancellor (son chancellier), but also against the King himself and his Privy Council on occount of this divorce, setting forth the evils which might arise therefrom. The placards were immediately removed and destroyed, so that the people cannot have read them.*

On Sunday, the archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) summoned to his house the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), who found there the bishop of London and Drs. Lee and Faugs (Fox) waiting for him, *all of whom most earnestly besought him to retract what he had written in favour of the Queen, and take the side of the King, who, they said, had sent them* (the Bishop and the two doctors) *to convince him by argument of the error of his opinion. The Bishop replied with much prudence and moderation that the matter was in itself so clear that no arguments upon it were needed, and that besides, the Pope being the sole judge and arbiter, the case could only be properly argued before him, certainly not before the Bishop* [*of London*], *or anyone else. Upon which the Bishop and the others, seeing that they could neither convince nor draw him into controversy, accused him of being self-willed and obstinate, and said that he would, in spite of all he could say, be compelled to argue the question, as the King had determined to appoint six doctors on his side, and six more on the Queen's, to debate the case, and also two impartial judges who, after hearing what each side had to say, should decide the question one way or other.*

The debate is to take place on the 12*th of January, for which day the greater part of the prelates of this kingdom have been convoked, and Parliament, which had been prorogued till the* 2*nd of February, is also to meet on the* 16*th, and from this circumstance, as well as from the contemplated meeting of the prelates, and many other incidents, more or less open to conjecture, the general opinion here is that the King is quite bent on carrying out his evil designs (sa mauldite entreprinse.) Indeed, many people of note about the Court say as much, and it is evident that the Lady herself believes it, for she has lately adopted as her device:* "Ainsi sera groingné qui groingne." *The people seeing that mischief is likely to ensue, and also fully believing in some idle prophesies, to which they attach much faith, and which foretell that about this time this kingdom will be destroyed by a woman, are greatly agitated at it; indeed some worthy English merchants have come to consult me about removing their goods to Flanders or Spain and settling there. Besides which three or four of the Queen's agents (procureurs) in Parliament have also come within the last eight days to ask me whether any sentence or other provision had*

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arrived from Rome, on which they could ground their opposition. I have given them all the information I could, but they fear, as well as I do, that their opposition will be of no avail without further action. One bad sign just now is, that the archbishop of Canterbury, formerly of the Queen's Council, has recently leant to the other side, and the Queen has sent me word that he (the Archbishop) drew up the other day two documents, one being an appeal to the General Council about to be celebrated, and the other a certain protest. The Queen could not learn anything further concerning the said documents, but I think that the Archbishop [of Canterbury], as legate of England, and therefore entitled by common right, and also by a special privilege belonging to this kingdom, to conduct the divorce case, has now protested against its having been first entrusted to the two legates (Wolsey and Campeggio) without his consent, and then taken out of their hands, and advoked to Rome, and that he is claiming now to exercise his right and appeal from the inhibitions and censures which the Pope has hitherto passed, or may intend to pass, in this matter. As the Archbishop is naturally timid, and as old age has somewhat abated his constancy and discretion, he cannot be much relied upon.

I have written to the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) and other members of the Queen's Council to avoid by all means being drawn into arguing this case, and if they are compelled so to do to protest that they are not therein acting as advocates, servants, or councillors of the Queen. All have engaged to do so, and for greater security I will obtain from the Queen a public instrument disavowing them, and having their names removed from her Council.

The Pope has been so dilatory and so dissembling in all this business that he is not in favour with either side; *for the King armed with these seals* [of the several universities] *which the Pope might have prevented his getting, does not care a straw for his authority, against which he is actually having papers written; indeed many think that during the next session of Parliament some bill will be voted to exempt this kingdom from Papal rule. Those again who are on the Queen's side accuse* His Holiness of having encouraged the King in the first instance and allowed the university of Bologna to give him their seal, of which they think more than of any other. Indeed it does appear to them as if the Pope had delayed coming to a decision in order to give this King time to prepare his case, which is hardly credible, though it is not improbable that lately in his conversations with the English ambassadors respecting the demands put forward* by Messire Mai, he (the Pope) *may have made statements calculated to encourage this King to precipitate his design.*

The Queen is amazed at what is now happening, and not without cause; she would be even more startled were I not doing my best to keep a little hope alive in her. It would

* "Blasphement contre sa sainctete."

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tend greatly to her benefit and comfort if some provision from Rome, or at least the opinions of those universities which have decided for her, as well as the attestation of the 48 votes at Paris, could be brought over in time by some person of quality and position, who should present them to the King with some words of remonstrance.

As I have before written to Your Majesty, it is most desirable that a last monition threatening excommunication (reaggravation) against the King, and also a formal interdict for the kingdom, should be obtained at Rome; for then on these grounds, without incurring reproach for the rupture of peace or friendship, Your Majesty could easily make effectual war upon the English, for they would by this measure be judicially deprived of all commercial intercourse with Flanders and Spain, by which means the country would greatly suffer, and the people's *disaffection to the King and Council be greatly increased.*

*The Queen, fearing lest I should when the action for the divorce begins ask for my recall, as I should much like to do, has begged me to dismiss all thought of leaving this country, as she says she will have more need of my services than ever. I do not know how I can stay here, nor of what service I can be in the midst of the boiling vortex likely to be opened here, and, therefore, beg to know Your Majesty's pleasure about it.**

There remains but little to say, excepting that the King *has offered to the son of the Princess' governess, who is a relative of his, the archbishopric of York, on condition of his being one of the two neutral judges above mentioned, and complying with the King's wishes in that respect; but he has declined the appointment, saying very candidly that he considered he had already sinned against his conscience, when in obedience to the King's commands he had tried to forward the King's case at Paris.* I hear that the King has sent the Grand Equerry, the brother of the Lady, and another gentleman of his Chamber named Maistre Brun (Brown) to France to be present at the Queen's coronation (*et pour decourer les joustes*), and has provided each of them with 1,000*l.* sterling for their expenses.

It would not be amiss, seeing that *people's minds here are a good deal alarmed, to spread a report of some commotion in Flanders,*† and say that the governors there are on the look-out to prevent *the English* [*merchants*] *from withdrawing their goods and property* from that country, without, however, causing them further annoyance, as this measure alone would be amply sufficient to promote discontent and rebellion here. —London, 21st December 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Received the 30th."

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

* "Ne sçay le bouilli se dressant ici comme je pourrai bien demourer."

† "Vehu que ces gens sont fort craintifz que l'on donnast quelque mot de commotion en Flandres."

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[17] Dec. **548.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the POPE.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 226.

Most Holy Father,

The great need in which my troubled affairs stand of Your Holiness' redress and help (upon which the service of God and my own repose, and the salvation of my soul, as well as that of the King, my Lord, depend), obliges me to be thus importunate with Your Holiness that I may be heard on that very account, even had I an ordinary claim to ask what I have so long and so affectionately prayed for, and so frequently urged; much more now that the justice of my cause is so great before God, who knows my perfect sincerity and innocence (*limpieza*), do I hope that Your Holiness will see that God, in His great mercy, wishes to declare it. In public I believe Your Highness to be well informed that there is no learned or conscientious person* acknowledging the power and authority of that Apostolic See who does not say and maintain that the marriage between the King, my Lord, and me is indissoluble, since God only can separate us. I cannot then do less than complain that my petitions, both true and just, should have been so long disregarded by Your Holiness. One thing only comforts me in the midst of my tribulations, which is to think that God wishes to punish me for my sins in this world, and that therefore Your Holiness, His vicar on earth, will not forgive me. I humbly beg Your Holiness to have pity on me, and accept as though I had been in purgatory the penance I have already suffered for so many years, thus delivering me from the pains, torments, and sudden fears (*sobresaltos*), to which I am daily exposed, and which are so great and so numerous that I could not possibly bear up against them had not God given me strength to endure the same; God, in whom all my hopes are concentrated, sure as I am that He will not abandon me in this cause, in which justice is so clearly with me.

The remedy [I allude to] lies in the sentence and determination of my case without any delay. Any other course short of that will do more harm than good, as appears quite evident from the evils which the delay has already produced. Should the sentence be still deferred, Your Holiness will perceive that the delay in this matter will be the cause of a new hell [upon earth] the remedy for which will entail more disastrous measures than have ever yet been tried.† I have been informed that my enemies demand a new delay. I beg Your Holiness not to grant it to them, for, in so doing, the greatest possible injury will be done to me, sure as I am

* "La gran necessidad que tienen mis negocios y trabaios del remedio y ayuda de V. S^{t}. de quien pende el servitio de Dios, y mi descanso y la saluacion de mi anima, y del Rey, mi señor, me hazen ser tan importuna para con V. S^{t}. que me parece debiera ser oyda y remediada, ahunque no tuviesse sino mediana justicia para lo que tan largo tiempo y tan affectuosamente he rogado y supplicado, y tantas vezes importunado a V. S^{t}. quanto mas teniendo tanta para con Dios que sabe la verdad de mi sinceridad y limpieza, como espero que V. S^{t}. vera que Dios por su misericordia la quiere declarar, y en lo publico creo V. S^{t}. está bien informado que no hay persona docta," &c.

† "Y si mas se dilatare vera V. S^{t}. que [se] hara un nuevo infierno, que llevará peor remedio que el que fasta agora han procurado de inventar."

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that everything proposed in that quarter is for the worst, as it might come to pass that justice would suffer through it, and that from the purgatory in which I now am I should be cast down into a temporal hell, from the bottom of which I should be continually raising my voice to God, and complaining of the small amount of pity and mercy Your Holiness has granted me. Again I beg and entreat Your Holiness not to allow any further delays in this trial, but at once pronounce final sentence in the shortest way. Until this be done I shall not cease importuning Your Holiness, as did the Samaritan to Jesus Christ, on whom her remedy depended.

Some days ago Miçer Mai, the ambassador of His Imperial Majesty, and my solicitor in this case wrote to say that Your Holiness had promised him to renew the brief which Your Holiness issued at Bologna, and another one commanding the King, my Lord, to dismiss and cast away from him this woman with whom he lives. On hearing of it, these "good people" who have placed and still keep the King, my Lord, in this awkward position, began to give way, considering themselves lost. May God forgive him, who was the cause of the briefs not being delivered, for the news only of the preparation produced a most marked improvement in my case; besides which, had the potion, though disagreeable to their palates, been administered at the right time, that which I hope Your Holiness keeps in store for them would have been comparatively sweet. I am, therefore, deeply grieved at the injury which was inflicted upon me by the withdrawal of the promised briefs; but I bear all this with patience, waiting for the remedy to the evils of which I complain. This can be no other, I repeat, than the sentence I am expecting every day and hour.

One thing I should like Your Holiness to be aware of, namely, that my plea is not against the King, my Lord, but against the inventors and abettors of this cause. I trust so much in the natural goodness and in the virtues of the King, my Lord, that if I could only have him two months with me, as he used to be, I alone should be powerful enough to make him forget the past; but as they know this to be true they do not let him live with me. These are my real enemies who wage such constant war against me; some of them that the bad counsel they gave the King should not become public, though they have been already well paid for it, and others that they may rob and plunder as much as they can, thus endangering the estate of the King, my Lord, to the risk of his honour and the eternal perdition of his soul.* These are the people from whom spring the threats and bravadoes proferred against Your Holiness; they are the sole inventors of them, not the King, my Lord. It is, therefore, urgent that Your Holiness put a very strong bit in their mouths, which is no other than the

* "Los que me hazen la guerra son estos; los unos por que no parezcan sus malos consejos que los han bien pagado, y los otros por robar quanto pudieren ponen en peligro a su estado del Rey, mi señor, pierden la honra del (de el?) con mucho peligro de su alma, ques la mas perpetua."

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sentence. With that the tongues of the bad counsellors shall be stopped, and their hope of mischief vanish; the greedy thieves shall no longer devour him on whom they have been feeding all this time; they will set him at liberty, and he will become as dutiful a son of Your Holiness as he was in former times. This to me will be the greatest charity that ever Your Holiness bestowed on a human being; it will restore peace and happiness among the Christian princes, and set a good example [for the future] to the whole of Christendom.*

Indorsed: "A copy of what Her most Serene Highness, the queen of England, writes to the Pope."

Spanish. Copy. pp. 4.

21 Dec. **549.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 52.

The Queen has only just sent the letters for Your Majesty and for Rome, which she has long been intending to write and I now enclose them.† She charges me to write also in the same sense; but seeing the earnestness with which Your Majesty has always sought to bring this affair to a conclusion, I think that hardly necessary. The Queen, moreover, believes that it would be much in her favour if people's minds here could be roused by the means proposed in my two last despatches; I beg therefore to know Your Majesty's pleasure concerning this, and to receive instructions.

The Auditor of the Rota whom the Pope is now sending to Scotland as Nuncio, as I have already informed Your Majesty, after having stopped for a long while in France, arrived here three days ago accompanied by the secretary of the duke of Albanie (Albany) and a Scotch gentleman. He is going thither for the reform of certain excesses committed by ecclesiastics and laymen against the authority of the Apostolic See. He has no charge whatever, as he assures me, to speak to the King regarding the divorce; only if the King of his own accord should bring the subject forward the Auditor has been sufficiently well warned by me to avoid saying anything which might be prejudicial to the Queen. Will keep him well informed of all that is being done here in this particular, that he may write to the Pope and also to his colleagues in the Rota. It seems that the King does not feel much confidence in the friendship of Scotland, for on the return of the bishop of Durham and other deputies who went thither to settle the dispute between the two countries, he (the King) immediately dispatched a number of men to repair the old frontier fortresses there and raise new ones.

An English monk of the Order of St. Augustine, who has for a long time lived with Luther and others of his sect, has lately arrived here with a safe-conduct, to work in the King's

* This letter of Katharine to the Pope has no date, but was evidently written as early as the month of September, though for various reasons it was not sent until December, as will be seen presently by Chapuys' despatch of the 21st, who enclosed to Charles the copy now at the Archives of Vienna.

† Katharine's letter to the Pope, having no date, may be seen under No. 548. That to the Emperor is not appended.

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interest; he goes about Court in a secular dress, holding intercourse chiefly with an Italian of the Order of St. Francis, one of the principal writers in favour of this king.

Brian and Dr. Fox returned from France yesterday evening, and Dr. Benoit (Benet) also came from Rome, which has led some people here to suspect that the Pope has not granted all this king's demands.

Great satisfaction has been shewn here at the peace with Switzerland, especially as the king of France was the author of it, and both parties are indebted to him on that account. The treaty with the king of Denmark does not seem to have been so welcome.

Jehan Jocquin has received leave to return; he will be succeeded here by the sieur de la Pomeraye. Jocquin has been at Court for three or four days trying to obtain for his master a permission to export a certain quantity of corn from Bordeaux, and also to lodge a complaint against certain Englishmen who have actually captured two French vessels. He has been told that the permission for the export of corn could not be granted at the present time; but that they would see what could be done in future. Regarding the seizure of the vessels, as it was executed by fishermen in unarmed boats, the King could not take any steps against them as he was only pledged to see that no one took up arms here against the French.

Speaking to me recently about the enterprize against the Turk, Jocquin said that it was mere folly to suppose that either his master or this king would take it up; they would certainly not go in person for fear of endangering their own kingdoms, neither would they contribute in money, as they had no wish for Your Majesty's further aggrandizement. This Jocquin said openly, without even an attempt at palliation or reserve. May God bring them both to a better mind

Regrets to be obliged again to bring his private affairs before the Emperor, &c.—London, 21st December 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

21 Dec. **550.** Cardinal d'Osma to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, ff. 121–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 177.

Has written to the Emperor in full detail, recommending certain measures. His Lordship had better cast his eye over that despatch, and should there be anything worth notice, let it be submitted to His Majesty's consideration.[1]

His Holiness has told him to send to Castille for a lawyer of noble blood (*que sea noble*) in order to make him at once auditor of the Rota. He [d'Osma] has written to the president [of the Council] to look out for a man of learning and parts. Believes that Miçer Mai has done the same.

His Lordship's letter from Spires, the 7th inst., has been duly received, and by this time his own, relating the negociations about the Council, must have reached its destination. I believe this matter to be in a fair way of settlement, and

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that the Council will be certainly convoked. But, nevertheless, I am of opinion that His Imperial Majesty must do all he can to win over the friendship of Christians as well as of heretics, because in no way can this do harm, however prosperous the issue of the Council may be, whereas if it turns out badly it may be profitable, for when conscience is perfectly free the good of the State must be attended to.*

With regard to the appointment for Flanders, I can only say that His Imperial Majesty must look out for virtue and nothing else. I wish that Nassau was far away from the chamber and conversation of our angel,† and I say the same of all the rest who hang about the Emperor. I cannot say whether in the event of his being nominated to Flanders what we save in one way will not be lost in the other, for to say the truth, this man, wherever he may be, can only be a perpetual source of embarrassment (*inconvenientes*).

In the death of Madame [Margaret]‡ I can see no other advantage for the Crown than the annual pension of four millions§ which she received from Castille, unless the Emperor transfers them to queen Mary, who, I hear, is entitled to the pension as well as her deceased aunt.

Since Lic^te^ La Corte is dead let another man come in his stead, who may not be such a street-runner (*cosario*) as he was, but a peaceful, learned, and good man, for, to say the truth, I had occasion to be displeased at his restless disposition.

Don Pedro de la Cueva has met with the reception to which his birth, merits, and the Order to which he belongs entitled him. I have done all I could for him, firstly, because I knew his father and his brother the Count well; and, secondly, because I soon perceived that he loved our Emperor sincerely, and was ready to sacrifice himself for his service.

The Pope wishes Muxetula to go again to Florence and report about the state of affairs in that city.

(*Cipher:*) The governor of Bologna (Gambara) now going as Nuncio to the Emperor is, I hear from very trusty people, the most vicious man in all Italy. If so, how can the Pope wish for a General Council? If they tell him that there are five difficulties (*inconvenientes*) likely to arise from it, and, therefore, that there are so many reasons against its convocation, he (Gambara) is sure to increase those to the number of 10, and that is why some of the well-meaning cardinals are really scandalised at his

* "Yo pienso que este negocio del Concilio está en terminos que ya se puede tener por cierto, pero todavia soy en voto que [se] gane por servidores á christianos y á hereges, por que en ningun caso por prospero que venga puede esto dañar, y en qualquiera tiempo adverso sera muy provechoso; quando la conciencia está salva syn ningun respetto, se ha de considerar lo que al estado convyene."

† "Deseo yo que Nasao estuvyese lejos de la Camara y conversacion de ese nuestro angel, y lo mesmo deseo de todos quantos del cuelgan; pero ne sé si quedando regente de Flandes lo que acá se ahorra allá se dañase, porque en verdad aquel hombre do quiera que estuviere no puede ser sino manantial de inconvenientes."

‡ Margaret died on the 1st of December; she was succeeded in the government of Flanders by her niece, Mary, the widow of John, the last king of Hungary.

§ "Cuatro cuentos [de maravedis]."

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being sent by the Pope on such a mission. (*Common writing :*) But since His Majesty thinks that it is for the better service of God to have this Council convoked, and has made up his mind on this point, let all obstacles be surmounted and all objections the Nuncio makes waived, and let us at once have an express messenger with the Emperor's final decision without waiting for Gambara to bring the answer back. I am convinced that were His Majesty to sign a paper in his own hand renewing the assurances so frequently made, that in this Council the authority, both spiritual and temporal, of the Apostolic See, and the honour of the Pope, will be safeguarded, and that whatever determinations have been taken in previous councils respecting our Faith will be respected, the convocation would be made at once. (*Cipher :*) But for God's sake let the Emperor try by all means to make the king of France persevere in his purpose as he has lately written, because I cannot help suspecting that the Pope still expects Tarbes to do something through his master, the King, to impede and effectually prevent the celebration of the Council.—Rome, 21st December 1530.

Signed : "Fr[ater] G[arcia], Car[dinalis] Oxomien[sis]."

Addressed : "To His Lordship the High Commander of Leon, secretary to His Imperial Majesty and of his Council."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 Dec. **551.** Secret Consistory of Cardinals.

S. E. L. 2,015, f. 120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 181.

On Friday the 23rd of December a secret consistory was held in the Apostolic Palace at Rome, in the usual room called "del Papagayo," &c.

Published by Brewer, vol. iv., part 3, p. 3060, from an English abstract by Bergenroth.

23 Dec. **552.** Luigi Gritti to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 857, f. 75.

Has lately written expressing his devotion to Christianity, but is very much afraid that owing to the taking of Buda by the Turks those letters have not reached their destination. Repeats now the contents of the said letters that the Emperor may judge of his affection and good-will. Has been unjustly accused of having renounced the faith of his fathers because of his having lately been in commercial correspondence with the Turks, and because having been sent some time ago to Hungary on very important business, he deemed it desirable to report to the Emperor on the immense preparations the Turk is making, as much by land as by sea, and such as this our present age has never seen. Knows no other cause for the said warlike preparations than the persistance with which Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, has been assailing and molesting Jean [Zapoli], the king of Hungary, who being now under the guard and protection of the Turk (Solyman) has naturally called upon him to defend his kingdom, and the Turk is, therefore, preparing to invade Christendom next

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spring. And although he (Gritti) has suffered considerably along with king Jean, from the invasions of the said Ferdinand, and from the Emperor's subjects, and is aware of the bad opinion which Christian princes have of the said king Jean and of himself, this notwithstanding, he has not abandoned the Christian religion nor preferred his own individual advantage to the common weal of Christendom.

Takes this opportunity to inform the Emperor of the military preparations of the Turk, that as a Catholic prince at the head of Christendom, he may take his measures to save Christianity from the impending danger. This might be at once effected if the said king Jean were reinstated in his kingdom of Hungary, and Ferdinand and the Emperor's subjects prevented from invading it. Has written also in still plainer terms to the king of Poland (Sigismond), who as he (Gritti) thinks will promote this business at the Emperor's court.

Has made up his mind not to remain long in Hungary, but to return to Constantinople and then report to the Turk on what he has seen and observed in these parts. Should he learn that the Emperor is willing to behave kindly towards the said Jean and his kingdom, he promises to do what is fit and pertinent in such an affair.—Buda, 23rd December 1530.

Signed: "L. Gritti."

French. Original. pp. 2.

23 Dec. **553.** The ABBOT of LLOR to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 113.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 183.

Sent a letter of Cardinal Egidio by the courier who was murdered. In that letter the Cardinal alluded to his services in the cause of England. Has since written more fully on the same subject.

Has taken, and is still taking, great pains to learn on what grounds the adversaries found their assertions, and has lately gained to the Queen's side a great personage who promises to give advice and do other service in the divorce case.

Most persons here [in Rome] deserve and inspire but little confidence.

Indorsed: "To the High Commander, from the Abbot of Llor; 23rd December and 14th March" (*sic*).

Spanish. Abstract of a despatch for the Emperor's perusal. p. 1.

24 Dec. **554.** DON PEDRO DE LA CUEVA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 13.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 184.

In the Consistory held on the 28th ult° His Holiness resolved to send to Your Majesty either Capua (Schomberg) or prothonotary Gambaro (*sic*) to consult on certain matters, so that when the answer came the convocation to the Council could be made at once. Notwithstanding our importunities, the last-named ecclesiastic left only on the 20th inst. as I have told Your Majesty, and in all probability will take his time on the road, so that unless some pressure is put on His Holiness the whole affair will be much delayed.

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Gonzaga came here to settle about removing the men from Sienese territory and quartering them here. He is to leave to-day, accompanied by a commissary of the Pope, who has been on this occasion more amiable and accommodating than usual. The discipline of the soldiers must, however, be re-established as soon as possible, for otherwise much money will be squandered.—Rome, 24th December 1530.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed:

Spanish. Holograph.

29 Dec. **555.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 53.

Two days before Christmas the seigneur de la Pomeraye arrived here and had an audience on Christmas Eve. On St. Stephen's Day he and Jehan Jocquin returned to Court, where they remained till yesterday, greatly fêted, especially by the Lady. These festivities, however, have not interfered with their business, as they have had time to arrange for the mission of the bishop of Vaynchestre (Winchester), who starts for France to-day. I am informed by de la Pomeraye that this mission is intended partly to return the bishop of Bayonne's visit here, and partly to request the King's [of France] aid and support in obtaining permission [from the Pope] for the divorce case to be tried and decided in this kingdom, and that ambassador adds that as the king of England has this affair so much at heart his master cannot, on account of the great friendship existing between them, refuse to do what is in his power. The said Bishop is starting in all haste; he will be followed to-morrow by Dr. Benoit (Benet), who is returning post to Rome and is to stop at the court of France for the despatches which the Bishop [of Winchester] will have ready for him there to take to Rome. The King has charged the Bishop to beg the king of France to leave Jehan Jocquin here as ambassador with de la Pomeraye, and therefore Jocquin is in any case to remain here till the Bishop's return. They would be sorry to lose Jocquin here, he is just the man for them at the present time. The King has been pleased to offer de la Pomeraye apartments in his own palace at Briduel (Bridewell).

I have not been able to obtain further information respecting the object of the Bishop's mission, nor yet of the particular means which he is to propose for the advocation of the divorce trial here: but it may be well believed that he (the Bishop) will spare neither promises nor words to induce the king of France to lend all his influence either by entreaties or threats in this direction. Therefore seeing the coldness and cowardice which have hitherto been apparent at Rome, and which will now probably increase, owing to the intervention of the king of France in the affair, it seems absolutely necessary that Your Majesty should write sharply to all those concerned in this business at Rome.

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The Auditor of the Rota, whom I mentioned in my last despatch as being on his way to Scotland, is still here. It would seem from the strange reception given him here as if these people were about to take offensive measures against the Pope, or else that they are displeased with the object which brought him here. He was [in London] several days before the King would grant him audience; on the 20th he was received before and after mass, but from what I can hear, the King, instead of replying to the Pope's letters brought by him, entered upon his wonted disputes and menaces, putting off his answer till after dinner, when no more was said about it. The third day of Christmas the Auditor returned to Court, and wishing to speak to the King on his way to mass, could not obtain a hearing, and hardly even any notice from the King; the French ambassadors who were proceeding to the chapel would not give him precedence, saying that he was Nuncio to Scotland not here, and notwithstanding his affirming that he was accredited as Papal Nuncio whereever he might be passing, and in all places for which he had letters of credence, and moreover, that he had a special communication to make here from the Holy Father, the King's Council decided that he should not take precedence. Therefore the said Auditor would not accompany the King to mass, but went to the Cordeliers, and fasted on that day; he returned to Court after dinner, but could not obtain audience. The poor man is in great perplexity, and does not know what to do.

Parliament is prorogued here from time to time, as if they did not know their own mind about the measures to be proposed therein. Your Majesty's edicts (*constitutions*) recently promulgated in the estates of Flanders are greatly praised here; they have been translated into English, and printed to induce the people to adopt them here in full, or if not that, at least in part.

I have nothing further to advise excepting that the Venetian ambassador has told me that he had received letters from Constantinople, stating that the Vayvod had sent to the Turk to ask permission to attend a certain Diet of the Lutherans, but probably the intelligence is not new to Your Majesty.—London, 29th December 1530.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

After writing the above I have received orders from the Queen not to send this despatch until hearing from her. To-day, the last day of December, she has sent some letters for Your Majesty, which are here enclosed, *and has also desired me to forward* the following copy of a letter in cipher, which she has received from a person in authority; it stands thus:

"Señora,

"I have spoken with Dr. Benet, who is a great friend of mine, and he has told me that great pains are now being taken at Rome to have your cause brought to a conclusion;

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but that a delegate (*escusador*) had come forward there on behalf of the King, claiming that in right of the privileges belonging to his kingdom the cause should be tried at another place [than Rome], since (they say) the Emperor is defending the case for Your Highness, whilst the king of France takes the other side, and between them two they own the greater part of Christendom. In consequence thereof it has been decided that Rome and nowhere else should be the place for the case to be decided. The said Doctor has told me that Your Highness' commissioner (*procurador*) had asked for immediate action in this case, and that at the instigation of the English ambassadors and other persons, the Pope went for that day into the country and the next feigned illness. The cause of his (Dr. Benet's) coming here, as he himself says, is to state in the Pope's name that justice must be done, but it appears that when he (Benet) made this statement to the King, the latter said he should pay no heed to such a decision, though the Doctor clearly shewed that the sentence once passed would be irrevocable. Let Your Highness then use every effort to overcome the other party (*los contrarios*) through relations and friends while it is yet time, for if this opportunity be once lost it will be with difficulty recovered. I write as a faithful servant of the King, my Lord, and of Your Highness, that you should save your husband's honour from those who are daily heaping disgrace on him."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

30 Dec. **556.** The Emperor to Muxetula.

S. E. L. 1,557, f. 148.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 186.

Is to thank His Holiness in his name for the good resolution he has come to with respect to the Council.

Does not himself write to the Holy Father because he is waiting for the person now coming to his court. Has ordered his ambassadors at Rome to kiss His Holiness' feet in token of reverence and gratitude.

Affairs of Florence.

Hopes that the election of his brother [Ferdinand] as king of the Romans will soon take place.—Colonia (Kohl), 30th December 1530.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 2.

SUPPLEMENT.

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3 July **557.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 848, f. 21.
B. M. *Add.* 28,579, f. 282.

Unless the Emperor, our lord and master, come soon, all will be lost; but he must come with peace, or else with a powerful army, so that he may not put himself in jeopardy. Meanwhile the Papal Nuncio is to be caressed and indulged in every possible way, &c.—Rome.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

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7 June **558.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 851, f. 39.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 128.

On the receipt of the Emperor's letter of the 22nd May he (Mai) sent for Dr. Martin Roman, and put into his hands the royal warrant ordering him to go to Naples, and there fill the place of Jacopo di Bologna. At first he was rather upset, for he is a good sort of man, is honest and has no ambition;† he begged him (Mai), if it were in his power, to choose another man to fill Jacopo's post, as he said he wished to go home, and that only a few days ago the Pope wanting to send him to the Emperor's court on the Ferrara affair along with auditor Aragonia, he (Roman) had refused. Persuaded him at last, and he left for Naples last Monday.

Spoke to the Pope on the business of bishop Solis.

Nothing has been done yet in the affair of Isabella Colonna owing to Luigi Gonzaga not being here, nor having produced his papers. The Pope sent him (Mai) a message five days ago (on the 2nd inst.) to draw out a summons for the said Luigi to appear here at Rome within the term of eight or ten days at the most, and bring with him his deeds and papers, for after that time, he said, would not be heard. Declined to do this. "It was not for him (Mai said) to summon Luigi Gonzaga; His Holiness might do it if he liked. If he could be of any use he would willingly help." However Luigi arrived last night, as it appears, and therefore this matter of his marriage will soon be decided one way or other. The girl (Isabella) had some days ago high words with Don Diego [de Sotomayor] and did

* Appended to this paper is the following minute of answer by Commander Covos. "His Majesty's journey is decided upon and a preliminary agreement entered into respecting certain affairs to be settled between His Holiness and His Majesty, as will be seen by the treaty of which a ratification in due form has been sent to Rome. On the receipt of a similar ratification from His Holiness 'cum bulla plumbea' as agreed, the original which we have here signed by the Emperor, and bearing his 'sello pendiente' will be placed in the Nuncio's hands."

Enclosed is the ratification of the marriage contract between the duke Alessandro de' Medici and the Emperor's natural daughter [Margarita]. The ambassador is to procure that the ratification be also signed by the Duke, and authorised by the Pope, together with the derogatory clauses (*clausulas derogatorias*) specified in it.

† Porque es buen hombre y tiene pensamientos sanos y honestos." *See* p. 596, where the departure of Martin Roman for Naples is announced.

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not behave properly to him. Sent for the Bishop who takes care of her (*que la govierna*), and told him to scold the young lady well in his name. She positively sent to thank him (Mai) and to ask his pardon, offering, at the same time to obey the Emperor's orders, though still complaining about Don Diego, who, she said, had offended her. Knowing very well that all this originated in Don Diego not speaking to her as she wished, he (Mai) paid no attention to her complaints (*sus quexas las rebuté*).

The Pope asked him (Mai) one day whether he thought that in the event of Isabella Colonna marrying Luigi Gonzaga the estate she owned in Naples would be preserved to her. Answered that he knew not, but that from what His Majesty had told him, and now writes, he was inclined to think it would be. The Emperor had no objection to her marrying Luigi; if she did not he would not give his consent to any other marriage but that to Ferrante Gonzaga.

The bishopric of Huesca not yet given away owing to cardinal Campeggio not having sent powers to "consentir las pensiones."

The law-suit between the sees of Salamanca and Santiago not yet decided.

Acequia* Imperial, or the canal of Aragon.—Brief for a new militia† to be created at Granada.

Bull of Adrian granting the patronage of all the churches in Castille and Aragon to the Emperor. The question to be decided is whether those of Sicily and Sardinia are comprised in it or not. The minute of the bull is in the hands of cardinal Ancona. The cardinals seem to think that these countries are not comprised. As the three bishoprics now vacant of Catania, Mazara, and Monreal are within that territory, he (Mai) wishes to know whether it would not be advisable at once to apply for "a presentatione" for them, and then obtain a declaration specifying that Sicily and Sardinia are really comprised in the said bull of Adrian.—Rome, 7th June 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

7 June **559.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 851, f. 41.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 132.

Received on the 29th ult° Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd, and delivered to His Holiness the one that came for him, entirely written in your own Imperial hand. Told him the news you had had from France; the assistance in money which the king of that country had sent to the "fuorusciti" of

* Azequia (*as-sekyah*) is an Arabic word preserved in Spanish, which means a canal for the purposes of irrigation, and such was the canal of Aragon as originally intended.

† For the repression of the Moriscoes, who about this time gave evident signs of disaffection, owing to the enforcement of the "pragmatica," published in 1529.

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Naples, now refugees in Venice, and last, not least, the report that a number of Germans and Italians at the instigation of the admiral of France (Brion) were to come to the camp before Florence in order to promote sedition and mutiny among the Imperial troops, &c. The Pope was glad to hear that Your Majesty had written to the Prince [of Orange], acquainting him with all these reports, telling him to be on his guard, and keep the thing a secret. The news about Florence has lately been confirmed in a letter from the Imperial camp sent by Jorge Val Spercal, count of Lodron.*

The Pope, on the other hand, had reliable information that levies were being made by Renzo de Cherri (da Ceri) at Ferrara and in the whole of the Romagna, as well as in Padua and in the Venetian territory. The Duke (Alfonso d'Este), moreover, was secretly furnishing provisions and ammunition of war to the Florentines. His excuse was that they paid for them in cash, and therefore he could not refuse. The president of Romagna had succeeded in disarming and scattering some infantry that had been enlisted at Luco, a place in the Ferrarese. The Duke, however, was on his road to Venice, &c.

It was agreed between His Holiness and me that he should write to his Legate [at Venice], and I myself to the Imperial ambassador near that Signory (Niño), and besides that I should address a letter to the duke of Ferrara remonstrating, &c. I did so, and more particularly to his prime minister (*factor*), who governs all the Duchy in his name. I have had no answer yet, but I sent yesterday for his ambassador, the bishop of Comacchio,† who is an excellent man. I related the whole affair to him, and told him what our impression was. Both, the bishop first and the Duke after, by letter, have assured me that there was no truth in the report. I feigned to be convinced, but I cannot help thinking there must have been some cause for all these rumours.

Pisa and Liorno (Leghorn) ought to be attended to whilst it is yet time. It would be very awkward if those cities were to fall into the hands of the French through some intrigue of the Florentines, who are said to be just now so short of provisions that Malatesta, who commands the garrison, has lately proposed to send the old men and women and all the useless mouths out of the place.

Relates a conversation which Tarbes had with the Pope on general politics, at which Sancti Quatuor, cardinal D'Osma,

* A German captain of this title is often mentioned in the preceding volumes of this Calendar, as well as in Guicciardini, Jovio, Varchi, Segni, and almost all the Italian and Spanish historians of the time, but his name appears to have been *Giovan Battista*, not George, as in this despatch. In another of Gio. Ant° Muxetula to the Emperor, of the 13th of September 1530 (p. 711), a count *Lodovico Lodrone* is said to have entered Florence after its evacuation by Malatesta. Nowhere do I find him under the name of Van Spercal? as here. *See* vol. iii., part 2., pp. 426, 772, 741, and also pp. 232 and 262.

† Ghilino Ghilini, 1514–1559.

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and himself were present. The whole peroration of that Bishop, which was a very long one, might be reduced to this: "The Most Christian is a true friend and brother of the Emperor; the money for the ransom is quite ready. If any obstacle still intervenes it is entirely the fault of the Spaniards, and would be soon removed, &c."

Arrival in Rome of Miçer Andrea del Burgo. His conversation with the Pope respecting the Vayvod.

Advices from Naples state that the Albanese of La Chiamarra (Cimarra) had cut their way through 18,000 Turks.

Things are looking very black at Siena according to Soria's reports.

The ex-abbot of Farfa* and his marriage.—Rome, 7th June 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

7 June. **560.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 849, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 123.

Things at Florence seem to me to be prospering. If Volterra falls, as there is every reason to suppose it will, and then the besieging army, the same that took Empoli, marches on Pisa, the Florentines will give up the defence and capitulate. Has written to the Prince [of Orange] entreating him to do his best to invest Florence on all sides so as to prevent the entrance of provisions into the city. Anything is preferable to an assault, because the Pope would not like to see his native city sacked and destroyed.—Rome, 7th June 1530.

Signed: "Gio. Ant. Muxetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

7 June **561.** MICER MAI to HIGH COMMANDER COVOS.

S. E. L. 851, f. 41.

(*Cipher:*) Count Miçer Andrea del Burgo† arrived here three or four days ago. He (Mai) is exceedingly glad of it, for the count is a very honest and wise old man, and very active. Both go together to the papal palace as they used in former times; they tell each other their affairs; in short, he (Burgo) makes a very good colleague in every respect. The Portuguese ambassador has not yet spoken a word to him (Mai), nor to the cardinal of Osma either; nor has he yet visited the cardinals, as it is customary to do, at which they are, it appears, rather shocked, nor does he attend chapel; in fact, he is never seen in public. He (Mai) is trying to set him going (*ponerle en camino*) were it for no other purpose than to promote the English matrimonial cause; in the success of which his master,

* The ex-abbot of Farfa (Napoleone Orsino) is said by some to have been married at last to Claudia, the daughter of Julio Colonna, the lord of Montefortino. See Litta, *Famiglie Italiane*, vol. 5, Tab. xxvii.

† Andrea del Burgo had been created count of Castel Leone, in the duchy of Milan, as early as the year 1528.

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the king of Portugal,* is also interested, &c.—Rome, 7th June 1530.

Indorsed: Copy of a paragraph from a ciphered letter of Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

Spanish. Contemporary deciphering. p. 1.

10 June **562.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 52.
B. M. *Add.* 28,580, f. 165.

. . . . . .

With regard to the English cause I have nothing new to report, save that I am told that the bishop of London (Stokesley) intends coming here [to Venice] to see whether he can induce this Signory to allow the doctors and canonists to meet here, and those of the Paduan University to counsel in this business of the English King. But let him come; he will get neither one thing nor the other if I am to judge from what those of the Signory tell me.—Venice, 10th June 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

6 July **563.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,308, f. 63.

. . . . . .

The bishop of London (Stokesley) has now come back from Padua. The Signory has been informed that he could get nothing there from the doctors and professors of the University. All his negociations here, since his return, have been conducted with the Jews, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, and with a certain prior of St. John and Paul (*San Joan y Polo*) of the Order of St. Dominic, with whom I have since had a conference, and explained to him the inconveniences and dangers of such dealings; I have told him that he ought to consider what engagements he takes, and how very disrespectful and irreverent it is for him to question the power and authority of the Pope. He frankly owned to me that he had been deceived, and that the bishop of London had positively declared to him that the Pope wished the matter to be discussed. I assured him of the contrary; I told him that far from wishing it His Holiness had positively forbidden such discussions. The Prior then ended by saying that as soon as the Pope's intentions were duly signified to him he would willingly retract.

The Signory† has sent for the other friar with whom these English agents were in treaty, whose name is Francisco Jorge. When he comes to Venice I have no doubt that he will say

* Silva, bishop of Viseu, who succeeded Don Martin de Portugal in the Roman embassy.

† The copy I have before me has: "Su Sant. ha embiado por el otro frayle con quien estos agentes de Inglaterra tratauan, que se llama Fray Francisco Jorge, y como aquel hiziere assi hará este de San Joan y Polo y todos los otros," but instead of Su Santidad (His Holiness) it is evident to me that "Su Señoria" is meant.

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and do the same as this prior of St. John and Paul and the rest have done. . . . . .
Venice, 6th July 1530.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

30 July **564.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,553, f. 365. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 412.

Writes in favour and commendation of bishop [Paolo] Jovio, bearer of this present, who, besides being in His Holiness' service, is now writing a history of his time.* The said Jovio is rightly considered to be sincerely attached to the Emperor.—Rome, 30th July 1530.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

29 Aug. **565.** News from Cambray.

S. E. L. 1,362, f. 32. B. M. *Add.* 28,578, f. 388.

The ambassadors of the confederated powers (England, Venice, Ferrara, &c.) having asked that the projected treaty of peace between France and Spain be communicated to them, they were accordingly summoned to a conference, when the articles forwarded in the Emperor's name to France were read to them.

It was the wish of the Emperor after coming to an understanding with the French and settling the conditions of the peace, to discuss afterwards the terms on which a general peace might be concluded with England, Venice, and the rest of the confederates. It was, however, decided to settle at the same time the conditions for a general peace, including in it France and its allies.

Venice and Ferrara to restore to the Pope everything that has been taken from him, and pay the Emperor besides a heavy sum of money for the expenses of the war.

Duke of Bari.†—Florence.

Some of the ambassadors consider this demand of the Emperor moderate, others do not, and widely different opinions prevail on this subject. Most people think, and some hope, that the negociations will lead to nothing, especially as the Emperor insists upon the king of France restituting the duchy of Burgundy which he has usurped.

Indorsed: Memorandum of Figueroa respecting the peace said to have been concluded at Cambray, enclosed in his letter of the 29th of August.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

4 Sept. **566.** The Emperor to Miçer Mai.

Sandoval *Hist. del Emp. Carlos* V., vol. ii., p. 116.

. . . . . .

With regard to the matrimonial cause of England you must have already seen and spoken to the servant (*criado*) of the

* "Pauli Jovii historiarum sui temporis tomi duo. Venetia, Mich. Tramazino [1546], fol." It was subsequently translated into Italian, Spanish, and French.

† Francesco Sforza having virtually been deprived of his estate, a fief of the Empire, was no longer called by the ministers and ambassadors of Charles, duke of *Milan*, but of *Bari* in the kingdom of Naples.

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most serene Queen, our Aunt, who went thither [to Rome] by our directions, and was also the bearer of our letters to you. From him you will hear what has happened in that country, and what is wanted from you. In accordance with the Queen's wishes you will do whatever is needed with all possible diligence and zeal.

You were right when you wrote that the English ambassador residing at the Court of France tried to delay the consummation of the marriage of her most serene Highness the Queen, our sister; and that perceiving that all his endeavours were in vain he departed in haste and returned to his master shewing great discontent. The king of France, on the other hand, shews considerable satisfaction, he has already fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty with the single exception of one discharge (*quitanze*) which he has promised to furnish instead of another in which an error was discovered.*

Spanish. Cipher. pp. 3.

11 Sept. **567.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 850, f. 97.
B. M. *Add.* 28,581, f. 100.

As I was about to send off the other despatch that will go with this I received a letter from Naples of the 2nd, informing me that at night of the same day a courier would start for Germany. That is the reason of my having delayed so long the sending of this.

On the very same day the servants of the French cardinal (the bishop of Tarbes) besieged the palace of the Portuguese ambassador in the manner and for the causes specified in my letter to the High Commander (Covos). Your Majesty may be certain that as long as Giovan Paolo [da Ceri], who always was an impetuous and self-willed youth, is out of service, and poor—especially now that he has to pay his ransom to Marramaldo,†—disturbances of this kind will occur. He it was who suggested to those who surround him—a set of knaves and scoundrels—that since they could not get into the Portuguese embassy they had better set fire to the doors. I am told however, also, that on the appearance of the governor of Rome on the spot, he (Paolo) was the first to obey orders.

(*Cipher :*) Although in this business of the Portuguese ambassador it is not my province to interfere officially, I failed not to remonstrate with His Holiness. Until now, not one of Tarbes' men, who were the assailants, has been arrested or punished, and I really believe that as the Cardinal himself is going to France in a week, no prosecution of the delinquents will take place for fear of causing him annoyance. I told the Pope on the occasion that Giovan Paolo had always been Your Majesty's enemy, he had fought under the banners of

* The original is not at Simancas, but an abstract of this, together with another dated the 26th of August, in answer to Mai's despatches of the 30th and 31st of July, 4th, 5th, and 10th of August, may be seen in Sandoval, vol. ii., pp. 109–19

† He was taken prisoner at Favignana.

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Lautrec and St. Pol, he had lately served under the Florentines, being present at the engagement in which the prince of Orange fell, &c. It would have a very bad effect to see him here at Rome and in the Papal Chamber, scarcely 25 days after his discomfiture and capture at Favignana. "Wise people," said I, "would disapprove of his being placed on so intimate a footing. If it be true, as reported, that Your Holiness is about to entrust to him the keeping of Bracciano, I do not hesitate to say that I would much rather see the abbot of Farfa in possession of it." Such was my language to the Pope, and he promised not to give him the castle, but to expel him from Rome altogether.

Cardinal Tarbes, whether it be from a natural inclination to make mischief, or from some deeper reason, has been telling the Pope all this time that the King, his master, has great interest in this Bracciano affair, and wishes that stronghold to remain in the hands of the Abbot and of the Orsini. No sooner did I hear of this than I went to the Pope and complained. At first he denied the fact, but as the ambassador himself happened the day after to speak in the very same terms to Madonna Felice—who, though the Abbot's step-mother, is opposed to him in this business*—telling her that in old times the kings of France had received succour and great assistance from Bracciano, and that the most Christian King, his master, had an interest that it should remain in the hands of the Orsini, there is every reason to suppose that the report is true. I know besides that the ambassador (Tarbes) said the same thing to cardinal Trani, the brother of Madonna Felice, adding that he did not speak for the Abbot, but for his master, the King, whose interest it was that the stronghold should remain in the hands of one of the Orsini, no matter whom. As I have set my spies upon these people, I have ascertained that the hostages and securities which Giovan Paolo was to give for Bracciano were being procured by Tarbes himself. All this induced me to call again at the Palace and lay my complaint before His Holiness. I told him distinctly that this looked to me very much like an infraction of the treaty of Cambray, of which he had been the principal author. I have pointed out to him two men who might be arbiters in this Bracciano business, one is the old marquis de Pittilliano (Petigliano), who is an Orsino of pure blood, the other, the marquis della Mirandola, the old one, because the younger, his son, has married a sister of the Abbot. These two are of such quality that the Pope and the French ambassador can hardly reject them, and yet I fancy that the former will rather incline to those chosen by the Orsini.

The day before yesterday a Roman gentleman of the family of Tripiani met a Spaniard in the street, and slew him. They say that during the sack of Rome the Spaniard, who was a

* "Y dixeselo despues al Papa, aunque lo negó, pero dixo lo mesmo á Madona Felice, que es parte contraria del Abad, madre de sus hermanos."

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soldier, after making a prisoner of Tripiani, and subjecting him to the payment of a ransom (*talla*) shot at him with a cross-bow. After that he met him in the street, and said he would beat him to death (*que le mataria ápalos*) if he ever met him again. The Roman pretends that lately the Spaniard having recognised him after so many years, had continued for a time to walk up and down before his dwelling. I have spoken to the Pope, who sent immediately for the governor of Rome, to whom very stringent orders have been given with regard to this affair. These Tripiani have always been Gibelines.* On Sunday the 4th inst. they armed, and came to see me and offered their services. To-day the father of one of them, Miçer Antonio [Tripiani], has sent me a message through Vincentio de Rusticis, another Roman gentleman, to say that I must not imagine that the murder of the Spaniard was at all caused by enmity and hatred of our nation, but merely out of personal revenge for injuries committed during and after the sack. That he (Miçer Antonio) and the rest of the family were very sorry for what had happened. I believe it, for they are all very respectable and well-meaning people, though the one who committed the murder is a regular scoundrel, and served at Barletta, under captain Simon Romano.

Cardinal of Osma (Fr. Garcia de Loaysa) sent me word to-night as I was coming back from the Pope, that the count of Anguillara had told him that the murderer first took refuge in the house of cardinal Tarbes, and from thence was accompanied to the estate of Renzo da Ceri. Should this report turn out true Tarbes must be somehow implicated in the affair, as D'Osma thinks. I will make further inquiries.

(*Cipher :*) The Italian colonels and Spanish captains, as I have been told, were soon pacified, also the Germans, but Your Majesty must believe me, when I say that no Spaniard or German can travel alone, or be seen at an inn without being attacked by a set of miscreants, which evil, if unremedied, is not likely to improve our relations with these Italians.

(*Common writing :*) The inhabitants of Arezzo have sent their ambassador here to protest against the the Florentine rule. Their petition has been rejected, &c.

Yesterday the Venetian ambassador came to me and spoke about the restitution [to the "fuorusciti"] and the settlement of their affairs with king Ferdinand. He also asked me when it was Your Majesty's intention to withdraw your army from Italy. "That was (he said) a most important question, not only for the Signory but for the duke of Ferrara also." As long as the Imperial troops occupied the best part of Lombardy there could be no security for them. Answered as well as I could, and seemed to give satisfaction, for the

* "Estos Tripiani son de la devotion y son gibellinos."

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Venetian ambassador declared that he needed no further testimony of Your Majesty's rightful intentions than to see you propose your own brother, Ferdinand, for the kingdom of the Romans (*cipher*), but however flattering the compliment, I do not believe a word of what the ambassador says, for I know these Venetians would much prefer any other prince, no matter whom, to your brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans, for they fear him immensely.

I hear from Marzilla, that the moment it was known at Lucca that the Pope's army was about to invade their territory, they rose in arms and prepared for defence. I went to the Pope and read him Marzilla's letter, but he told me that there was no thought of sending troops thither; the rumour had been purposedly spread that they might pay down the 20,000 which the Pope wants from them, &c.

Lope de Soria, from Siena, sent me this morning two couriers, one after the other, to inform me that the inhabitants of Calle and Poggilonsi, towns belonging to Florence, had got possession of the ordnance which the Sienese had lent us [for the siege of Florence], at the request of the prince of Orange, of Mr. de Praet, and mine, and that the whole city [of Siena] was in great commotion in consequence. I have prevailed upon the Pope to have the ordnance sent back immediately to Siena.

Another cause of discontent among the Sienese is that they fear that on Malatesta and his men going out of Florence, as agreed, they will join the "fuorusciti" and help them. I have spoken to His Holiness about this also, and he has promised that most strict orders shall be given to the authorities at Florence not to allow the Sienese emigrants (*fuorusciti*) to make a stir, and as the principal among these, and Malatesta himself depend in great measure upon the Pope, it is to be hoped that on that side at least Your Majesty's interests will not be injured.

For some time past Lope de Soria has written to me that he could find no available means of persuading the Sienese to restore the property to the fuorusciti. He begged me to talk the matter over with Maria Brandino, the brother of the archbishop of Siena, who now resides here as ambassador from that Republic to the Pope. I did so, and although at the beginning I found him rather hard, I gave him to understand in the best possible manner that Your Majesty insisted upon the property of the emigrants being restored, only because he considered that measure to be advantageous for his community, not otherwise. Having afterwards amicably discussed together the best means of carrying out the said restitution, I said to the ambassador that the "fuorusciti," who belonged to no recognized party, ought to be allowed to return to Siena. There are some (I said), who have emigrated (*por sola tema*) out of party spirit, without being guilty of any great excesses, and who are quietly awaiting a change in the government; these

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I said ought not only to be allowed to come back, but ought to be treated as good citizens in every respect, and have a share in the administration (*regimiento*) of affairs, places being given to them and past injuries forgotten, &c. Those who had been warm partizans of a political faction ought also to be pardoned and received within the territory of the Signory. Any among these last convicted of murder and other crimes might of course be excepted after sending Your Majesty a list of them, &c. The ambassador approved of my plan, and has (I hear) dispatched this very day a courier to Siena with the proposal.

I delivered Your Majesty's letter to Isabella Colonna, and gave her the message. I took thither Don Diego de Soto-mayor; they talked, there was an explanation, and they became friends again. The girl says that she is willing to comply with Your Majesty's orders in every respect, and even to marry.

Indulto for Toledo.—Cardinal Cesarino and abbot Don Pedro de Urries.—Hackney, or white steed, to be presented at Christmas.

The archbishop of Santiago and his suit with Salamanca.

His Holiness told me the other day that the English wished to prorogue the cause, and although his statement was clear enough, it seemed to me as if he himself approved of that course. Answered that I had no opinion about it, but was commanded [by Your Majesty] to go on with the suit. The Pope also said that they (the English) wished the affair to be remitted to a place free from suspicion. Replied that this was not in my commission, and that if the English objected to Rome, we (the Imperialists) were far from considering this city free from suspicion (His Holiness excluded), owing to the sums of money spent here by them, it being a well known fact that cardinal Trani*—who certainly is not a lawyer, nor a man of much authority—had once been offered 10,000 ducats if he would work in favour of the King. Did not say this to the Pope, because I knew it to be a fact, the Cardinal himself having boasted of it, and because if the English act thus towards an ecclesiastic of so little authority and reputation as this cardinal, indeed Your Majesty may well suppose what they will do with those of more weight.

I read the Queen's letter to His Holiness, telling him that I could do no less, and then gave him a memorandum of what our demands were in respect of the trial, adding that I would willingly take whatever was given, and as to the rest Your Majesty and the queen of England would perhaps excuse me if I did not get it. He referred me to Sancti Quatuor, with whom I had a long conversation. In short, the Pope has agreed to grant me a part of my demands, but it was decided

* Cardinal Trana, as the text has it, was Giovanni Domenico de Cupis, archbishop of Trani.

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that for the rest I was to wait until the return of cardinal Ancona, who is expected back in two days hence. So that I take now what they will give me, and then we shall see about getting the remainder.

The bishop of London (Stokesley) has gone to England, recalled by the King, and I am told that Mr. de Bayonne, who was to have come here, has also taken his departure for that country, whether to consult what he is to do here next, or for some other purpose, I cannot say.—Rome, 11th September 1530.

P.S.—There is at Siena a doctor, called Il Deçio, who has given opinion for the king of England, and says that the Pope could dispense, but that the words in which the brief of dispensation was couched were not sufficiently explicit. As I am well acquainted with him, and know from experience that all lawyers are not of strict integrity,* I have written to him, and tried to obtain a copy of his opinion through Don Lope [de Soria], for such as it is, it happens to be the principal foundation on which the English go. We have so far succeeded that the copy is now being made at our expense, and will be ready in three days. Deçio besides has promised to allegate for us, and although I am not fond of this sort of thing, I am ready for the sake of that poor Queen to pay in this instance as well and perhaps better than the English.

I am also given to understand that when this [present] English king was going to be married, he protested and said that he did not intend contracting matrimony at all, and though an excuse of this sort, as far as Rome is concerned, is invalid (the Church judging only cases when they are public), as regards God it would be equally so, for by the fact of a man paying matrimonial due he really becomes his wife's husband. This very case occurred to me the very first year of my doctorate, with a friend of mine in the household of cardinal Ferrara. I know that when he (the King) became of age, he revoked by an act the marriage he had contracted when a minor, and that is the reason why I have not dared to put it in writing from fear of scandalizing Your Majesty until I should consult over the case with Don Lope [de Soria]. I have since done so, and Don Lope has answered that Deçio says the King was first one thing and then the other,† which, if true, is the greatest piece of rascality that was ever seen

* "Como le conozco y como por mal pecado todos los letrados no son buenos."

† "Tambien entiendo por esta misma via quel Rey de Inglaterra, quando se fue á casar, protestó que no entendia hacer matrimonio, y como quiera questo, quanto acá no le excusa, porque la Yglesia no juzga sino de lo publico, quanto á Dios seria excusado pagando el interese, ques casi otro tanto como el ser marido. Porque otras vezes yo tuve este caso el primer año que fui doctor con un amigo mio, criado del cardenal de Ferrara. Yo bien sabia que, saliendo de la menor edad revocó con auto los desposorios que hizo quando menor, y por eso no lo he osado screbir por no escandaliçar á S. Mt. hasta que lo consulte con Lope, y respondeme que le ha dicho el Decio que fue lo uno y despues lo otro; que, si es verdad, fue la mayor bellaqueria que nunca se vió entre principes, y temo que Dios lo permite por la destruicion de aquel Reyno."

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among princes, and I very much fear that God allows this for the total destruction of that kingdom.—Rome ut supra.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

14 Dec. **568.** Cardinal Loaysa to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 854, f. 75.

His last despatch to the Emperor has no doubt acquainted him with the lastest incidents of the matrimonial cause of England. The king of that country has since urgently requested His Holiness to create the auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci) and a brother of Casale, cardinals, and has besides written separately to all the members of the Sacred College. On Friday last the Pope proposed them warmly in Consistory, and seemed quite willing that the Auditor at least should be elevated to that dignity. He [Loaysa] was not present at the session, being unwell at the time; but when he heard of it he was greatly shocked, as he considers the Auditor to be the Emperor's enemy, and a very wicked man (*mal hombre*) as far as the matrimonial cause is concerned. Directed the ambassador (Mai) and Muxetula to go to His Holiness separately, and represent to him, as they actually did, what an offence it would be against God, and how discreditable to himself and to the Holy Apostolic See to honour and promote such a man as this one, and what just ground it would give His Imperial Majesty for wonder and complaint. Had the king of England interceded for some prelates of his own kingdom distinguished by their virtues and learning, the Pope's condescension would have been reasonable, but the request having been made for two Italians the King could not complain if his application were refused. These very words he (Loaysa) told the Pope the first time he saw him.

His Holiness' answer both to Mai and Muxetula was that they were right in everything they said. He had not introduced the names of the Auditor and of the Prothontary with an intention to have them made cardinals; that he would never do.* Nevertheless, he (Loaysa) has requested the ambassador (Mai) to speak to some of these old cardinals and request them, in case of the subject being again introduced tomorrow when there will be Consistory, not to vote in favour of the said Auditor and Prothonotary. Your Lordship may believe me when I say that all this and a great deal more is required to thwart His Holiness' plans, for certainly he is in these small matters the most difficult (*revesado*) man to deal with, and that I have been often tempted to ask for my recall and to go to Naples rather than witness so much duplicity or malice, cowardice and indecision. I fancy that in thus openly favouring the King's application His Holiness has two objects in view; one that he may resist similar applications on the part of the Emperor, our master, for he is sure to say that the only plausible excuse he has for refusing the King's request is

* "Que él no se a propuesto á intencion de hacerlo, ni la tenia, ni lo haria."

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that it does not seem fitting that the Council being on the point of being convoked a new creation of cardinals should be made, as there the most meritorious and deserving prelates in all Christendom may be selected. To-day the English ambassador has called on me and said that the King, his master, insists upon the nomination of the Auditor; the other (Casale) may be left for a future creation.

Ferrante Gonzaga, who has come here from Siena, Mai, the ambassador, Don Pedro [de la Cueva], and Mugetula (*sic*) met the other day, at this, my house, for the purpose of deliberating where the Imperial army had better be quartered. All are going to-morrow to the Pope, who is willing to have them in Romagna. If, therefore, cardinal Colonna should be true to his word and remit us monthly the money to pay them, this difficulty, which I assure Your Lordship is no small one, may be easily overcome, otherwise they will mutiny, go to the kingdom of Naples, and commit all manner of excesses.

The duke of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) has certainly acted very lightly in procuring, as he does, the dissolution of his marriage contracted in the very presence of the Emperor, but in these matters of women the wisest men seem to lose their senses, and particularly those who, like the Duke, have always lived so loosely (*livi anamente*), and without regard for their conscience. I think, however, that considering that the Duke is the Emperor's friend, and is very sorry for the marriage he made, and that he only wants the case to be fairly looked into, and to have declared whether he is bound by the said matrimonial tie, or free to contract another, that the Emperor ought to dissemble and allow the dissolution, for if the Duke be free there is no reason to marry him against his will, and if he be not free and sentence be pronounced against him he ought perhaps to be excused since he pretends that he did it against his will and merely to please our master. I have said this much in my last despatch to the Emperor, and I repeat it to Your Lordship, because I think that in tendering such an advice, I promote His Majesty's interests, and I cannot see how else they could be benefitted by acting differently.

I again recommend Gonzaga and Muxetula to Your Lordship, Both are doing good service. Nor is Don Pedro de la Cueva less useful and active. He is visiting the cardinals one by one; intends to go to the Pope in company with the ambassador (Mai), and is indefatigable in the fulfilment of his especial charge, the Council.

Monte, Ancona, Egidio, Naples, and Palmer (Palmieri)* ought to be written to in the Emperor's name acknowledging their services, &c.—Rome, 14th December 1530.

20 Dec. **569.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 854, f. 77.

Last Wednesday an application was made in Consistory on the part of the queen of England for a brief enjoining the

* All these are cardinals, namely, Antonio, Pucci, &c.

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King not to marry during the "litis pendentia," and as long as the cause was in the Rota, forbidding him the highly scandalous communication with his mistress, the Lady Anne Boulan (Boleyn), and inhibiting besides all inferior judges to take cognizance of the case. The resolution, however, was postponed until another Consistory, that the cardinals might have time to consider the case and vote according to conscience. Meanwhile, the English ambassador had negociated with the Pope, and with the cardinals, that the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Ghinucci) should be created one of them; but although it was feared at one time that the English would carry their point, the ambassador (Mai) and indeed all the Emperor's ministers at this court, worked so energetically that without commotion (*sin tumulto*) and in the most prudent manner possible the danger was averted for this time, the majority voting for his rejection. I believe that the opposition will continue as long as that wicked king (*ese mal hombre*) perseveres in his idea of divorcing so virtuous a queen. As I have no doubt that both Miçer Mai and Muxetula have given full account of this transaction, and I myself have mentioned the fact to His Majesty in a former despatch, I need scarcely trouble Your Lordship any further.

The governor of Bologna came here yesterday. He will leave after to-morrow, and four days after the Epiphany purposes being at Colonia (Kohl). Don Pedro [de la Cueva] is urging him to take his departure as soon as possible.—Rome, 20th December [1530].

— **570.** The Empress' Instructions to search [in Spain] for the treaty of marriage between queen Katharine of Aragon and Henry VIII., and other papers relating thereto.

S. E. L. 22, f. 140.

The Queen, &c. What you are to do in this journey, which you are about to undertake at our command, is as follows:

1st. You shall go to Calatayud, where Juan Perez de Almaçan, the lord of Maella and son of secretary Almaçan* now resides, and if you should not find him there you shall go to Çaragoça, or wherever he or the rest of that Secretary's heirs may be at present. You shall exhibit to him, or to them, the letters whereof you are now the bearer, as well as this present instruction, and try to ascertain from them whether among the papers of the said Secretary, their sire, any of the following papers can be found.

1st. The marriage contract between king Henry VIII. of England, and Her most Serene Highness queen Katharine, his wife, our most beloved aunt, after the decease of Arthur,

* Miguel Perez de Almaçan, secretary to Ferdinand V., king of Aragon; his son, Juan Perez, became lord of Maella.

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prince of Wales,* or the treaty made with the King, his father, [Henry VII.] for the said marriage.

2nd. The receipt or receipts given for the dowry of the said most Serene Highness, now queen [of England] upon her second marriage.

3rd. The deed of settlement, or donation "propter nuptias," that was made or promised to the said Queen at the time.

4th. Any other deeds, contracts, or letters relating to that event in Latin, Spanish, French, or any other language whatsoever.

The said deeds and papers to be brought [to this our Court] in their original state, as they may happen to be, and if found in register or other books, to be carefully transcribed therefrom, under the authority of a judge, and signed by a notary so that the transcripts be duly attested. You shall besides, draw up a report on all other papers that may be found in the same volume relating to the said marriage, describing them most minutely; which report signed in your hand and name, as well as our own warrant or an attested copy of it, you shall leave in the hands of the person or persons from whom you may receive the said deeds or papers by way of receipt and exoneration to the parties.

At Calatayud you shall likewise inquire from the heirs of secretary Catzena, or from any other persons in whose hands the papers he left may be, and after exhibiting the warrant and letters you have for them, as well as these present instructions, you shall look for the above-mentioned deeds or any others relating to the subject, and if found and procured, shall bring the same to us in the manner above specified. Should these not be found at Calatayud, you shall, when at Çaragoça, inquire from Dr. Calvete, the inquisitor, and from Dr. Palacios, the assessor, who are at the Aljaferia, if at the time that the Council of the Inquisition commanded them to examine the papers of the said secretary Catzena, they recollect having seen among them any relating to this matter, and where they can be at present, or who knows anything about them, or can point out the means of your getting at them.

You shall also go to Tarazona, where secretary Pedro de Quintana used to reside, and make similar inquiries from his widow, or heirs, or any others in whose possession the papers of the said secretary may be. You shall likewise exhibit the said warrant and instructions, and if they should be found, proceed at once to Valencia, or wherever the heirs of the said Quintana may be, and do in this case as in the others.

As the high commander,† Martin Cabrero, who has his usual residence at Çaragoça, is now absent in Sardinia as our viceroy, you will inquire for the person who acts as his agent and mayordomo, and after exhibiting your warrant and in-

* The words are "despues de fallescido el Rey Artus, principe de Gales."

† Of the order of San Salvador de Montesa created by Alphonso IV. of Aragon in 1317.

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structions, request him to shew you his papers, and those of his uncle, Juan Cabrero, the chamberlain. Should any be found relating to the subject, you shall bring them with you, giving receipt for them as aforesaid.

A letter for the governor of Aragon, enjoining him to give you all the help and assistance you may require, accompanies these instructions. You shall apply to him if necessary.

Your commission for Aragon being fulfilled, you shall go to Valencia and deliver the letter you have for Don Luis Carroz, bailiff (*bayle*) of that city,* and make him give you all the deeds and papers he may have bearing on the aforesaid subject, for We now write to him to have them ready for you, as well as any other relating to the second marriage.—Ocaña, [October] 1531.†

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

— **571.** Divorce. Statement made by Ruiz de Puebla.

S. E. L. 23, f. 140.

The Emperor being at Burgos at the time of the challenge,‡ in the year 1528, he (Ruiz de Puebla) and his brother the archdeacon of Malaga,§ gave to His Majesty in his own hand the original brief [of pope Julius II.] dispensing for the marriage of Katharine queen of England, and this present King Henry VIII., as well as the copy of a bull granted by the same pope for that purpose, and besides a letter of acknowledgment and receipt of the dower taken by the Queen on marriage.

After this,‖ about the time that secretary Lallemand was arrested, the Court being then at Toledo, the above-mentioned parties, by the command of His Majesty the Emperor, gave Mr. de Granvelle, who went then by the name of Nicolas Perrenot, all the treaties (*conciertos*) that passed between the catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain] and the king of England [Henry VII.] at the time that queen Katha-

* His full name was Luis Carroz de Vilaragut, and he had been Ferdinand's ambassador in England from 1509 to 1515.

† Though dated 1531 there can be no doubt that these instructions must have been given as early as November 1530, for there are several copies of the same circular at Simancas, all dated from this year (1530), with the names also to be filled up. Most likely those for Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia—the patrimonial dominions of king Ferdinand—had to be again renewed for want of execution, and that would explain why the Empress, being at Ocaña in New Castille (see No. 477, p. 786), in October 1531, signed those which have been reproduced above. The words "Yo la Reyna, &c." with which the document is headed, are evidently meant for queen Joanna, who, though still confined at Tordesillas, near Valladolid, was still entitled "queen of Spain," as the only remaining daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, all warrants, proclamations (*cedulas, provisiones*), &c., being issued in her name.

‡ The Emperor was at Burgos from the end of October 1527 to the 20th of February 1528. The challenge and declaration of war by Francis and Henry took place on the 22nd of January.

§ Both sons of doctor de la Puebla, ambassador of Ferdinand at the court of England.

‖ That is to say, in December 1528, when Lallemand's disgrace is said to have occurred. *See* vol. iii., part 2, pp. 865, 869.

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rine was married to prince Arthur, besides some other deeds (*escripturas*) of a later date, among which was as he (Ruiz de Puebla) believes, a treaty of alliance and league between the princes of Christendom. This last fact he does not positively affirm, but he is sure that among the documents he then put into Mr. de Granvelle's hands, there were many deeds, some on vellum, others on paper, besides several letters of the catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella] all written in Castillian, and some in cipher.

Subsequently to this, His Imperial Majesty being absent from these realms, the present cardinal of Toledo, at that time archbishop of Santiago* and president [of the Council], asked the said Ruiz de Puebla for all the deeds and papers he might have in his possession relating to the King [Ferdinand]; when he (Ruiz) answered that he had given them all to His Majesty and to Mr. de Granbela (Granville) in whose hands they were actually found to be. Some of which papers were then translated from the Latin into Spanish (*romance*) by secretary Carate, examined in Council and forwarded to Rome.

Subsequently to this the Cardinal [of Toledo] himself sent for the said Ruy Diez de Puebla and told him that the deeds and papers had been duly received and examined, and that though it appeared from them how much and well his father and ancestors had served [the kings of Spain], yet more evidence was required, and that if he had any more touching on the transactions entrusted to them and principally to the marriage of Katharine with prince Arthur, he was to look for and produce them, as His Imperial Majesty would be much pleased and served thereby. This happened to be at Madrid, where Ruy Diez then was, and therefore he posted to Burgos, at his own expense, and found there more deeds and papers, which he safely brought back and delivered likewise into the hands of the cardinal of Toledo (Tavera.)

After this the said Ruy Diez being away from home and staying at Palaçuclos de la Sierra, not far from Burgos, on account of the plague raging in that capital, received a letter from the Cardinal brought by a courier, whose name, he thinks, was such a one as (Fulano) Gigante, a notary by profession and a native of Madrid, who was going to Burgos on private business of his own. The cardinal's letter was to the effect that he (Ruy Diez) was to search for more deeds (*escripturas*) among his father's papers, and if he found any, take them to Madrid. He was, moreover, to go to Burgos, to the convent of St. Francis, and see whether in the archives of that community some could be found relating to the English business. And he (Ruy Diez) being provided with a warrant for the Father Provincial, whose name at the time was Fray Bernaldino Salzedo, went thither, searched the conventual archives,

* D. Juan Tavera, archbishop of Santiago in 1524, and afterwards of Toledo (1534–45) president of the Royal Council of Castille from the 22nd of September 1524 till the 1st of August 1545, when he died at Valladolid.

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and put aside all papers connected with the Queen's case. And having done the same by means of a special warrant (*cedula*), at the office of Garcia Ruiz de la Mota, delivered them all into the Cardinal's hands.

At Sant Francisco de Burgos this witness saw several other deeds, of which he does not precisely recollect having taken note, or inventory, though he fancies that there were several among them relating to negociations between Portugal and Castille, and to the masterships of the orders, to interchanges of land between the Crown and the nobles, &c., and likewise deeds and papers of the reign of Don John [the Second] and Henry the Fourth of Castille.

He says also that in the hands of Garcia Ruiz there must be deeds.* . . . .

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

— **572.** DIVORCE. Interrogatory of questions to be addressed to various persons of the household of the queen of England.

S. E. L. 22, f. 144.

The above persons to be questioned according to the present interrogatory.

1. If they know of any deeds, contracts, or other papers relating to the marriage of the Most Serene Highness the queen of England, and if so, where, and in whose hands they now are?

2. How long did the said Queen live with Arthur, prince of Wales, and whether the councillors of the king of England [Henry VII.] were of opinion that the said Queen and Arthur, her first husband, did not consummate matrimony, owing to his extreme debility, and to the act being exceedingly injurious to his health?

* "Dize tambien que en poder de Garcia Ruiz a de auer scripturas." With these words the paper ends abruptly, from which I conclude that either the copy was unfinished, or that the declaration itself is imperfect. This seems to have been renewed 15 years after at Valladolid, for a similar paper is to be found at Simancas beginning thus: "At Valladolid, on the 14th day of September 1545, I, the undersigned notary, went to the lodgings (*posada*) of Señor Ruiz de Puebla, who was then staying at the house of Dr. Arguelles, and notified to him a warrant of the Prince (Philip), our master, when besides his answer to my notification the said Ruiz de Puebla kindly communicated to me the following particulars." Then follows the declaration as above given, without any date whatsoever, and without the usual attestation of the notary who made the notification and wrote down the particulars; and though it is not easy to understand what motive there was in 1545, years after Katharine's death, to renew a declaration made in 1531, if not before, respecting the search for papers and deeds then to be exhibited in the divorce suit, there can be no doubt that Ruiz, or rather Rodrigo Diez [de Puebla], son of Dr. Puebla, Ferdinand's ambassador in England (1488–1507) was the first person interrogated as to the whereabouts of papers bearing on the matrimonial and other alliances of England and Spain.

The paper itself is placed with similar ones without date at the end of Bergenroth's volume, the eleventh of the collection of papers from Simancas relating to the reign of Charles V., and though bearing the date of 1545, contains a declaration made by Ruiz (Ruy Diez or Rodrigo Diez) de Puebla in 1530, at which time Miçer Mai wrote urgently for such proofs and attestations as could be adduced at Rome in behalf of Katharine's lawful marriage.

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3. Whether it be true that the said Arthur was very young and thin, delicate, and of a weak complexion, and unfit for a woman, and whether he looked as if he were impotent for marriage?

4. Whether it was said at the time, and considered as a fact among the people of the Royal household, Spaniards as well as Englishmen, that the said prince Arthur had not consummated his marriage with the said Queen?*

5. Whether it is true that after the death of prince Arthur the Queen was in bad health and crippled, emitting bad humours from the mouth, and that a consultation of several eminent physicians took place respecting her illness, all of whom, after careful examination of the symptoms, and information received from the Queen herself, declared the cause of the complaint to be no other than the non-consummation of the marriage, and that if she were to marry another man she would speedily recover her health.† And whether she did not on her subsequent marriage with king Henry recover her health and spirits, and was not stouter and better looking?‡

6. Whether it be true that when she was married to king Henry the said Queen was a virgin, and it was so stated among the courtiers, and among people of the Royal household, who believed it, king Henry her husband having also publicly stated the fact?

7. Did not king Henry shew a great desire to marry the Queen, and did he not immediately after his father's death send his ambassadors to the said Queen, urgently requesting her to take him for her husband, and pressing his application until the marriage was effected?

8. Did not Henry's grandmother and those of the Council of England advise the said Henry, and indeed press him, to marry the sister of the king of France, and not his present Queen; and did not king Henry, against the advice of the said parties, determine to marry the said lady Queen, as he actually did some time after?

9. Do they know of any person or persons likely to furnish information on such points?

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

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* "Yten si se platicó y se tuvo por cosa muy cierta entre todos los de palacio, asi españoles como ingleses, quel dicho Arturo no avia conocido á la dicha señora Reyna, y que [esta] avia quedado virgen quando murió el dicho Arturo, y que quando se velaron no se hallaron señales ni insignias en las savanas de aver perdido su virginidad."

† "Yten que muerto Arturo, la dicha señora Reyna quedó muy enferma e tollida, y echaua por la boca muchos humores, y que sobre su infermedad se hizo junta de muchos y grandes medicos, los quales despues de aver visto su dolencia e indispusicion, e tenido entera informacion de ella, dixieron que la causa de su mal era de estar virgen, y no aver sido conocida de Arturo, e que si casase con persona que tuviese abilidad para mugeres, que sanaria," &c.

‡ Several copies of this interrogatory are preserved at Simancas. The answers, however, are not in the Archives.

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— **573.** DIVORCE. List of persons likely to give information or evidence on the first and second marriage of the queen of England.

S. E. L. 22, f. 143.

The persons now away from Court who possess information respecting the first and second marriages of Her Most Serene Highness the queen of England are the following:—

Catalina, once the Queen's slave, who used to make her bed and attend to other services of the chamber, married to a morisco, a cross-bow maker at Valdeyzcarria.* She formed part of the Royal household when the said Queen and her husband, Henry, met for the first time.

Catalina Fortes, now a nun in the convent of Madre de Dios [at Toledo], a niece of treasurer Morales, was lady-in-waiting to the Queen, and much in her confidence.

Doña Maria de Rojas, the wife of Don Alvaro de Mendoça. She now lives close to Najera, or near Vitoria. She used to sleep in the Queen's own bed after the death of her first husband, Arthur.

The wife of Juan de Cuevo,† also a waiting maid to the Queen. She lives now at Madrid.

Fornizedo, the servant of Alonso de Esquivel, resident at Seville, groom-in-waiting to Her Highness.

Tamayo, the notary, before whom the marriage contract between the Queen and king Henry passed, and who attested it. He then lived with the ambassador, Dr. La Puebla, and is now with the marquis of Tarifa,‡ whom he accompanied in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Fray Diego Hernandez,§ who was the Queen's confessor, must be cross-questioned (*repreguntado*) as to the name and description of the secretary or notary who signed or countersigned the contract and settlements of the marriage with Henry, which contract and settlements, according to the statement of the said Hernandez, were by him delivered to the archbishop of Canterbury, High Chancellor,‖ to the bishop of Winchester, and to the earl of Soroy (Surrey), by the Queen's command, at the time that she and Henry received the nuptial benediction.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

* Valdeycarria is probably an error for Valdezcaray in the province of Burgos and kingdom of Old Castille.

† A person of this name is mentioned in La Puebla's despatches, as well as in a list of Katharine's servants who were to remain in England after the death of Arthur, as being *portero de estrados?* gentleman usher? He was married to one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, and seems to have been at some time officer of her wardrobe. *See* Bergenroth, pp. 246, 296, &c. He had a nephew called Rodrigo.

‡ Don Fadrique Enriquez de Ribera, whose *Viage de Tierra Santa* was first published at Seville in 1580, 4to.

§ Evidently the same Diego Hernandez mentioned in Bergenroth's Calendar as Katharine's chancellor and confessor.

‖ The high chancellor at this time was William Warham; the bishop of Winchester, Richard Ford. As to the earl of Surrey, his name was Thomas Howard, 1483–1514, K.G. in 1483, Lord Treasurer 1509–22. He afterwards became second duke of Norfolk, and died on the 21st of May 1524.

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S. E. L. 22, f. 142.

574. DIVORCE. Instructions for the examination of witnesses at Granada.

The enclosed questions must be put to a female called Catalina, once a slave of the Most Serene Highness the queen of England, whose duty it was to make the bed and attend to other secret services of Her Highness' chamber. The said Catalina was married at Valdarcaray* to a cross-bow maker, named Oviedo. She then went to reside at Malaga, where her husband died, when she (Catalina) with her two daughters removed to Motril, of which town she was a native, and where she is still living.

She is to be looked for at Motril according to the above description, and if not found there it must be ascertained where she is. If within the jurisdiction of Granada the judge will ask her the enclosed questions, and write down her answers. If elsewhere, notice to be given to the judge of the district where she resides. Should the residential judge [at Granada] find it inconvenient to go where the said Catalina is, he may pass over his commission to some of his lieutenants in that district, recommending secrecy above all things. The questions being put to her, the judge or his lieutenant will write down the answers in his own hand, signing his own name, so that the affair may not be divulged.

The said Catalina to be interrogated and cross-questioned (*repreguntada*) as may seem most fit, so that she may fully declare all she knows on the subject of the interrogatory, for she is said to be well informed of what passed on that score. The questions of the interrogatory to be sent back with the answers to each one in the very words used by her.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

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S. E. L. 22, f. 145.

575. DIVORCE. Memorandum for the Alcalde Mayor of Toledo.

The questions contained in the enclosed interrogatory shall be put to a nun of the convent of Madre de Dios, named Catalina Fortes, niece of treasurer Fortes,† now living in the said convent of Madre de Dios, at Toledo. She is not to be sworn (*juramentada*), but merely requested to state to the best of her recollection what she knows respecting the questions of the said interrogatory. The Alcalde to write down her answer, and then make her sign her declaration, and if unable to write, he is to sign the same for her, that the matter may be kept secret and not divulged. That she may say all she knows on the subject, Her Majesty's letter will be read in her presence, as well as the other of Her Majesty (the Empress) to the abbess of the convent requesting her to give permission for the said nun to be examined. The questions, of course, as in all other cases, to be brought back to us, together with her answers.

* *See* No. 573, p. 885.

† Elsewhere called Morales. *See* No. 573, p. 885.

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— S. E. L. 22, f. 147.

576. DIVORCE. Memorandum for archdeacon Reyna.

The questions of the enclosed interrogatory are to be addressed to Formizedo, a servant of Alonso Desquivel (*sic*), late chief waiter to Her Most Serene Highness the queen of England, now residing at Seville.

Also to Tamayo, the notary, before whom Her Highness' marriage contract was passed. The said Tamayo* being at that time in the service of Dr. de la Puebla, the ambassador of king Ferdinand in England, went afterwards to Jerusalem, in the suite of the marquis of Tarifa, at whose house in Seville he may perhaps be heard of.

The above two persons are not to be interrogated upon oath, but merely requested to say what they know respecting the affair, and should Formizedo be unable to write, the Archdeacon (Reyna) to do it for him so that his answers may not be divulged; both questions and answers to be brought back to our Court as above.

— S. E. L. 22, f. 144.

577. MEMORANDUM for the LORD MAYOR (Corregidor) of MADRID.

The same questions to be put to the wife of Juan Cuero once waiting maid to the said queen of England, and who is supposed to reside nowadays at Madrid; also to Maria de Rojas,† wife of Don Alvaro de Mendoça, who used to sleep in the same bed with Her Most Serene Highness the Queen, after the death of prince Arthur, her first husband.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

— S. E. L. 2,016, f. 139.

578. DIVORCE. Opinion of Fr. Felix de Prato on the question whether the Pope can, or cannot, permit marriage with a deceased brother's wife.

Concludes that he can, and quotes various authorities.

Latin. Copy from the Archives of the Vatican made by Berzosa.‡ pp. 14.

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* *See* No. 573, p. 885. His name was Juan Tamayo, not *Tomayo*, as Bergenroth erroneously writes. As La Puebla's secretary he had been employed in writing his ciphered letters. On the 25th of August 1498 that ambassador recommended him to king Ferdinand as his *pupil* and secretary The word here used and, which I have translated by notary, is *escribano*,. which might also imply "scribe" or "scrivener," but not having seen the original of La Puebla's despatch to Ferdinand, I cannot say whether the word which Bergenroth translated "pupil" is the Spanish *criado;* if so, it means "servant, domestic, client." Tamayo's name appears, however, as one of the witnesses of the marriage in 1499.

† This Doña Maria was probably the daughter of Don Francisco de Rojas. She is mentioned in a letter of Katharine to her mother (queen Isabella) dated November 1504, as about to marry one of the first lords of the kingdom (*see* Bergenroth, vol. i., p. 346), Katharine asking for her mother's consent to the marriage and begging that Doña Maria, though married, may remain in her service; but either the marriage did not take place, or else having lost her first husband, Doña Maria married Don Alvaro de Mendoza as here stated.

‡ Fuller and somewhat different from that abstracted at p. 729, No. 437.

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— **579.** DIVORCE. Annotationes ad opinionem Universitatis Salamanticæ super legalitatem matrimonii inter Henricum VIII. regem Angliæ et Catherinam reginam.

S. *Rom.* Conc. y Disc. Ecles., L. 3.

Autographus, ut videtur, cujusdam doctoris istius universitatis.

Indorsed: "A censure on the opinions of the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

— **580.** DIVORCE. Opinion of the Chancery and University of Granada.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing., L. 4, f. 108.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 190.

Expositio facti. Exemplum bullæ papa Julii et quatuordecim dubita verbotenus prout in opinione universitatis Salmantinæ (sine resposionibus).

After reciting the bull of pope Julius II., the 14 doubts raised by the English doctors are transcribed, but the answers are not given. The conclusions, however, are the same as those of the university of Salamanca.

These are the doubts raised concerning the matrimonial cause of England, the most important of which is *whether* pope Julius could or could not grant a dispensation for the Queen's marriage.*

Latin. pp. 8.

— **581.** DIVORCE. Report of a Spanish theologian on the opinion given by the Chancery of Granada upon the marriage question.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing., L. 4, f. 92.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 191.

Beg: "Primo ex responsione theologorum, ex tenore et forma procedendi presuponitur matrimonium presentis questionis fuisse prohibitum Levitici decimo octavo et vicesimo, quod nunquam est concedendum cum hujusmodi casu nunquam fuerit inclusum in illa prohibitione Levitica juxta omnium sanctorum expositione."

End: "Et hœc dicta sunt annotata circa primum articulum qui theologos concernit, nam reliquos qui pertinent ad juristas non . . . eorum censura, nam mitterem in messem alienam. Quæ omnia dicta sunt salvo semper omni honore et reverentia celeberrimi Senatus qui huic decreto subscripsit, nec non salvo judicio omnium rectius intelligentium; non nempè causa impugnandi seu contradicendi hæc sunt signata, sed solum ratione inquirendi veritatis ut reverendissimi domini mei presulis mandatum parerem."

Indorsed: "Inglaterra."

Latin. Original. pp. 9.

* The paper is thus indorsed in a contemporary hand, probably that of Alfonso de Valdés: "Lo de la Reyna de Inglaterra. Las dubdas de la causa matrimonial de la Reyna de Inglaterra. Lo que es mas importante es si pudo el papa dispensar ó no."

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— **582.** DIVORCE. Opinio jurisconsulti cujusdam super legalitate matrimonii contracti inter viduam et fratrem mariti sui defuncti.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing., L. 4, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 203.

Beg: Notissimum quod prohibiciones (*sic*) de quibus Levitici XVIII et XX capitulo non prohibetur conjunctio aliquarum personarum exceptis patre et matre et eorum linea ascendentium et descendentium, &c.

Latin. pp. 7.

— **583.** DIVORCE. Latin letter of an Englishman to the Emperor Charles V.

S. E. Trat. c. Ing., L. 4, f. 94.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 201.

Beg: Cum inter suam sacram Majestatem invictissime Cæsar, ac serenissimum regem Angliæ dominum meum verus amor, expertaque benevolentia mutuo frequenterque intercesserint, etc.

Indorsed: Anglia. Copybook of letters written by Alfonso de Valdés and mostly relating to English affairs, found in his possession.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

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